

MALCOLM'S

HISTORY OF PERSIA

(MODERN)

EDITED AND ADAPTED TO THE PERSIAN TRANSLATION

OF

MIRZA HAIRAT,

WITH NOTES AND DISSERTATIONS

BY

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TRANSLATOR OF THE ARÁISH-I-MAHFIL, NASR-I-BE NAZÍR, AND SELECTIONS FROM
THE KULLIYÁT-I-SAUDÁ.

Dedicated

(BY PERMISSION)

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL SIR FREDERICK SLEIGH ROBERTS,
BART., V.C., G.C.B., C.I.E., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA, AS A MARK OF
RESPECT.

By

HIS HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

When I first undertook this work, I had not intended to have made it so profuse in notes as I have now done ; but, finding that the general public and students at Universities and schools are as much, in fact, I may say from the list of subscribers, more interested in the work, than those reading for the High Proficiency Examination in Persian, I have felt it my duty to give ampler notes, and I trust the work may be found of interest to all, and that it may take its place as a Text Book in the Vernacular Schools of this country. The last edition of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia was, I believe, published in 1815, and is now scarcely to be obtained. My difficulty has been to determine what form the work should assume. After thinking the matter over, I came to the conclusion that it would be best to keep to the original text of Sir John Malcolm as far as possible, leaving out, in the body of the work, those parts that have not been translated by Mírzá Hairat, and inserting them in the foot-notes. Accordingly, wherever Malcolm is sufficiently near the translation, I have let the original stand ; but, wherever there is any considerable difference, I have given a literal translation, and have also added the omitted passages, in the foot-notes. I have also noticed in the foot-notes any peculiar words, or expressions, that struck me as necessary. In this way, I hope both the student for the High Proficiency Examination in Persian, and also scholars in vernacular schools, will have a good aid, in helping them to render both English into Persian, and also Persian into English.

I have called the work, the "History of Persia (Modern)" as it only contains the latter part of the History of Persia, as given in the second Volume of Sir John Malcolm, should I find that the first volume is wanted by the public, and that the present volume meets with general support, I hope hereafter to bring out the first volume also in a similar form to this.

For easy reference, I have given in brackets, in the margin of the work, the corresponding page in Mírzá Hairat's translation, so that any passage may be at once turned up. The numbers given correspond to the pages in the first edition of his translation ; but as since the printing was commenced, I have come across a later edition of Mírzá Hairat, I have given, at the commencement, a separate table of corresponding pages for the second edition.

It is necessary for me to make a few remarks on the system of transliteration of Persian names and words that I have followed. I had intended adopting Sir William Jones' system, but at the last moment, I found that there was not sufficient type for this to be done. I had therefore to lay down another, which I assimilated as far as possible to that of Sir William Jones.

The following is my system of transliteration.

1 Initial or	...	a	ا	...	th
1 Medial and final and 1	...	á	آ	...	j
1 Malsúr as in موسى	...	â	ع	...	ch
1 Inserted as in رحمن	...	á	ح	...	h
1 Initial or	...	i	خ	...	kh
1 Initial or	...	u	د	...	d
ب	...	b	ذ	...	z
پ	...	p	ر	...	r
ت	...	t	ز	...	z

ژ	...	...	...	...	zh	ل	...	...	...	...	...	l
س	...	...	...	...	s	م	...	...	...	...	...	m
ش	...	...	...	...	sh	ن	...	...	...	...	...	n
ص	...	...	...	...	s	و	...	...	...	...	...	w or o
ض	...	...	...	...	zw	ا	Initial or	ز	...	...	...	au
ط	...	...	...	...	t	ا	Initial or	و	(ma'rúf as in نور light)	...	...	ú
ظ	...	...	...	...	dz	ا	Initial or	و	(majhúl as in روز day)	...	...	o
ع	...	...	...	...	'	و	Ma'dúl	(as in خورشید)	...	...	...	w
ف	...	...	...	...	gh	ه	...	...	...	...	...	h
ق	...	...	...	...	f	ي	...	...	...	...	...	y
ك	...	...	...	...	k	ا	Initial or	ي	...	...	...	ai
گ	...	...	...	...	g	ا	Initial or	ي	ma'rúf as in شیر milk)	...	...	i
	...	...	...	...		ا	Initial or	ي	(majhúl as in شیر tiger)	...	...	e

The following letters inserted, *ج, ذ, ص, ض, ط, ق, and , ma'dúl*, are printed in italics *á, h, s, zw, t, k, and w*, to distinguish them from the other letters similar to them.

If *w* follows *z*, the two must be read together for *zavád* (ض); in all other cases, *z* stands for *zál* (ذ) and *w* for waw, (و) *ma'dúl*.

ث, چ, ژ, ش, ظ, and غ, are represented respectively by *th, ch, kh, zh, sh, dz, and gh*; when they represent separate letters, a hyphen will be inserted between them; *e.g., mis-hak مشك mishk.*

In the transliteration of one word, I have not been quite correct. I refer to *Suní*, which should have been *Sunní*; but as I did not notice the mistake till half the work was printed, I thought it better to continue this spelling throughout, than change it towards the end.

Notes 655, 657, 658, 659, I have extracted from the *Persian Instructor*, published by *Hájí Ghulám Muhammad* of Bombay; a most useful work for students of Persian. The other notes, which I have taken from the first volume of *Malcolm, Hughes' Notes on Muhammadanism*, *Atkinson's Translations of the Sháhnáma*, and of *Lailí and Majnún*, *Haggard and LeStrange's translation of "The Wazír of Lankarán"* and *Bicknell's translation of Háfidz*, have all been acknowledged in their proper places. I have also received great assistance from *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary*.

The map has been copied from the one in *Malcolm's History*, and was prepared for the press by a native, *Muhammad Dín*, who was taught at the *Lahore School of Art* under *Mr. Kipling*. All the places given in *Malcolm's map* are not entered in mine; I have only inserted those that are mentioned in the work.

Before concluding this preface, I think it will not be out of place to give the following interesting short account, taken from the first volume of *Malcolm*, of *Jonas Hanway*, who is often quoted in the early part of the work.

"Jonas Hanway, the author to whom I allude, was born in 1712. He became a partner in a commercial house at *Petersburgh*, and went from that into *Persia*; the loss of some goods led him to the Court of *Nádir Sháh*, with whose history and character he became intimately acquainted. He also made himself master of all the events that had preceded that tyrant's usurpation. In 1753, when he retired to *England*, he published his *Travels*. He was the author of several other works. Both his writings and his actions show that he was a man

of extraordinary activity of mind and of the most singular virtue and benevolence. He was the chief founder of the Marine Society. The Magdalen Charity which was projected by his partner, Mr. Dingley, was principally indebted to his active virtue for its establishment. To him may be traced many of our best parish regulations that relate to the care of children; and the first establishment of Sunday Schools originated with Jonas Hanway. His efforts to do good were eminently successful, because all his projects were practical, and every class of his poor countrymen were objects of his benevolence. He endeavoured to alleviate the condition of chimney sweepers, a race too generally despised. It is to the honour of the merchants of London, that they evinced their respect and veneration for this excellent man by the most uncommon mark of attention. We are told by the writer of his life, that 'his fellow-citizens entertained such a sense of his merits, that, in Lord Bute's administration, a deputation of the principal merchants of London waited upon him, with a request that some public favour might be conferred upon a man, who had done so much service to the community at the expense of his private fortune. Hanway was, in consequence, made a Commissioner of the Navy, which post he held above twenty years; and when he resigned it, the salary was continued to him for life. He died in 1786 and a monument was raised to his memory by subscription.' "

In conclusion, I beg to state that I claim no originality in this work; for it is, from beginning to end, the work of Sir John Malcolm, simply adapted by myself to the translation. Should there be any errors in my notes, I trust that they may be pointed out, with a view to being corrected in any future edition.

M. H. COURT, LIEUT.-COLONEL,
15th Bengal Cavalry.

UMBALLA, 14th January 1888.

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THE HISTORY OF PERSIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

(2)

An account of the Afghan Monarchs who assumed the title of Kings of Persia, with a cursory view of the invasion of that country by the Turks and Russians.

The reign of the Afghan Monarchs, Mahmūd and Ashraf, over Persia, occupies a short, but eventful, period of the history of that country. The first of these sovereigns showed, in the commencement of his reign, some of the qualities of a good statesman. The moment he became master of Isfahan, he endeavoured to relieve its inhabitants from the miseries of famine. His next care was to establish confidence among his new subjects, and in both of these important objects he succeeded. It appeared to this prince, as dangerous to employ the officers of the Persian Government, as to appoint his own, to stations with the duties of which they were wholly unacquainted. He ordered, therefore, the Persians he found in office to be continued, but nominated a colleague to each from his own nation, and, by this arrangement, he had the advantage of the experience of the one, and the fidelity of the other. The only exception to this rule was the chief judge of the city, and to that high situation he appointed an Afghan of singular piety and rectitude. It is natural that conquerors and usurpers, whatever benefit they may derive from treason, should hate and dread those whom they know to be traitors. Every person who had carried on a secret correspondence with the Afghans, or had been false to his duty during the siege, was punished by Mahmūd; and the Persians saw, with delight, the Afghan prince avenge the wrongs of their late sovereign. The Wāli of Arābān escaped with life, (on account, it was believed, of a vow which the conqueror had made not to kill him); but he was disgraced, and his possessions, in the province of Khūzistān, given to his younger brother. The noblemen of the Persian court, who had preserved their fidelity unshaken to Shāh Hussain, were those who appeared to be most favoured by the Afghan monarch; and he carried this so far, as publicly to approve the integrity and spirit of Muhammad Kuli Khān, the Prime Minister, who would not take an oath of allegiance, until assured he should never be called upon to act against the Prince Tahmāsh Mirzā.

The same considerations which made Mahmūd endeavour to conciliate the good opinion of his new subjects, induced him to grant every encouragement to the foreigners in Persia. Several European nations had, at this period, factories at Isfahan and Bandar 'Abbās; these were confirmed in all

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A.D. 1722, A.H. 1131. Measures adopted by Mahmūd on his assuming the sovereignty of Persia.

¹ This word is generally supposed to be derived from Pārs or Pārs, a division of the Empire of Irān, and applied by Europeans to the whole of that kingdom. It is certainly a word unknown, in the sense we use it, to the present natives of Irān, though some Arabian writers contend that Pārs formerly meant the whole kingdom. In proof of this assertion, a passage of the Kurān is quoted, in which one of Muhammad's companions, who came from a village near Isfahan, is called Salman of Pārs or Pārs. We have also the authority of the Scriptures for the name of this kingdom being Paras or Chars. The authors of the Universal History, on what authority I know not, state that the word Irān is not a general name of Persia, but of a part of that country. This is certainly erroneous; Irān has, from the most ancient time to the present day, been the term by which the Persians call their country; and it includes, in the sense they understand it, all the provinces to the East of the Tigris, Assyria Proper, Media, Parthia, Persia and Hyrcania (or Māzindarān). The whole of this country has probably been styled Pārs, or Persia, in the Bible, and by Greek and Roman writers since Cyrus. Persian Geographers assume very extended limits for their ancient empire; they say it included 4 seas and 6 great rivers. "The Black Sea, the Red Sea, the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf; the Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, Phasis, Indus and Oxus."—(Malcolm, Vol. I).

² Lit. "By these means he attached the people to himself."

³ Lit. "And this was the means of restoring greater confidence to the people."

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their privileges, and the Christian Missionaries were allowed full liberty to perform, publicly, the duties of their religion. But this fair prospect was soon clouded; and the occurrence of events, which excited apprehensions for his own safety in the mind of this monarch, banished, in an instant, all his plans of good government, and rendered him one of the most detestable and cruel tyrants, that the page of history has recorded.⁴

It will be necessary to take a short view of the events, which appear to have effected the change in the measures of Maḥmūd. He had, soon after he took possession of the capital and the districts in its immediate vicinity, detached Amánulla Khán to reduce Kazwín. The force sent with this chief, which amounted to 6,000 men, marched in the depth of winter, when the few troops, which the Prince Tahmásh had been able to collect, were dispersed in quarters. It, consequently, met with no resistance. Káshán Kum,⁵ and all the other cities in its route, surrendered, and Kazwín followed their example. The joy, which the news of this easy conquest gave to Maḥmūd, was checked by intelligence, which reached him at the same moment, that an officer, Mullá Músá, he had sent with a convoy of treasure, amounting to 150,000 túmáns⁶ (£300,000), to Kandahár, for the purpose of raising new levies among the Afghán tribes, had been attacked, defeated, and plundered by the governor, Mirzá Isma'íl, of the petty fortress of Banda, in Sistán; and he was also embarrassed, at this period, by an embassy from Peter the Great of Russia, which had been deputed to Sháh Hussain, but addressed him as the actual ruler of Persia, and demanded redress for wrongs which, it was pretended, the Russians had sustained from the conduct of the Persian Government.

A.D. 1722, A.H.
1135.

An embassy
from Peter the
Great.

The Russian Government resolves
to invade the
kingdom of Persia.

The Czar advances
with a large
army.

- The fact was, the Czar had resolved to take advantage of the confusions in Persia, to extend the commerce of his kingdom, by making himself master of the western shores of the Caspian. He had, for this purpose, collected an army of 30,000 of his best soldiers, which was joined by some Cossacks and Kalmucks at Astracan. The injuries, which his subjects had sustained from the Lazakís⁷ at Shamákhí and from the Khán of Khwarázm, who had plundered a caravan of Russians coming from China, were the pretexts for those preparations. He went through the form of calling upon the ruler of Persia, to redress the wrongs of which he complained; and, when told by Maḥmūd that he had no power to control either the Uzbags or the Lazakís, Peter, who commanded his army in person, sailed from the Volga on the 29th July, A.D. 1722, (A.H. 1135) and arrived on the coast of Dághistán on the 4th August. His first step was to issue a proclamation, in which he declared, that he had no ambitious design of enlarging his territories, but only meant to protect his subjects in their fair commerce. He proceeded
- (4) along the coast, defeated some chiefs, by whom he was opposed, and took possession of Dirband. The following account is given of this place by Mr. Bruce: "The city of Dirband, in the province of Shírwán, lies in 41° 51' N. lat. and is situated on the shore of the Caspian; the walls are carried into 10 feet depth of water, to prevent any one passing that way. Its length from east to west is nearly 5 versts,⁸ but its breadth is not proportionate. It is not only the frontier of Persia, lying on its utmost confines on this side, but may, with great propriety, be called the gate of it, reaching from the mountain into the sea. The city is divided into three distinct parts; the castle, situated upon the top of the mountain, had always a strong Persian garrison. The second reaches from the foot of the mountain to the lower town, which makes the third, and reaches to the sea-side." Peter confirmed the governor of Dirband in his charge, but left 2,000

⁴ Lit. "And thereby laid the foundation of tyranny, and raised a fire, the effects of the heat of which are still left, after the lapse of many centuries, on the hearts of the people of Irán."

⁵ The city of Kum was built 203 A.H., from the ruins of seven towns, which had composed a small sovereignty, under 'Abdarrahmán, an Arabian prince. But this person having been overthrown by his enemies, and his country ruined, the inhabitants of the seven towns founded the city of Kum, which was divided into seven departments, each assuming the name of one of the towns, which had been destroyed. It afterwards became one of the first cities in Persia, and was long celebrated for its manufacture of silks. It stands in an extensive plain, and on the banks of a small river, which rises at no great distance, and is lost in the Great Salt Desert. Lat 31° 45', Long. 50° 29' E. Kum was taken by the Afgháns, when they invaded Persia in 1722, and completely destroyed. Part of it has since been rebuilt, but it still has the appearance of a vast ruin. There is a very beautiful college, with a celebrated mosque and sanctuary, erected to the memory of Fátima, the daughter of the Imám Razví. In the mosque are to be seen the tombs of Safi the First and 'Abbás the Second. The dome is lofty, and has been gilded at the expense of the King.—(Kinlier's Memoir of Persia.)

⁶ The túmán has varied in value at various times. At this time, it appears to have been worth about £2. At others, it was equal to only £1, and at the present time it is only worth about 4 rupees.

⁷ The Lazakís inhabit the mountains between Georgia and the Caspian, and are alike remarkable for their valour and turbulence. They are now subject to Russia.—(Malcolm).

⁸ A verst is about 3 miles.

Russian troops to garrison the citadel. After this conquest he returned to Astracan, where he wintered,⁹ having signified his intention to prosecute his plans in the commencement of the ensuing fair season.

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While the Russians threatened the N.-W. Provinces of Persia, the Court of Constantinople also, as soon as it heard of the situation into which Persia was thrown by the Afghán invasion, hastened to take advantage of its fallen condition. A large army was assembled on the frontier, which was already on its march to Hamadán, when all sense of alarm at foreign enemies was banished from the mind of Mahmúd by an occurrence, which more immediately threatened the destruction of his power.¹⁰ The inhabitants of Kazwín are chiefly descended from the Turkí tribes, which have long pastured their flocks on the plains in the vicinity of that city. They mostly all cultivate the soil, or employ themselves in carrying on commerce with the shores of the Caspian. These habits of life render them hardy and robust; and they are remarkable for having preserved the rude and ungovernable spirit of their ancestors. Among its other privileges, Kazwín has always boasted one of a very extraordinary nature. It may be termed a right of insurrection (or *Lúti Bázár*),¹¹ to which they resort in cases of violence and oppression. The lower orders act on these occasions, under the direction of their magistrates,¹² who seldom proceed to this extremity, except when they have no hope from any other proceeding. They could expect no redress by any application to Mahmúd, from the cruelty and injustice of those he had appointed to rule them, and, independently of the oppression they suffered, their religion and prejudices led them to regard the Afgháns with peculiar horror. In consequence of these feelings, the magistrates of Kazwín met secretly, and, on the evening of the 8th January 1723 A.D. (1136 A.H.) the signal for a *Lúti Bázár*, or general insurrection, was given. The Afgháns were, at once, attacked in every quarter. Amán-ulla hastened to the Maidán, or great square, in front of the palace, where he found most of his troops assembled, and, though wounded at an early period, he made every effort, that a brave soldier could, to subdue this tumult, but he was overpowered by numbers, and compelled to take shelter in the palace; from whence he, with difficulty, effected his escape by a private road, that led to one of the principal gates. The loss of the Afgháns on this occasion was about 2,000 men, besides all their property. The rest were forced instantly to retreat to Isfahán, and suffered so severely on the march from the inclemency of the season, that not more than half of them reached that capital.

A Turkish army enters Persia.

The inhabitants of Kazwín revolt.

And overpower the Afgháns.

Ashraf, who had accompanied Amánulla on this expedition, separated from him on the retreat, and proceeded to Kandahár with 300 men. He appears to have anticipated the downfall of Mahmúd; for the example of Kazwín had been followed by Khwánsár¹³ and several other towns, and the dispirited Afgháns retired to Isfahán from every quarter. When Mahmúd heard of these occurrences, he feared lest Isfahán should also follow their example.¹⁴ His army was reduced to about 15,000 men; the male population of Isfahán and its suburbs, alone, was still in a proportion of more than 20 to 1 to the Afgháns. The probable revolt of the capital seemed the most immediate danger, and Mahmúd resolved to remove it by measures, which could only have occurred to a mind, that was as cowardly, as it was cruel and savage. On the day of Amánulla's return, all the Persian ministers and principal lords, except one or two, were invited to a feast. The Prime Minister, Muhammad Kulí Khán was spared, because his brother had assisted the Afgháns at Kazwín, and Lutf'Alí Khán was not put to death on this occasion.

(5) Ashraf proceeds to Kandahár.

Mahmúd is in a critical situation.

Massacres the Persian nobles and their male children.

⁹ *Kashlák* is a Turkí word signifying "winter quarters, or winter pasturage for cattle." *Yílák* being the word used for "summer pasturage or summer quarters" amongst the migratory tribes of Persia. Calcutta would be called the *Kashlák*, and Simla the *Yílák*, of the Government of India.

¹⁰ *Lit.* "When an event occurred, which made Mahmúd so anxious on his own account, that it made him quite heedless as to any thoughts of the enemies of his country."

¹¹ It signifies "plundering the bázárs or shops;" but it implies no more than a general rising of the inhabitants. The ancient usage is still preserved.—(Malcolm).

¹² The *Kalántars* are the head magistrates of the wards in a city. They are nominated by the king, but must be selected from the most respectable natives of the city, as the members of the corporation of any city or town in England.—(See Chapter XXIII.)

¹³ This beautiful town, which lies about 92 miles to the north-east of Isfahán, is still in a very flourishing state. It stands in a fine and well-watered valley, which is 6 miles long and 3 broad, and is almost entirely covered with gardens.—(Malcolm).

¹⁴ The Afghán prince was certainly, at this moment, in a critical situation. With his small force, he had to maintain himself in a great kingdom, by the inhabitants of which he and his people were detested, not only on account of the ravages they had committed, but from the difference of their language, their manners, and their religion. When the reputation of his arms was at the highest, these alarming considerations had operated with great force upon his mind, and had rendered him wavering and undecided, even in the moment of victory; now, that he saw his bravest troops disheartened, and his enemies elated with triumph, he appears to have become distracted with apprehension.—(Malcolm).

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Massacre of three thousand of the guards.

A general order to put to death every Persian who had served the former government.

A general plunder.

Bin Isfahán capitulates.

A.D. 1723, A.H. 1136.

An attempt to re-people Isfahán.

About 300 came, and the moment they arrived, the signal was given for their massacre; not one escaped; and the tyrant was so relentless, that he even refused mercy to a youth of 12 years of age, the son of the Wálí of Georgin, who had fled for protection to one of the principal Afghán chiefs. The bodies of all these nobles were exposed on the grand square of 'Alí Kápi before the palace, that the inhabitants might see and tremble. It was thought, that sons might, hereafter, desire to revenge the blood of their fathers, and, the day after the massacre, the male children (of the nobles that had been slain), amounting to upwards of 200, were led to a field in the vicinity of the city, where they were all inhumanly slaughtered. Mahmúd pretended that the nobles had conspired against his life; but his real design of reducing the number of his enemies by extirpation was soon developed. He had taken 3,000 of the guards of Sháh Hussain into pay; he directed that these men should be peculiarly well treated; and, as a mark of favour, he commanded that a dinner should be dressed for them, in one of the squares of the palace. The moment they were seated, a party of Afgháns fell upon them, and not one was spared. An order was issued to the Afgháns, to put to death every Persian, who had ever been in the service of the former government; the city was left after 15 days, the period the massacre lasted, with a very small proportion of males of a mature age; and even those were obliged to fly, in consequence of a proclamation, which stated, that all were to depart from the capital, except a body of Persian youth, whom Mahmúd proposed to train in the habits and usages of his own nation.

The inhabitants¹⁵ of Isfahán were chiefly tradesmen and manufacturers; they had always been accounted the most unwarlike men in Persia, but it must have been the accumulation of miseries which they endured, that reduced them to the wretched and degraded state of mind, in which they now appeared during these scenes of blood and horror.¹⁶ It was common, we are told, to see an Afghán leading three or four Persians to execution, and, though death was certain, not one example occurred of the victims even struggling with their fate. Mahmúd, at this time, threw off the mask he had before put on. All ranks were pillaged; nor did the factories of foreign nations escape; both the English and the Dutch suffered, but particularly the latter, who had amassed a large sum, by selling sugar during the distresses of the siege at an exorbitant rate. Mahmúd forced them to reveal where their treasures were concealed, and took from them an amount of 400,000 crowns. The Indians, settled at Isfahán, were also plundered; and the Armenians were not only forced to pay another contribution, but several of their chief magistrates were put to death.

Relieved from his fears regarding the inhabitants of Isfahán, Mahmúd proceeded to reduce the country in its neighbourhood. The brave inhabitants of Bin Isfahán¹⁷ still resisted his arms; and that village, after a gallant defence, made an honourable capitulation, which was guaranteed by the principal Afghán chiefs. Mahmúd, who feared openly to violate such a compact, employed secret agents to betray them into a sedition, that might justify him in satiating his vengeance upon those, who had murdered his relations. But the honest peasants, who were sincere in their allegiance, seized his agents, and sent them bound into Isfahán. The prince was so pleased with this act, that he forgave all that they had done; and, some months afterwards, they repaid the confidence that was placed in them, by seizing Lutf 'Alí Khán, who, when he fled from Court, took shelter in their village.

An effort was made by Mahmúd to repeople Isfahán, and some Kurdish tribes were invited to occupy the vacant houses of that wretched capital. As they were Sunís, it was expected that a similarity of religion would render them more attached to the Afghán government, than the other inhabitants of Persia.¹⁸ Many of these Kurds were taken into the army, which required recruits, as but few soldiers had come from Kandahár; from whence all the families of the Afgháns in Persia had been brought by the policy of Mahmúd; who found, before he adopted this measure, that desertions were so frequent, as to threaten a serious diminution of his small

¹⁵ Shahrí, or citizen, is used in Persia as a term of contempt to signify unwarlike, the soldiers of that country being all men of wandering tribes. The latter are generally termed Turks, which signifies a Turkí born soldier. Tájik is always applied to unwarlike peasants and citizens.—(Malcolm).

¹⁶ Lit. "But, on this occasion, the calamities and misfortunes of the moment seemed, as it were, to further add thereto."

¹⁷ Now better known as Isfahának, or little Isfahán. Bin Isfahán signifies "the child of Isfahán," and was its former name.

¹⁸ Lit. "As Isfahán was left entirely depopulated, Mahmúd brought some Kurdish families to Isfahán; as they professed a similar faith to that of the Afgháns, he expected that they would also unite more with them in disposition."

numbers.¹² Aided by his new levies, Mahmūd succeeded in making himself master of some of the principal cities in 'Irāk; among these were Kalpāigān, Khurāsār, and Kāshān, in almost all of which a part of the inhabitants were massacred from the same considerations, that had led to the horrid scenes at Isfahān. Nasrulla, Gabr, who had joined Mahmūd at Kirmān, when he first entered Persia, had been employed to conquer the province of Fārs, and had succeeded in subduing almost every town in that province, except the capital, Shirāz, in an attack on which he was mortally wounded. His death, which happened a few days afterwards, was not more regretted by the Pārsis or Gabrs, than it was by the Afghāns, Persians and Armenians. The Afghāns admired his valour and experience as a soldier; and both the Persians and Armenians lost, by his fall, a generous and humane protector.¹³ Mahmūd mourned his brave general with a sincere grief.

The command of the troops in Fārs was given to Zabardast Khān, Afghān, a soldier of fortune,¹⁴ who had risen by his courage and conduct to the highest rank in the Afghān army. Soon after his arrival before Shirāz, a younger brother of 'Abdulla, the Wālī of Arabia, endeavoured to throw a large convoy of provisions into the city. He was attacked and defeated, but this gallant chief, who was, in every respect, the opposite of his brother, died bravely. The governor of Shirāz, seeing no further prospect of relief, desired to capitulate, but, unfortunately, as the terms were adjusting, the principal posts were abandoned. This the Afghān perceived, and suddenly breaking up the conference, made a general assault; and, before the Persians could recover from their surprise, the city was taken. Shirāz was taken on the 13th April 1724 (A.H. 1137); but the sword did not destroy as many as had perished from famine, and the Afghāns revenged the inhabitants upon some of those, whose avarice had increased their misery. We are told of the fate of one person, in whose house an immense quantity of grain was found. A stake was fixed in the centre of the granary, to which he was bound and left to perish from hunger amidst that abundance, which he had refused to share with his fellow citizens.¹⁵

Zabardast Khān detached a corps to reduce Bandar 'Abdī, which had been attacked the year before by a body of 5,000 men from the neighbouring province of Būkhārā, who had expected to meet with great wealth at this celebrated port. They made themselves masters of the town, but were repulsed with loss from the European factories. The detachment from the Afghān army had no better fortune. The Persian inhabitants fled at its approach, but the Europeans showed so resolute a countenance, that the chief, by whom this corps was commanded, feared to attack them. The expedition ended in his accepting a small supply of provisions; and he returned with a force greatly reduced in numbers by the unhealthiness of the climate.

Mahmūd, encouraged by the reduction of Shirāz, had collected an army of 30,000 men, with which he marched against Kohgūliya, a country situated about three degrees to the southward of Isfahān; but he was harassed¹⁶ by the tribes of Arabs, who inhabit some of the neighbouring districts, and his troops suffered so much¹⁷ from the great difference of climate,

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Mahmūd takes some cities in 'Irāk.

Nasrulla subdues every town in Fārs except Shirāz.

His death much regretted.

The command is given to Zabardast Khān.

Who attacks and defeats a body of Armenians.

Assaults and takes the city of Shirāz A.D. 1724, A.H. 1137.

Detaches a corps to reduce Bandar 'Abdī.

A.D. 1724, A.H. 1137. Mahmūd marches against Kohgūliya.

¹² *Ist.* "Many of these Kurds were enrolled as recruits, as few soldiers had come from Kandahār; it would appear that, even from the first, the Afghāns were not very great soldiers, and continually deserted the standard of Mahmūd and decamped; Mahmūd, perceiving that if this state of affairs were allowed to continue, it would probably take more general effect, gave orders, they were all to bring their families from Kandahār to Persia, and all the Afghāns now in this country date their origin from that period."

¹³ *Ist.* "For he was a brave and experienced soldier, and of a kind disposition." The rites, performed at his funeral, display the barbarous character of those he commanded. His army marched with solemn silence round his body. They then made his slaves and prisoners do the same, and put them all to death at his feet. (Krusinski affirms that this is the usage among the Afghāns. In this, I believe, he is mistaken. That race may, like the Tartars or Persians, put to death a number of their enemies, to revenge the blood of a chief slain in battle, but not as a funeral ceremony.) They also slew the finest of his horses, whose flesh was dressed, and divided among the soldiers, as a funeral feast. Mahmūd erected a monument to his memory; and, although Nasrulla was a Pārsi, and two priests of that religion were employed to keep alive a sacred fire where his body was placed, the Muhammadan Afghāns revered his remains as those of a saint.—(Hamway, Vol. II, page 205).

¹⁴ *Ist.* "Unknown in status."

¹⁵ *Ist.* "Great numbers perished from famine, and, when the city was conquered, the Afghāns slew many in retaliation. It is said that some of the inhabitants, during the times of scarcity, had large stocks of grain, but kept them from the people. When the Afghāns heard of this, they punished with grievous torture all such as they found, who had acted thus. One man was tied to a stake that was fixed in the centre of his granary, and left to perish from hunger amidst all that plenty of grain."

¹⁶ Kazzāki is a Persian word signifying "a military incursion or guerilla warfare," which consists in avoiding close action, and harassing an army by making attacks on their supplies. It is derived from the Arabic word "Kazzāk" meaning "a light-armed soldier, a highway robber, a Cossack." The Marhattas, who are masters in this species of warfare, also call it Kazzāki, and that term, which has become a word in their language, proves the source of their art in predatory war.—(Malcolm).

¹⁷ Margmir means "pestilence, plague." Mīr, in compound words has the sense of "killing, dying."

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Is unsuccessful.

which they experienced, when they descended into the plains near the sea coast, that he was compelled to retreat. We may judge, how sensible he was of the disgrace he had incurred by the failure of this ill-judged expedition, when informed that he entered his Capital at night, and in a private manner.

A long expected party of recruits from Kandahár at length arrived, but their numbers were few. The mother of Mahmúd arrived with this caravan, and the Persians, accustomed to royal state, were astonished to see the mother of their sovereign riding astride on a camel through the streets of Isfahán. A report had been spread among the troops of his native province, that he had become avaricious, that he neglected his bravest soldiers, and that he had not only adopted the manners of the Persians, but was secretly inclined to the heresy of that nation. These sentiments had become very general in his army, and they were increased into mutinous clamour by the failure of an attack that he made upon the city of Yazd, from which he was repulsed with great loss. To add to his embarrassment,²⁵ the two principal Afghán chiefs, Ashraf and Amánulla, were known to be discontented. Mahmúd had been forced by the soldiers to recall the former, (who had, after the insurrection at Kazwín, proceeded to Kandahár) and to declare him his successor. The latter had also left him to return to his native country, and, though a reconciliation had taken place, it was not sincere.²⁶

Mahmúd is forced to declare Ashraf his successor.

His cousin Ashraf, the son of Mír 'Abdulla, whom Mahmúd had slain, had always been an object of jealousy to that ruler, but his life was defended by the attachment of the Afgháns, and the new monarch of Persia feared to provoke the resentment of his own tribe. He thought at one period, that he had found an opportunity of accomplishing the object of ruining Ashraf without risk to himself. The post, which that youth defended, was forced by Tahmásh Mírzá, when that prince effected his escape from Isfahán. On this occurrence he assembled all the Afghán chiefs, and endeavoured to rouse their indignation by accusing him of cowardice and bad conduct. Ashraf repelled the charge with that freedom, which the usages of his nation permitted, and showed that his post had been so weakened, that it was impossible he could resist the superior numbers by whom he was attacked. It was established by undeniable evidence that he had done all that valour could to prevent the prince's escape, and that those only were to blame who had deprived him of the means of success, by detaching the men under his command to other quarters. He was acquitted by the unanimous voice of the assembled chiefs; and Mahmúd had the mortification to find his ill-judged attack had increased the reputation and popularity of him whom he desired to ruin.²⁷ Amánulla's professed cause of discontent was personal disappointment. It is generally believed that Mahmúd had promised to share all his conquests with this chief. So situated, it became every day more evident that he had as much to dread from his own tribe, as from his enemies.

Hemistich.

When my friend is my enemy, to whom can I carry my complaint?

Mahmúd has recourse to Tapássá A.D. 1725, A.H. 1137.

Its usage described.

The mind of Mahmúd proved unequal to the great difficulties with which he was at this time assailed, and after his return from the unsuccessful expedition to Yazd, he had recourse to an expedient for the recovery of his affairs, which displayed the weakest superstition, if it was not, as many believed it to be, the effect of mental derangement. The usage of Tapássá, or abstraction of the soul from the contemplation of all sublunary objects till it becomes absorbed in the Divinity, has spread from India over all the

²⁵ When Mahmúd first ascended the throne of the degraded Füssain, he was thrown into consternation by the desertion of his cousin Ashraf. The youth was the son of Mír 'Abdulla, whom Mahmúd had slain, and had always been an object of jealousy to that ruler. Amánulla's cause of discontent was disappointment at Mahmúd not fulfilling his promise to share all his conquests with this ambitious and able chief, to whose valour and judgment he had been greatly indebted for his success.—(Malcolm).

²⁶ Lit. "And when he was unsuccessful in his attack upon Yazd, and a great number of his army were killed in that conflict, the hearts of the Afgháns were so turned against Mahmúd, that they broke into open rebellion, and at length compelled Mahmúd to send for Ashraf, (who was known to be discontented, and had, as has been before stated, after the insurrection at Kazwín, proceeded to Kandahár), and to declare him his successor. He was also forced to make an insincere peace with Amánulla, who had left him to return to Kandahár."

²⁷ Lit. 'Ashraf defended his case boldly, and brought forward such conclusive evidence and testimony, which no one could refute, that, at the time of the flight of Tahmásh Mírzá, he had shown the greatest valour and bravery, but that the force with him was insufficient to oppose that of Tahmásh, and that, although this was apparent to all, no help had been sent to him. All assembled acquitted him, and when Mahmúd saw that this attack had only increased the popularity of Ashraf, he was deeply mortified."

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nations of Asia;²³ and the Persian Sūfi, the Muhammadan Fakir, and Hindū Jogī, vie with each other in efforts to subdue nature by rigid austerities. It is the habit of these ascetics to remain for days almost without food,²⁴ a small portion of dry bread and water is sometimes allowed to the person performing Tapāssā) with their minds fixed upon one object, pronouncing the mysterious name of God, till they become inspired, or rather till they mistake the wanderings of imagination, which are the consequence of their corporeal sufferings, for heavenly inspirations. This superstition is common with the Afghāns, and their distracted sovereign had now recourse to it in the hope, that he might obtain Divine aid to extricate him from the dangers, with which he saw himself surrounded. He chose a dark subterraneous vault for this extraordinary penance, and, during 14 or 15 days that he remained there, he took hardly any sustenance. When he came again into the light, his countenance was shrunk and pale, his body emaciated, and the wild stare of his eyes gave reason to conclude, that his mind, if before sane, had not been able to stand the severe trial to which it had been exposed. He appears to have been reduced to the lowest state of nervous weakness, and became so restless and suspicious, that he started at the approach of his best friends, evidently thinking every man, who came near him, meant to take his life.²⁵ While in this miserable and wretched state, intelligence was brought to him that Sāfi Mirzā, the eldest son of Shāh Hussain, had escaped from Isfahān, and before this report was discovered to be false, he had issued a fatal mandate for the destruction of all the males of the royal family of Persia, except Shāh Hussain. These victims were assembled in one of the courts of the palace, and the tyrant, attended by two or three favorites, commenced with his own sabre the horrid massacre. A Persian author, Shaikh Muhammad 'Alī Hazin, informs us that 39 princes of the blood were murdered upon this dreadful occasion. Their numbers are said, by European writers, to have been much greater; and one of these relates, that among them were two of the youngest sons of Hussain, who fled to their father for protection. He sheltered them in his arms, but Mahmūd advanced with fury, demanded their blood, and struck at one of them with his dagger. The arm of Hussain received the wound, and the Afghān prince, savage as he was, could not but shrink with horror at seeing the blood of the unfortunate monarch. This occurrence, it is said, checked his rage, and he spared the children.

State of Mahmūd after the Tapāssā.

Massacre of all the males of the Royal family, A.D. 1125, A.H. 1137.

The effect, which this last act of Mahmūd had upon his own mind, was shocking. His reason was completely unsettled, and he became outrageously mad. Shaikh Muhammad 'Alī Hazin states that he went mad, and not only tore off his own flesh, but ate it. The Afghān and Persian physicians tried in vain to restore him; resort was even had to the Armenian clergy, and their prayers were offered upon the head of the royal maniac; but the malady increased, and, as the Afghāns were threatened by an attack of the Persian prince, Tahmūsh, they elected Ashraf to be their ruler before Mahmūd expired. It is asserted, that the miserable existence of that prince was shortened by a few hours, that his successor might enjoy the satisfaction of having slain the murderer of his father. Krusinski states, that Ashraf would not allow himself to be placed on the throne, till the head of Mahmūd was brought to him,²⁶ but other and more probable accounts say, that Mahmūd died in a state of the most dreadful insanity; and we are informed by Shaikh Muhammad 'Alī Hazin, that his mother, when she saw that his situation was hopeless, directed that he should be smothered, that his sufferings might cease. He had hardly

Mahmūd becomes insane.

Death of Mahmūd. (9)

²³ Lit. "After his return from the expedition to Yazd, the mind of Mahmūd, on finding affairs in this state, proved unequal to the difficulties of his situation, and, in the hope of receiving help from the Invisible, he had recourse to penance, trusting that, by not eating food, he might become the master of heaven and earth (or more literally, the air and the standard). Some people have attributed his conduct in this matter to madness, and certainly if it was not such, it displayed the greatest superstition. This fancy on his part was derived from one of the beliefs of the Hindūs, that when the soul is freed from worldly hindrances, it goes to the region of spirits. This they call Tapāssā. The belief has spread from India over all the countries of Asia." Tapāsiya is the Sanskrit word for penance.

²⁴ Lit. "Which could support their bodily power (or still more literally, "which could compensate for the digestion already taken place in the body")."

²⁵ Lit. "It was clearly evident, that the severe calamity had altered his disposition; after this he became so restless and suspicious, that he mistrusted every one and started at the slightest thing, and even if one of his friends approached him, he imagined his intent was to take his life."

²⁶ Lit. "It is asserted by an European writer, that Ashraf, before he would ascend the throne, gave orders to bring the head of Mahmūd before him, and till this was done, he would not mount the throne. This was done to revenge the blood of his father."

Ashraf mounted the throne of Persia on the 22nd April 1725.

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attained his 27th year, and had only enjoyed the throne of Persia for the short period of three years.²²

Ashraf succeeds
Mahmūd.

Mahmūd was succeeded by his cousin Ashraf, the son of Mīr 'Abdulla, and nephew of Mīr Wais.²³ But, before we relate the events of this prince's reign, it will be useful to take a view of the condition of Persia, and of the designs against that kingdom which were cherished, at this period, by the courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg.

Tahmāsh assumes
the name and state
of a king.

Tahmāsh, the son of Sultān Hussain, had, from the days of his father's imprisonment, assumed the name and state of a king, but his efforts to regain the crown of his ancestors were weak and inefficient. He succeeded in exciting the ruler of Kākit, (a province which lies about half a degree to the north-east of Tiflis, the capital of Georgia) to attack the disobedient Wālī of Georgia, who was defeated, and fled first to Turkey, and then to Russia; but the success of this enterprise had only aided the Turkish Government in their designs upon that province, which they seized, while Gilān and the town of Bākū,²⁴ left equally defenceless, fell into the hands of the Russians. The Persian prince had endeavoured at different periods to negotiate with both the Turkish and Russian courts, but to no purpose. His ambassador to Constantinople had been stopped at Kārs;²⁵ according to an historian of Turkey, he afterwards made his way to Constantinople, but that court refused to receive him as an envoy; and when he made his proposals like a petitioner, they were rejected; but Isma'il Beg, the envoy, whom he sent to Petersburg, had reached that capital, and was with the Czar, when Bākū surrendered. This minister succeeded in concluding a treaty, by which it was stipulated that the Emperor of Russia should expel the Afghāns, and establish Tahmāsh upon the throne of Persia, in return for which service the Persian Prince agreed to cede, in perpetuity to the Russian monarch, the towns of Dirband and Bākū, with the provinces of Dāghistān, Shīrwān, Gilān, Māzindarān and Astarābād. There were some subordinate articles of this treaty, relative to the supply of the Russian army, while acting in Persia, and the future extension of the commerce between the two nations.

Concludes a
treaty with Rus-
sia.

The Turks con-
quer several pro-
vinces.

While these negotiations were carrying on at Petersburg, the Turks were actively employed in extending their conquests. All Kurdistān had

²² The following remarks on the character and government of Mahmūd are given by Malcolm:—

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acknowledged their authority, and the fall of Irwán,⁵⁶ Khúí, Nakhjawán and Marágha,⁵⁷ made them masters of the whole of Armenia, and great part of Āzarbāiján. The city of Khúí is 22 farsangs from Tabriz. It is the capital of a rich and extensive district, and the emporium of a considerable trade, carried on between Turkey and Persia. It contains, according to an European writer (Captain Sutherland), a population of 15,000 souls, and is situated on a plain, famous for a battle fought in 1514, between Shah Isma'íl and Salim the 1st. There is no town in Persia better built, and more beautiful, than Khúí; the walls are in good repair, the streets are regular, shaded with avenues of trees, and the ceilings of many of the houses are painted with infinite taste. After the above conquests, the Turkish army proceeded with the greatest expedition to Tabriz. The brave inhabitants of Tabriz, who are of the same class as those of Kazwín, though part of their city was in ruins from an earthquake,⁵⁸ and they had no artillery, disdained to submit to the foe; and the Páshá of Wán,⁵⁹ who commanded an army of 24,000 Turks, was astonished to find himself opposed by the inhabitants of a city, which had neither walls nor cannon to defend it. He ordered a general storm, and his army obtained possession of one quarter of the town; but the inhabitants, no wise intimidated by his success, barricaded all the other streets, and not only succeeded in separating the body of Turks, who had entered the town, from the main body, but cut the whole of the former, who were 4,000 in number, to pieces. The Turkish leader, irritated at this loss, made several attacks, but with no better success than the first; and he was at last compelled to make a precipitate retreat, leaving many stragglers, and his sick and wounded, to the fury of an enraged people, by whom they were all massacred. The moment the Turks heard of this act of cruelty, they retaliated upon the inhabitants of the defenceless villages in Āzarbāiján. The citizens of Tabriz hastened to the relief of their countrymen, and the Páshá, confident of victory in the field, met them with 8,000 men; he was, however, completely defeated, and, after losing nearly the whole of his detachment, fled to Khúí.⁶⁰

They are opposed by the inhabitants of Tabriz.

And compelled to retreat.

The Turks are again defeated with great loss.

The Court of Constantinople, when they learnt these occurrences, sent an army of 50,000 men against Tabriz; the brave inhabitants of which, the moment they heard of its approach, removed a great number of their women and children into the mountains of Gilán, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Their imprudent ardour led them to meet their numerous enemies in the field; but though they had courage, they had no order. The superior discipline of their enemies prevailed, after a long and bloody battle, over their valour, and they fled in confusion into their city. The Turks pursued, and anticipated a complete victory; but they found every street defended;

The Persians are defeated after an obstinate battle.

⁵⁶ This city is situated on the banks of the river Zangúí, and is defended by a fortress of an elliptical form, upwards of 6,000 yards in circumference. The north-west side of the town is built on a precipice, impending over the river, one hundred toises in height; but is commanded by the fort, which is surrounded by two strong walls, flanked with towers.—(Kinnier's *Memoirs of Persia*).

⁵⁷ Marágha in Āzarbāiján is a beautiful town, which is situated on a fine plain, that is watered by a small but pure stream, which, rising in the high mountains of Ssáland, flows past the walls, and empties itself into the neighbouring lake of Ūrmíyá. Marágha is still in a very flourishing condition; it is the next city in consequence to Tabriz, the capital of the province of Āzarbāiján. The summit of a low mountain, situated close to Marágha, was levelled by order of the monarch Halákú, and an observatory was built upon it, the foundation of which still remains; but it was never finished, as, before it had been entirely completed, the sun of Halákú's power had set for ever. It is shown to travellers as the spot where Nasaruddín formed those astronomical tables, which have become so celebrated under the name of the tables of Hí Kháuí, which means the lord or chief of the tribe, and was the modest title assumed by Halákú, in honour of whom these tables were named. Price, in his *Muhammadian history*, gives the following particulars regarding this observatory. "As far as we are able to judge from the original, it is described to have been furnished with some species of apparatus, (perhaps an Orrery) to represent the celestial sphere, with the signs of the zodiac, the conjunctions, transits, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies. Through a perforation in the dome, the rays of the sun were admitted, so as to strike upon certain lines in the pavement, to indicate, in degrees and minutes, the altitude and declination of the sun during every season, and marking the time and hour of the day throughout the year. It was further supplied with a map of the terrestrial globe, in all its climates, or zones, exhibiting the several regions of the habitable world, as well as a general outline of the ocean, with the numerous islands contained in its bosom."

⁵⁸ The city of Tabriz was completely destroyed by an earthquake (A.D. 1721), by which a great proportion (according to Kruzinski, 80,000) of its inhabitants lost their lives. Tabriz is the ancient Tauris, the capital of Media; hardly any remains of its former greatness are to be discovered; but nature has combined with man against this city, which has oftener been reduced to ruins by earthquakes, than by wars.—(Malcolm).

⁵⁹ The city of Wán was taken by Ta'imúr, A.D. 1386, at the period he made war upon the Turkamáns, who had settled in Asia Minor; and their being addicted to the vile practices of robbery and murder was his pretext for his attack on this savage nation, whose chief Kará Muhammad was obliged to save himself by flight, while the city of Wán, his capital, was taken and pillaged.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁰ *Lit.* "When the news of this event reached the rest of the Turks, they stretched forth the hand of violence and revenge on the inhabitants of the villages and towns, and spared neither old men or youths, nor male or female. When the brave men of Tabriz heard of this, they girt up their loins for the rescue of their brethren. The Páshá, feeling confident of victory in the open, set forth with 8,000 men to oppose them, but was signally defeated, and, lowering his standard, fled to Khúí."

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3rd August A.D.
1725, A.H. 1137.

They resign
Tabriz, and proceed
with their
families to Arda-
bil.

and it was not till after an action almost incessantly continued for four days and nights, that the besieged would consent to capitulate. When, however, they saw that further resistance was vain, and that there was no hope of relief, they agreed to surrender, on condition of being permitted to retire to Ardabil.¹¹ The terms required were readily granted; and "these brave men," to use the words of Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali Hazin, "taking those of their families who remained, in one hand, and their swords in the other, retreated, with a sullen pride, through the ranks of an admiring enemy. Persian history affords no instance of superior valour to that displayed by the citizens of Tabriz on this memorable occasion." (Turkish historians state that there were 20,000 men marched out, the Persians say only 5,000). Nearly 30,000 men had fallen in the siege, and they left to their conquerors a city without one inhabitant, which had been gained by the loss of more than 20,000 of the bravest soldiers in the Turkish army, and some of their most distinguished leaders.

The Turks make
further conquests
A.D. 1725, A.H.
1137.

(II)

The city of Ganja,¹² which had before successfully resisted the Turks, was taken this year, and a force, which Ahmad, the Páshá of Baghdád, commanded, and which had succeeded in subduing the country of Kirmán Sháh, was advanced within a few marches of Isfahán, when it was compelled to retire, to defend the territories of Baghdád, which were suddenly invaded by the Wáli of Láristán. The small province of Láristán extends along the northern shore of the gulf, from the 55th degree of E. Long. to the 58th. It has Fárs to the north-west, and Kirmán to the north-east. This is the poorest and least productive province in Persia. It is diversified with plains and mountains, which extend to the sea. The country is so arid, and so destitute of wholesome water, that, were it not for the periodical rains, which fill the cisterns of the natives and enable them to cultivate the date tree, together with a small quantity of wheat and barley, it would be quite uninhabitable—(Kinnier's Memoir).

A.D. 1725, A.H.
1138.

A partition
treaty concluded
between the
Courts of Constantinople and Russia.

Stipulations of
the treaty.

These events took place in the latter years of the reign of Mahmúd: but so little consideration appears to have been given, either to the power of that prince, or to the pretensions of Sháh Tahmásh, that a partition treaty of some of the finest provinces of Persia was actually concluded between the Emperors of Russia and Constantinople. This engagement, we are told, was brought about through the mediation of the French ambassador at the Porte.¹³ The occurrence of some extraordinary events prevented its being ever carried into execution; but its stipulations, nevertheless, merit the most serious consideration, as they show the nature of the ambitious projects of both these States at this period. The boundaries of the Russian provinces in Persia were fixed by a line, which gave that State all the provinces on the Caspian, from the country of the Turkamáns to the conflux of the rivers Kar and Araxes. The possessions of Turkey were bounded by a line, which commenced at the latter point, and stretching to within 3 miles of Ardabil, went by Tabriz to Hamadán, and from thence to Kirmán Sháh; all of which towns, and the whole of the provinces between the line and the Turkish frontier, were to be alienated from Persia, and taken possession of by the Emperor of Constantinople. These provinces were mutually guaranteed to each other by the contracting parties, and it was stipulated, that, if Tahmásh agreed to the terms, he should receive such aid as would enable him to establish his power over the other provinces of Persia, and, if he refused his assent, they determined to seize the countries specified, and to provide for the future tranquillity of Persia by elevating the person they might deem most deserving of it to the throne of that kingdom: but it was agreed that they should, on no occasion, listen to any overtures from Mahmúd, as they appear to have deemed the establishment of the Afgháns in Persia as irreconcilable with the projects they had formed.

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A.D. 1726, A.H.
1138.

Ashraf defeats
the Turks.

Creates dissen-
sions among his
enemies.

(13)

Sends a deputa-
tion to the Turk-
ish camp.

The first year of Ashraf's reign was occupied in strengthening his internal government, and in building a small square fort with lofty walls, defended by bastions, in the centre of the city of Isfahán, as a place of security for his own family, and those of his Afghán followers. This citadel remains, and is, to this day, called the fort of Ashraf. When he learnt that a numerous Turkish army was on its march towards his capital, he laid waste the country on the route upon which they were moving, and advanced with all the force he could assemble, to endeavour to impede their progress. A corps of 2,000 Turks had been misled by an ignorant guide to a distance from the main army. Ashraf, by a rapid march, came up with this body and cut it to pieces, before it could receive support. This action took place about 60 miles from Isfahán. The success gave confidence to his troops, and greatly discouraged his enemies, whose general immediately halted, and surrounded his camp with entrenchments.⁴⁸ The Afghán prince made every effort to persuade the Turkish soldiery that the war, in which they were engaged, was unlawful. His private emissaries were, at this period, most actively employed in disseminating these opinions, and in corrupting the integrity of the Kurdish chiefs, who had joined the Ottomans; and, to give more effect to these intrigues, he sent a deputation of four priests, who were alike venerable for their age and character, to the Páshá's camp. When these holy men were introduced to the general, one of them exclaimed with a loud voice: "Our sovereign, Ashraf, bade me ask you, why you war upon Muhammadans, who have obeyed the Divine precepts of the law, in subverting the power of heretic Shí'as⁴⁹? Why do you, league with a Christian prince, to deprive a follower of our holy prophet, of a kingdom, to which he has, by all laws, human and divine, such just rights? If you continue, by such injustice to compel your brethren to defend themselves, on your head be all the blood that is shed." Ahmad Páshá, who saw that this speech had made a great impression, immediately answered: "I came here by command of my sovereign, who is not only a temporal monarch, but the true successor of the Caliphs, and consequently the spiritual head of all orthodox Muhammadans. Ashraf must acknowledge him as such, or he will feel the force of his arms." Before the conference had terminated, the sound for

⁴⁸ *Lit.* "By digging trenches, and making small batteries."

⁴⁹ The word "*rawáfiz*," here used for the followers of the sect of 'Alí, really means "heretics, or soldiers who desert their chief." "The Shí'as are pretty fully described hereafter, but a very full account of them will be found in Salo's *Kurán*, Preliminary Discourse, Section VIII. Hughes, in his "Notes on Muhammadanism," gives the following short account of them:—

"The Shí'as (*lit.* 'a multitude following one another in the pursuit of the same object') are the followers of 'Alí, the husband of Fátima, the daughter of Muhammad. They maintain that 'Alí was the first legitimate Khalífa, or successor to Muhammad, and therefore reject Abú Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmán, the three first Caliphs, as usurpers. According to the Shí'as, the Muslim religion consists of a knowledge of the true Imám, or leader, and the differences amongst themselves with reference to this question have given rise to endless divisions. Of the proverbial 73 sects of Islám, not fewer than 32 are assigned to the Shí'as. The 12 Imáms, according to the Shí'as are as follows—1 'Alí, 2 Hasan, 3 Hassain, 4 Zain-ul-'Abidin, 5 Muhammad Bakir, 6 Ja'far Sádik, 7 Músá Kádzim, 8 'Alí Músá Razí, 9 Muhammad Ta'í, 10 Muhammad Naki, 11 Hasan 'Askari, 12 Abul Kásim. The last Imám, Abul Kásim, is supposed, by the Shí'as, to be still alive, and concealed in some secret place; and that he is the same Mahdí, or director, concerning whom Muhammad prophesied that the world should not have an end, until one of his own descendants should govern the Arabians, and whose coming in the last days is expected by all Muslims. During the absence of the Imám, the Shí'as appeal to the Mujtahids, or enlightened doctors of the law, for direction in all matters, both temporal and spiritual.

"It is not true that the Shí'a Muhammadans reject the traditions of Muhammad, although the Sunnis arrogate to themselves the title of traditionists. They do not acknowledge the *Siháb-i-Sitta*, or six correct books of the Sunnis and Wahábis, but receive the five collections of traditions, entitled 1 Káfi, 2 Man lá Yastahzírát ul Fakih, 3 Tahzib, 4 Istihár, 5 Nahjul balághat. The Shí'a school of law is called the Imámiya, and it is earlier than that of the Sunnis. The differences between the Shí'as and Sunnis are very numerous, but the following are a few of the principal:—

"(1) The discussion as to the office of Imám.

"(2) The Shí'as have a profound veneration for 'Alí, and some of these sects regard him as an incarnation of Divinity. They all assert that, next to the prophet, 'Alí is the most excellent of men.

"(3) They observe the ceremonies of the Muharram in commemoration of 'Alí, Hasan, Hassain, and Fátima, whilst the Sunnis only regard the 10th day of Muharram, being the day, on which God is said to have created Adam and Eve.

"(4) The Shí'as permit muta'h, or temporary marriages, which are contracted for a limited period for a certain sum of money; the Sunnis say that Muhammad afterward cancelled this institution.

"(5) The Shí'as include the Majúsi, or fireworshippers, among the Ahl-i Kitáb, or people of the Book, whilst Sunnis only acknowledge Jews, Christians and Muslims as such.

"(6) There are also various minor differences in the ceremony of Salát or prayer, and in the ablutions previous to prayer.

"(7) The Shí'as admit a principle of religious compromise, which is called *Taliyyah* (*lit.* guarding one's self) a pious fraud, whereby the Shí'a Muhammadan believes, he is justified in either smoothing down, or denying, the peculiarities of his religious belief, in order to save himself from religious persecution. A Shí'a can, therefore, pass himself off as a Sunni, or even cure the 12 Imáms, in order to avoid persecution. The Shí'as deem themselves, from maintaining the rights of 'Alí, the peculiar adherents of the family of Muhammad, and preach the Sunnis as its enemies."

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formed a separate and independent principality under the chief of the Abdālī Afghāns.

The Sáfavian prince, Tahmásh, was in Mázinarán, supported by the Kájars of Astarábad. The plague, which had been raging for some time in that province, had swept away a number of those attached to his fortunes ; but his prospects had again improved, and he had fixed his small court at Farahábád, where he was joined by Nádir Kulí, a chief who had raised himself by his bold action into the highest repute for valour and enterprise : and though Tahmásh had been justly incensed at Nádir, who had slain his own uncle, the chief of Kilát, the young hero had effaced all memory of that crime by the recent defeat of a body of Afghāns, and the recovery, from that race, of the important city and district of Nishápúr. The accession of strength, which the junction of Nádir gave Tahmásh, enabled that prince to act upon the offensive. Nádir brought 5,000 men, and Fath 'Alí Khán, Kájár, had 2,000. The high reputation of the chiefs, by whom this force was commanded, soon increased its numbers.

The first enterprise of the royal army was against Mashad, then under the rule of the chief of the Afghán tribe of Abdālī. When on the march to Khurásán, Nádir Kulí, impatient of a rival, put to death Fath 'Alí Khán on the pretext of that chief's corresponding with the enemy. Tahmásh, who seems to have approved of this act, immediately invested Nádir with the sole command. Both Mashad and Hirát were reduced ; and in this season, the whole of Khurásán was compelled to recognise Tahmásh, as the legitimate sovereign of Persia.⁵⁴ Honours were heaped upon the man who had effected this great revolution in the fortunes of his prince ; and Nádir, who had been before made captain of the guards, now received the name of Tahmásh Kulí Khán, which signifies the " slave of Tahmásh."⁵⁵

Ashraf, who had succeeded in taking Yazd, and whose ambassador had just been received at Constantinople with the highest honours, had hardly begun to enjoy his good fortune,⁵⁶ when he was awakened by the reports of the great successes, that had attended the arms of Sháh Tahmásh in Khurásán. Though the name of that monarch had long excited the contempt of his enemies, this great change in his fortune could not be regarded with indifference ; and the preparations of the Afghán prince showed that he had a just sense of the nature of that danger by which he was threatened. He assembled all the force he could collect ; and his army is said to have amounted to 30,000 men, of which more than one half were Afghāns. Small garrisons were left in the principal cities of the empire, and a number of the male inhabitants of these were ordered to retire upon pain of death. This want of confidence not only weakened the power of Ashraf, but strengthened the ranks of his enemy with men, full of resentment, who were ardent to return as conquerors.⁵⁷

The experience of Nádir prevented the prince he served from marching to Isfahán. He expected that Ashraf would advance into Khurásán ; nor was he mistaken. The Afghán prince hastened to attack a foe, who, he knew, was adding daily to his numbers. The armies met near the town of Dámaghán ; the Afghāns could not be restrained from an instant attack, but the troops of Nádir received the shock in so firm a manner, that they were compelled to fall back. Ashraf immediately directed two divisions of his army to make a circuit to the right and left, and attack the Persians in the flank and rear, while he made another charge with the main body on their front. But the experienced eye of Nádir Kulí saw and defeated all these attacks ; and, when the Afghāns were driven back in every direction, he ordered a general charge, which was completely successful. This victory was obtained with a very trifling loss on the part of the Persians ; but the Afghāns suffered severely, and the whole of their camp and baggage fell into the hands of their enemies. Their flight must have

⁵⁴ Lit. " Placed their heads in the rope of obedience to Tahmásh."

⁵⁵ Lit. " Since the conquest of these cities was due to the prowess of Nádir, Tahmásh, on his part, bestowed boundless honours and innumerable favours on him ; one of which was that he gave him the title of Tahmásh Kulí Khán ; and since Kulí, in Turkish, means a slave, Tahmásh Kulí, rendered in Turkish, means the slave of Tahmásh, and, through constant use, the word Kulí became changed, as is often the case with all names, to Kuli."

⁵⁶ Lit. " During this interval, Ashraf had taken Yazd, and had sent an envoy to Istambúl, and the Turkish Government had received his agent with honour and respect. Ashraf, regarding the above circumstances as an omen of good fortune, placed reliance on the feeding-with-false-hopes of time ; but he had scarcely sipped the wine from the cup of prosperity."

N.B.—The meaning (feeding with false hopes) I have here given to gharúr will be found in Richardson.

⁵⁷ Lit. " Who were united in wishing his extirpation and destruction."

Tahmásh fixes his court at Farahábád, and is joined by Nádir Kulí and Fath 'Alí Khán.

A.D. 1727, A.H. 1139.

Nádir Kulí puts Fath 'Alí Khán to death.

Mashad and Hirát reduced.

Ashraf assembles all his forces.

(15)

A.D. 1729, A.H. 1141.

Attacks the Persians.

The Afghāns are defeated. 2nd October 1729.

been extremely precipitate, as a great proportion of their army arrived at Tihráu on the second day after the action, a distance of nearly 200 miles from the field of battle. From that city, they proceeded by hasty marches to Isfahán; and Ashraf, the moment he arrived at the capital, ordered all his tribe to repair, with their families and effects, into the new fort which he had built for their protection. After leaving a garrison to defend this important post, he marched out, with as large a force as he could bring together, to a strong position, some distance to the northward of Isfahán, where he fortified his encampment with an evident resolution, to put every thing to hazard upon the fate of one battle.⁵⁸

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Tahmásh, after the victory he had gained at Dámaghán, anxiously desired to proceed to Isfahán; but his ambitious general was alarmed, lest the sight of a victorious prince, entering that capital as a conqueror, should frustrate his future schemes of aggrandisement. He, therefore, persuaded the young monarch that it was more advisable he should remain at Dámaghán, attended by five or six thousand men, and allow him to advance against Ashraf. As all his arguments appeared to proceed from solicitude for the royal person, and Tahmásh had no suspicion of his secret designs, he succeeded in his object; and marched, unaccompanied by the court, to encounter the enemies of his country.⁵⁹ At every stage of his advance, his army received reinforcements. He found Ashraf strongly entrenched, but he determined to make an instant attack on his lines. These were defended with valour, but nothing could resist the numbers and fury of the assailants. The Afgháns left 4,000 of their bravest men on the field of battle. They fled into the city of Isfahán, which they did not reach till after sunset. It was, at first, proclaimed that they had obtained a victory; but the loud wailings from the citadel, raised by their women, soon told the real result of the battle. The night was passed in preparations for flight from a capital, which it was impossible to defend. Their old men, women and children, were mounted upon mules and camels; and, after they had packed up all the treasure and spoil they could carry, they departed before break of day, towards Shíráz by a route, distant from that on which the Persian army was expected to advance. A massacre of the inhabitants by the Afgháns was expected. If, however, they ever cherished this intention, which is doubtful, there was no time to put it in execution; but the remorseless Ashraf, before he fled, stained his hands with the blood of the unfortunate Sháh Hussain.⁶⁰

Tahmásh is anxious to proceed to Isfahán.

Is persuaded to desert from his intention.

Nádir Kullí marches to encounter the Afgháns.

13th November A.D. 1729, A.H. 1141. Over whom he obtains a victory.

(16)

The Afgháns retreat towards Shíráz. A.D. 1729, A.H. 1141.

Sháh Hussain is murdered.

The Persians enter Isfahán.

The leader of the Persian troops was either too prudent, or too politic, to pursue his enemies into the city of Isfahán. When he heard of their flight, he sent a detachment to guard the royal palace, and quiet the minds of the inhabitants; and three days after the action he entered the capital. The first measure he adopted was to make a diligent search for the Afgháns; all who were found, were publicly executed, except such, as the inhabitants requested might be saved on account of the moderation and humanity with which they had acted, when they enjoyed power. The remains of Sultán Mahmúd were abandoned by Nádir to the fury of the populace, and a noble edifice, which had been raised over the body of the Afghán prince, was, in an instant, levelled with the ground, and the place, where he had been interred, was converted into a common sewer.⁶¹

Sháh Tahmásh, the moment he heard of the success of his troops, left Tihráu, to which he had advanced, and arrived in Isfahán soon after it was evacuated by the Afgháns. Though received with acclamation and joy, almost every object he viewed was calculated to inspire grief. He knew that Ashraf, when he slew his father, had carried off all the females of the royal family; and his astonishment may be conceived, when he entered the interior apartments, to find himself clasped to the bosom of an old

Sháh Tahmásh arrives at Isfahán.

⁵⁸ Lit. "And having placed his own goods and treasures also in the fort, he told off a garrison for its defence; and then, collecting as many troops as he could, he marched out of Isfahán, and having fixed on a site, near the village of Morchakheár, to the north of the city, for his camp, gave orders for his troops to come there; he then set about strengthening the flanks of his camp."

N.B.—The village of Morchakheár is situated at a distance of a little more than 30 miles to the north of Isfahán.

⁵⁹ Lit. "He dissuaded him from doing so, saying 'as Ashraf has not quite been exterminated, we must take care lest any injury happen to the King's person; it is therefore best that your Majesty should remain a while at Dámaghán with 5 or 6 thousand men, while I go and destroy Ashraf, and clear the road of the thorns and brambles of the enemy. Then the king can do as he wills!' As Tahmásh entertained no suspicions regarding Nádir, he followed his advice, and Nádir set out towards the goal of his desire."

⁶⁰ Lit. "Before leaving the city, he sent Sultán Sháh Hussain to the city of non-existence."

⁶¹ Lit. "Nádir gave orders to destroy the mausoleum, which had been erected over the grave of Mahmúd, and converted the place where he had been interred into a common sewer."

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woman. He was soon satisfied she was his mother. She had disguised herself as a slave, when Mahmúd took the capital; and had not only worn the dress, but performed the lowest menial duties of the rank she assumed, for a period of 7 years.

Nádir Kuli is sent in pursuit of the enemy.

Obtains a power to raise money.

Attacks and defeats the Afgháns 15th July, A.D. 1730, A.H. 1142.

Ashraf makes his escape, and the whole of his tribe disperse.

(17)

Tahmásh urged his general to pursue the Afgháns, as every day brought accounts of the dreadful excesses which they committed; but Nádir Kuli, who had already been appointed commander of the army, and governor of the province of Khurásán, required the power of levying money on the country, as essential to enable him to bring the war to a speedy and a successful issue.⁶² Tahmásh was sensible that to comply with the demand was little less, than to cede the sovereignty of the empire; but the soldiers would act under no other chief, and the principal nobles even recommended the measure. The monarch gave way, and Nádir marched the moment his desire was granted. It was the depth of winter, and his troops suffered extremely from the great severity of the season and the want of supplies, for Ashraf had laid the whole country waste; but these were the only obstacles he had to encounter, for the dispirited Afgháns, who had assembled near Persepolis to give him battle, fled the moment they were attacked, and entered Shiráz in the greatest confusion. Their prince, when at that city, desired to negotiate for a safe retreat to his own country. He offered to restore all the ladies of the royal family of Persia, and to return the treasure and effects of the crown, provided his army was permitted to retire with their families, arms and baggage. To this overture, Nádir replied that the Afgháns would all be put to the sword, unless they immediately gave up their ruler. While this negotiation was carrying on, and the Afghán chiefs had actually agreed to purchase their safety by a disgraceful compliance, Ashraf fled with 200 followers. His escape was the signal for the general dispersion of his army. The precipitation and confusion of the flight of the Afgháns, and their ultimate destruction are described in glowing colours by Shaikh Muhammad 'Alí Hazín, who witnessed the scenes he has so well portrayed. They amounted, when at Shiráz, to more than 20,000 men. These, divided under different leaders, took distinct routes. They were closely pursued by the Persians, who traced them by the dead horses and camels they left on the road, and by the slaughtered bodies of old men, women and children; who, when unable to keep up, had been put to death by their own relations and friends to prevent their falling into the hands of an enraged enemy. Ashraf had sent his brother to the sea coast, charged with considerable treasure, to bribe the Governor of Bassara to give him his aid; but the inhabitants of that part of the province of Lár, through which this party had to march, attacked and slew the chief and all his followers, and obtained an immense booty. Excited by the success of these peasants, a few Persian captives rose upon the Afghán garrison of Lár, and put them to the sword.

Ashraf is slain.

The loss of the city and province of Lár, and the rise of all the inhabitants of Kirmán, banished every hope of maintaining himself in Persia from the breast of Ashraf; who, taking a few followers, endeavoured to reach his native plains by the route of Sistán; but the lawless tribes of Bilúchistán, who had favoured his advance in the hope of plunder, had now the same motive to cut off his retreat. He was attacked by these tribes in every direction, and, after escaping numberless dangers, was at last discovered, when wandering in the desert, by the son of 'Abdulla Khán, a Bilúchí, who instantly slew him, and sent his head and a very large diamond, which was found on his person, to Sháh Tahmásh. Ashraf had only two attendants when he was slain. His own countrymen deemed him wise and moderate and brave, and the Persians even term him the best of their savage oppressors. Few of the Afgháns escaped death, and hardly any returned to their native country. They either perished from want and fatigue upon the desert, or were taken and sold as slaves. One large division proceeded to the sea-coast, where some embarked in small vessels, and went to Lajsa, a town on the Arabian coast, nearly opposite the island of Bahrain, where they were all slain the moment they landed, by the cruel caution of the governor of that part, whose name was Shaikh Bani Khálid. Those who reached the shores of Makrán and Sind shared no better fate; and the respectable author, Shaikh Muhammad 'Alí Hazín, informs us that, when he went to India several years after this event, he saw a nephew of Ashraf, and an Afghán officer of rank, called Khudádád Khán, who had

⁶² Lit. "To continue, Nádir was at that time commander of the army, and governor of the province of Khurásán. When Tahmásh daily received accounts of the dreadful excesses committed by the Afgháns, he urged Nádir to quickly pursue them. Nádir replied that a large sum was necessary to put his army in efficient order, and that unless a royal edict was issued, that ready money for the use of the army and the preparation of stores might be taken everywhere in the kingdom as required, the reflection of the face of the king's desire could not be seen in the mirror of hope as quickly as he wished."

been governor of Lár, earning their bread by bringing water to the inhabitants of the town of Masfat; while another noble of that nation, called Santár Khán, obtained a scanty subsistence at the same seaport, by carrying baskets of earth.

Such was the termination of this remarkable invasion. But the death and captivity of the whole of the Afgháns was but a slight atonement for the great calamities which they had inflicted upon Persia. Within the short period of seven years, nearly 40,000,000 of her inhabitants had perished, her finest provinces had been rendered desert, and her proudest edifices levelled with the dust.⁶¹ The total destruction of the Afgháns, instead of restoring Zuhmásh to the sovereignty of Persia, proved only the prelude to the extinction of the little power which that ill-fated prince had before enjoyed. The few events, connected with his name, which are worthy of mention, will find a place in the history of his victorious general.

⁶¹ This was effected by enemies, who had neither the force, nor the wisdom, to maintain the conquest which they had made, and, consequently, never could repair the ruin they had effected. The Afgháns had no regular government in their own country that could support a foreign conquest; and they were averse, from their habits, to that complete emigration which has given permanent success to so many Tartar tribes. From the first to the last day of their rule in Persia, they were a small army of foreigners in the midst of a great nation. Removed to a vast distance from their own country, they could expect no support in the event of a reverse of fortune; and their power had, therefore, no foundation, but in the continued fears of the multitudes by whom they were surrounded. The charm was broken by the daring spirit of Nádir Kuli; and his easy success excited a spirit among his countrymen, which was increased by a deep sense of shame at their former base and spiritless submission.—(Malcolm.)

N.B.—Malcolm gives the number of Persians, who perished, at one million only; Mirzá Hairat has, in his translation, made the number four crores!

CHAPTER XVII.

The history of Nádír Sháh⁶⁴ and his immediate successors.

Chapter XVII

An account of
the family of Nádír
Sháh.

Several of the events of Nádír's life have been already related, but it will be necessary to preface the account of his reign with a cursory view of those occurrences, which preceded his elevation to the throne. The father of Nádír Sháh belonged to the tribe of Afshárs. His name was Imám Kulí, and one must, from every account, conclude, that he was a person of no note or rank. Nádír Kulí himself never boasted of a proud genealogy; and even his flattering historian, Mirzá Mahdí, though he informs us that the father of his hero was a man of some consequence in his tribe, reveals the truth by a metaphorical apology for low birth, in which he says that "the diamond has its value from its own lustre, not from that of the rock where it grew." We learn from other sources, that he earned his livelihood by making coats and caps of sheepskins. Nádír often spoke of his low birth, and when the pride of the Royal House of Delhi required that his son,⁶⁵ who was to marry a princess of that family, should give an account of his male ancestors for seven generations, the conqueror exclaimed: "Tell them that he is the son of Nádír Sháh, the son of the sword, the grandson of the sword, and so on, till they have a descent of seven generations."

Birth of Nádír
Sháh, A.D. 1688,
A.H. 1150.

Nádír Sháh was born 1100 A.H. in the province of Khurásán. Persian historians pass over the early occurrences of his life, and the first event that these notice is the birth of his eldest son, Razwá Kulí, which occurred when he was 31 years of age. He had before that experienced great vicissitudes of fortune, and had given proofs both of valour and

⁶⁴ The rise of Nádír Sháh, from the lowest ranks to be the absolute monarch of his country, is an event which would attract attention, even if the guilty fame he had acquired as a conqueror and destroyer had not perpetuated his memory. The first enthusiasm of the religion of Muhammad had swept away the Sásání dynasty; but a bold and able leader, Ya'kúb Bin Laís had, by the destruction of the power of the Caliphs of Arabia, rescued his country from the ignominy of being deemed one of the provinces of another empire, and restored it to its dignity as a kingdom. From that period it had been in possession of Tartar Chiefs, who had generally emigrated with their tribes, into the milder climate of Persia, and whose power was continued, for a time, by the support of those warlike followers by whom it had been established. A revolution of a very uncommon nature had transferred the crown of Persia from these races of Tartar Chiefs to the son of an ascetic, Sháh Isma'íl. Several of the first of the Súffavían princes were worthy of their exalted destiny, but the last century of the rule of this family presents us with a picture that can excite no feelings, but those of disgust and indignation; and such was the debased and worthless character of some of these monarchs, that the mind is almost reconciled to those dreadful scenes amid which they perished.

In countries where the government is despotic, the opinion of the people is seldom heard; but it appears often in action. It is always in extremes, and generally formed by contrast. We can well conceive that, at a moment when weakness, cruelty and debauchery seemed the chief qualities of the sovereign, and when the nobles of the empire were only remarkable for their effeminate vices and their cowardice, a fallen and suffering nation like Persia should have turned its eyes, with admiration and hope, on such a character as Nádír Sháh. The lowliness of his birth, the coarseness of his manners, and the guilty, but daring, actions of his early life, were all calculated to favour these impressions, as they placed him in complete opposition to those rulers and nobles to whom they attributed all their misfortunes.

The life of Nádír Sháh, like that of Taimúr, has been given by a flatterer. Mirzá Mahdí, his confidential secretary, who attended him in all his expeditions, has written an account of his actions; and his work has been translated by Sir William Jones. The general credit, to which this volume is entitled, is not destroyed by its being written in a strain of eulogy. The author survived his sovereign; and the free manner, in which he has detailed those actions which disgraced his latter years, may be received as a proof of the authenticity of other parts of his history. But we have, in the works of Jonas Hanway, a very elaborate life of this tyrant; and the personal knowledge this author had of many of the facts which he records, gives it particular value. We have also a memoir written by Mr Fraser, from Persian manuscripts he obtained in India. In addition to all these authentic materials, I obtained in Persia a copy of the correspondence of this monarch, and several other valuable manuscripts, which contained accounts of events connected with his life.

Kulí means "slave;" Nádír, "wonderful;" and the latter term is used as an epithet to describe the Almighty. His name, therefore, signified "the slave of the Wonderful, or of God." When he was promoted, by the favour of Sháh Tahmáshb, to the dignity of a Khán, he took the name of that monarch, and was called Tahmáshb Kulí Khán; but on reaching the throne, he styled himself Nádír Sháh, resuming his original name of Nádír. Mirzá Mahdí, in his Life of Nádír Sháh, never mentions that monarch under the name of Tahmáshb Kulí Khán, which leads Sir William Jones to doubt the fact of Nádír ever having assumed that appellation.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁵ The prince's name was Násirulla.

Chapter XVII.

A.D. 1730, A.H. 1143, Nádír receives a grant of four provinces.

(20). Is requested to assume the title of Sultán.

Which he refuses.

Coin struck in his own name.

Marches against the Turks.

Whom he overthrows and takes the city of Hamadán and the province of Azarbájján.

Returns and quells a rebellion in Khurásán, A.D. 1731, A.H. 1144.

Tahmáshb marches against the Turks, A.D. 1732, A.H. 1145.

Retreats from Írwán and is defeated.

Concludes a peace with the Turks by which he cedes several provinces.

(21).

Nádír takes advantage of the weakness of the court.

who had liberated his country from its cruel oppressors. The grant, made by Tahmáshb to this chief, of the four finest provinces of the empire, viz., Khurásán, Máizindarán, Sistán and Kirmán, or in other words, the alienation of half his kingdom, was considered only as a just recompense for the great services that he had performed. We are told that, in the same letter by which Tahmáshb conveyed the grant of these countries, his victorious general was requested to assume the title of Sultán, and a diadem, richly set with jewels, was sent by one of the noblemen of the court. Nádír accepted all the honours except the title of Sultán; that high name, he thought, would excite envy without conferring benefit. A marriage was, at this period, agreed upon between Razwá Kulí Khán, the eldest son of Nádír, and a daughter of the late Sultán Sháh Hussain. He, however, took advantage of this proffered elevation to the rank of a prince, to exercise one of the most important privileges which attaches to monarchs. He directed that his army should be paid in coin brought from the province of Khurásán, and that it should be struck in his own name, which virtually amounted to an assumption of the independent sovereignty of that country.

The conquests made by the Turks have been mentioned. The armies of that nation continued to occupy some of the finest parts of the province of Írák and all Azarbájján.⁶⁹ Nádír marched against them as soon as his troops were refreshed from the fatigues they had endured in the pursuit of the Afgháns. He encountered the united force of two Turkish Páshás on the plains of Hamadán, overthrew them, and made himself master, not only of that city, but of all the country in its vicinity. He hastened to Azarbájján, where the same success attended him. Tabríz, Ardabíl, and all the principal cities of that quarter, had surrendered; and the conqueror was preparing to besiege Írwán, the capital of Armenia, when he received from his brother, whom he had left in the government of Khurásán, an account of an alarming rebellion of the Afgháns of that province. He hastened to its relief; and his success against the rebels was completed by the reduction of the fortresses of Farráh and Hirát. An event occurred during the siege of the latter city, which marked the barbarous character of the war. His flattering historian, Mirzá Mahdí, says: "Nádír had obtained a victory over a large division of the Afghán force, and resolved to celebrate it with a splendid feast. Amongst other guests were several prisoners of high rank. During the festivities, the heads of 1,300 Afgháns, who had been slain in the action, were held up on the tops of spears. At this sight, the chiefs of our enemies fixed their eyes on the ground, and never dared to raise them again, notwithstanding the extraordinary kindness with which they were treated by their great and generous conqueror."⁷⁰

While Nádír was employed at the siege of Hirát, the Persian nobles at Isfahán persuaded the weak Tahmáshb to place himself at the head of an army, and march against the Turks, who were again assembling on the frontier. The reverses, which the arms of that nation had sustained in Persia, had caused a revolution at Constantinople, where the Janissaries⁷¹ had first murdered the Wazír, and afterwards dethroned A/hamad III., and placed his nephew, Mahmúd V., upon the throne. To this prince, Nádír had sent an envoy, Razwá Kulí Khán, demanding that the Turks should evacuate the province of Azarbájján, and Sháh Tahmáshb had sent another, with a letter of congratulation, upon his elevation to the throne. Before the result of the mission sent by Nádír could be known, Tahmáshb had marched to besiege Írwán, had retreated from before that fortress, been defeated by a Turkish army, and had lost, in one month, all that the genius and valour of his general had gained during the preceding season. To render the effects of his weakness complete, the alarmed monarch had agreed to a peace, by which he abandoned the whole of the country beyond the Araxes to the Turks, and ceded five districts of the province of Kirmánsháh to A/hamad, the reigning Páshá of Baghdád, by whom this treaty was negotiated. The disgrace of this engagement was aggravated by its containing no stipulation for the release of the Persians who had been made prisoners during the war.

The moment that Nádír received accounts of the peace, it seems to have occurred to his mind, that it afforded an excellent pretext for the consummation of those projects he had so long cherished; but he was compelled to proceed with caution. His first step was to issue a proclamation, in which he inveighed with bitterness against a treaty, which bounded

⁶⁹ Azarbájján, or the house of fire; this appellation was probably given to it, from the worship of fire originating in this province, of which Zoroaster was a native.—(Malcolm).

⁷⁰ Lit. "His flattering historian, Mirzá Mahdí, says 'next day, he ordered a splendid feast to be got ready, and the Afghán chiefs, who were in the royal camp, were admitted to the royal party; the sun had scarcely reached a spear's height in the horizon, when 1,300 lances were raised on high, with a head on the top of each; these chiefs had received favours and kindness, but still the nobles of the Afgháns fixed their eyes upon the ground, being disgraced and humiliated.'"

⁷¹ The word, Janissary, is corrupted from the Turkish, Yangí, "new" and "cherá," "camp or army."—(Malcolm.)

the great empire of Persia by the river Araxes, and left many of the inhabitants of that kingdom prisoners in the hands of cruel enemies. "Such a treaty," he said "is contrary to the Will of Heaven, and the angels, who guard the tomb of the holy 'Alī, call aloud for the deliverance of his followers from the bondage, in which they are now held by vile heretics."⁷²

At the same time that Nādir published the proclamation mentioned, he addressed letters to all the military chiefs of the country. In that to the Governor of Fārs, he informs him of the great success he has had against the Afghāns, and of the conquest of Hirāt. He then proceeds to state the astonishment and indignation, with which he had learnt the particulars of the treaty concluded with Turkey. "You will, no doubt," he observes, "be rejoiced to hear that, as it was to be hoped from the goodness of God, this peace with the Turks is not likely to endure; and you may rest in expectation of my approach; for, by the blessing of the Most High, I will advance immediately, with an army, elated with success, skilled in sieges, numerous as emmetts, valiant as lions, and combining with the vigour of youth, the prudence of age; let the cupbearer (quoting from *Hāfidz*) tell our enemy, the worshipper of fire, to cover his head with dust, for the water that had departed, is returned into its channel."⁷³

He, at the same time, sent an officer to Constantinople, the duties of whose mission to the Emperor Mahmūd were limited to this short message: "Restore the provinces of Persia, or prepare for war." A messenger was deputed to Ahmad, the Pāshā of Baghdād, to apprise him, that he (Nādir) was approaching. A peace had been concluded with the Russians, by which it was stipulated that they should abandon all the conquests they had made on the shores of the Caspian; and Nādir despatched two officers to that quarter to see that there was no delay in the execution of this treaty.

After adopting these measures, Nādir marched to Isfahān. He first upbraided Shāh Tahmāsh with his conduct in making peace with the Turks, and then pretended to be reconciled to him. Tahmāsh was invited to the tents of his general to share in the joys of a feast, which terminated in his being seized and dethroned. He was sent, according to Mirzā Mahdī's account, with all his ladies to Khurāsān.

The time did not yet appear to Nādir to be ripe for his seizing the crown of Persia. The officers of his army, and some venal nobles of the court, earnestly requested that he would place it upon his head; but he rejected their entreaties. The son of Tahmāsh, an infant only eight months old, known as 'Abbās III, was seated upon the throne, and Nādir accepted the name and power of regent of the empire. This occurred 1145 A.H.

When the ceremonies necessary at this coronation were over, Nādir marched with a large army to the attack of Baghdād. The Governor of that city, Ahmad Pāshā, was not more distinguished for his talents as a soldier, than as a statesman; and the Persian leader had made his preparations in the expectation of an obstinate defence; but neither the valour nor skill of Ahmad would have saved his city, had not the Turkish general, Topāl 'Uthmān, advanced at the head of an immense army to his relief. Mirzā Mahdī asserts that the army amounted to 160,000 men. Nādir instantly resolved to hazard a battle. According to Mirzā Mahdī, he left a body of 12,000 men in the trenches before Baghdād, and led the remainder to attack Topāl 'Uthmān, who was encamped on the banks of the Tigris, near the village of Sāmara, which is situated about 60 miles from Baghdād. The action that ensued was one of the most bloody ever fought between the Turks and Persians. It was at first favourable to the latter, whose cavalry put the enemy to flight; but the Turkish infantry advanced and restored the battle. A corps of Arabs, from whom Nādir expected support, fell back upon one of his flanks. His men, who had been exposed all day to the intense rays of the summer sun (although accustomed to fight all day long with the heat in Arabia) fainted with heat and

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Issues a proclamation in which he inveighs against the peace concluded by Tahmāsh.

Nādir's letter to the Governor of Fārs.

Nādir sends deputations to Constantinople and Baghdād.

Concludes a peace with Russia.

Marches to Isfahān, 16th August, A.D. 1732, A.H. 1145.

Shāh Tahmāsh is dethroned and sent to Khurāsān.

The son of Tahmāsh is elevated to the throne.

Nādir marches to the attack of Baghdād.

Leaves a part of his army before Baghdād and encounters Topāl 'Uthmān, A.D. 1733, A.H. 1146. An action. (22).

⁷² There is no country, however, abject its inhabitants may appear, where the most daring and ambitious can venture to usurp the supreme power, without first obtaining a hold on public opinion; and we cannot have a stronger proof of this fact, as applicable to Persia, than what we find in the conduct of Nādir upon this memorable occasion. Though that chief had revived the military spirit of his country, and roused a nation, sunk in sloth and luxury, to great and successful exertion; yet neither this success, the imbecility of Shāh Tahmāsh, nor a reliance upon his own fame and strength, could induce him to take the last step of usurpation, until he had, by his arts, excited, in the mind of his countrymen, that complete contempt for the reigning sovereign, and that pride in his glory, which was likely to make his elevation appear more the accomplishment of their wishes than of his ambition—(Malcolm).

⁷³ He concludes this letter by threatening, with excommunication and destruction, all Shī'as, or in other words, all Persians who are adverse to the renewal of hostilities. "Those Shī'as," he observes "who are backward on this great occasion, and are reconciled to this shameful peace, shall be expelled from the faithful sect, and for ever counted among its enemies. To slaughter them will be meritorious; to permit their existence, impious." The actions of Nādir corresponded with these declarations—(Malcolm.)

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In which the
Turks are victori-
ous.

thirst. He, himself, twice fell to the ground, in the midst of his enemies, from his horses being shot; and his standard-bearer, conceiving him slain, fled from the field. All these causes combined to give the victory to Topál 'Uthmán; and after a contest of more than eight hours, the army of Nádír was completely defeated. The moment the news of this event reached Baghdád, the inhabitants of the city fell on the troops left to guard the trenches, who were also routed. This occurred 1146 A.H. The loss of the Persians in this battle was estimated by their enemies at 60,000 men; and it probably amounted to more than one-third of that number. The Turks suffered almost as severely, but their triumph was very complete for Nádír did not reassemble the whole of his broken and dispersed army, until he reached the plains of Hamadán, a distance of more than 200 miles from the field of action.

Nádír's conduct
to his troops after
the battle.

There is no period in the life of Nádír at which he appears to more advantage than after this great misfortune. Instead of reproaching his soldiers with their defeat, he loaded them with praises and favours. Their losses in money and horses were more than repaid, and they were encouraged by the exhortations, as well as the actions, of their politic commander, to desire nothing so much as an opportunity of revenging themselves upon their enemies. This conduct increased his reputation and popularity to so great a degree, that recruits from every part of Persia hastened to join his standard; and in less than three months after this action, Nádír descended again into the plains of Baghdád, with an army more numerous than before.

A.D. 1733, A.H.
1146. He advances
to Baghdád with a
large force.

Routes a body
of Turks.

His brave antagonist, Topál 'Uthmán, had jealous rivals at the Court of Constantinople; and these, alarmed at the great fame he had acquired, not only prevented, by their intrigues, his being reinforced with men, but, by withholding the supplies of money that were necessary to pay his troops, compelled him to separate his force. He nevertheless, made the greatest efforts to oppose this second invasion of Nádír. He sent a corps of cavalry to arrest the progress of the Persians; but the latter made such a furious attack, that they were completely routed. On hearing this intelligence, the Turkish general advanced with all the troops, he had been able to draw together, to its support, but his own army partook of the panic of their flying comrades. Topál 'Uthmán endeavoured in vain to rally them. He was himself so infirm, that he always rode in a litter.⁷⁴ His attendants, in the hope that he might escape, lifted him (when the flight became general) upon a horse; but his rich dress attracted the eyes of a Persian soldier, who pierced him with his lance, and then, separating his head from his body, carried it to his commander. We are pleased to find that Nádír respected the remains of his former conqueror. His head and corpse were sent by an officer of rank to the Turkish army, that they might receive the usual honourable rites of sepulture.

Topál 'Uthmán
is slain.

Nádír concludes
a treaty with the
Páshá of Baghdád.

(23).

Which the em-
peror of Constan-
tinople refuses to
ratify.

Nádír hastens to
occupy Armenia
and Georgia, A.D.
1734, A.H. 1147.

After the death of Topál 'Uthmán⁷⁵ and the defeat of his army, Nádír proceeded to invest Baghdád; but being alarmed at the account of a serious revolt in the province of Fárs,⁷⁶ he readily listened to the terms, which the ruler of that city proposed, which were, that the governments of Turkey and Persia should repossess the countries, which belonged to them in the reign of Sultan Hussain, before the Afghán invasion. The rebellion, which had compelled him to retire from the Turkish territories, had hardly been suppressed, before he learnt that the Emperor of Constantinople had refused to ratify the engagements made by the Páshá of Baghdád, and had sent a general, 'Abdulla, Páshá of Cairo, at the head of a large force, with orders either to conclude peace, or to continue the war, as circumstances should render it expedient. Nádír hastened to occupy Armenia and Georgia, which were the principal of the disputed provinces. He threw a bridge across the Araxes, and at once invested the cities of Tiflis, Ganja, (Elizabethopol) and Irwán. 'Abdulla had fortified a camp near the city of Kárs. Nádír hoped that the danger, with which the above

⁷⁴ These litters are called Takhti-rawán, and are carried, suspended between two mules.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁵ We find a very interesting account of this celebrated Turkish general in Hanway. Topál 'Uthmán had been taken in his early life by a Spanish privateer. He was ransomed, and restored to his country by the generosity of a French officer, of the name of Vincent Arnaud, at Malta. The gratitude and kindness, which he showed his deliverer, gives us the best impression of his private virtues. He was raised to the high but dangerous dignity of Prime Wazir in 1731, and his first act was to desire the French ambassador to write for his benefactor. "Bid him make haste," said Topál 'Uthmán, "for we, wazirs, seldom last long." He had, before he was promoted to this high station, repaid Arnaud tenfold for his ransom; but he now loaded him with caresses and favours, and made a glory of presenting to the whole court, the virtuous and generous man, to whom he owed his life and liberty. When Topál 'Uthmán was removed from the office of wazir, he publicly returned thanks to Heaven, at his having been released, with honour, from such a burden. He was afterwards raised to the command of the Turkish armies on the Persian frontier, and terminated his life, as has been described.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁶ This rebellion was headed by Muhammad Khán, who was the chief of a tribe of Bilúchis, and who, after he was taken prisoner, hanged himself.—(Malcolm.)

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cities were threatened, would lead the Turkish general to hazard an action. Nor was he deceived. 'Abdulla, encouraged by his superior numbers, left the entrenchments, with which he had covered his army, and attacked the Persians on the plains of Baghâwand near Irwân. Mîrzâ Mahdî asserts that the Turks had 60,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. The Persian leader, when he saw him advancing, addressed his troops in the most animated language. "Their enemies," he said "out-numbered them eight to one; but that was only an incitement to glorious exertion. He had dreamt on the past night," he told them, "that a furious animal had rushed into his tent, which, after a long struggle, he had slain. With such an omen," he exclaimed, "success is certain to those, who fight under the protection of His great arm, Who raiseth the weak to glory, and casteth down the proudest oppressor." He moreover added, "the enemy is immediately in front of us, and we are hemmed in on both sides, by the forts of Irwân and Zangichâi. If we show any want of spirit, the way of retreat will be cut off in every direction." If his troops were encouraged by this speech, they were still more so by his example. After his skill had made the most able disposition of his army, he rushed upon the enemy at the head of his bravest men; and wherever he led, the Persians were irresistible. In one of these charges, 'Abdulla Pâshâ was slain by a soldier, named Rustam, who brought his head to Nâdir; and, as the battle still raged, he directed it to be fixed upon a spear, and to be displayed where it would be best seen by the enemy. The effect was as he had anticipated. The Turks, perceiving that their general was slain, fled in every direction, and left the plain covered with their dead. This victory was followed by the submission of the cities of Ganja and Tiflis; and those of Kârs and Irwân⁷⁷ were soon afterwards ceded to him by the policy of the Ottoman Court, who were glad to conclude a peace on the basis, which had been before settled by the Pâshâ of Baghdâd.

The period was now arrived, when Nâdir thought he might lay aside the veil, which he had hitherto used.⁷⁸ An account was brought that the infant 'Abbâs, the son of Tahmâsh, sovereign of Persia, had died at Isfahân. It has always been the usage of the kings of Persia to observe the Nauroz, or vernal equinox, as a great festival, and on it all the chief officers, civil and military, of the government appear at court. Nâdir issued an order that not only these, but every person of rank and consideration in the kingdom, should meet him, on the day of that festival, on the plains of Jûlkâ Mughân⁷⁹ where he ordered a number of temporary buildings to be erected, and made every preparation to receive them with splendour and magnificence. We are informed, that upwards of 100,000 persons attended this celebrated meeting; and, if this includes the troops, the amount is probably not exaggerated.

Nâdir (Mîrzâ Mahdî informs us,) assembled the principal nobles and officers on the morning of the festival, and addressed them in the following terms:—"Shâh Tahmâsh, and Shâh 'Abbâs were your kings; both are alive, the one in his cradle, the other (nominally) on the throne. Choose one of them for your sovereign, or some other person whom you know to be great and glorious. I have done all I could, and have delivered my country from the Afghâns, the Turks and the Russians." All un-animously agreed that the crown belonged by right to him, who had saved his country, and was alone able to protect it. Nâdir refused, solemnly protesting that the idea of ascending the Persian throne had never once entered his imagination. The same scene was enacted every day for a month,⁸⁰ till, at length, Nâdir complied with their wishes; but said, when he made this apparent concession, "After the death of Muhammad, the four Caliphs carried on the Khalîfat; Shâh Isma'îl, Sûffavî, abandoned his faith, and introduced the Shî'a sect; and since the schism

A.D. 1735, A.H. 1148. Harangues his troops.

Attacks the Turks.

Whose general is slain.

The Turks disperse.

Several cities submit to Nâdir.

Concludes a peace with the Ottoman Court.

Death of the infant sovereign of Persia.

Nâdir summons an assembly of all persons of rank and consideration A.D. 1736, A.H. 1149.

(24). A.D. 1736, A.H. 1149. His speech to the assembly.

Who request him to accept the crown, which he at first refuses.

⁷⁷ During the 3 months between the victory of Baghâwand and the conclusion of peace, Nâdir was employed in the reduction of the Lazakîs, a savage tribe, who dwell on the mountains that separate Georgia from the Caspian, and continually vex that province with their irruptions. — (Malcolm).

⁷⁸ Many authors state that the child died a natural death; but this is of little consequence. It cannot be supposed that Nâdir could ever have hesitated one moment in removing so frail an obstacle, (if that had been necessary) to clear the path of his ambition. — (Malcolm).

⁷⁹ *Lit.* "Since it has always been the immemorial custom of the kings of Persia, every year at the season that the sun reaches the vernal equinoctial points, to regard that day as a festival, and for the nobles and chiefs to assemble at court for the performance of the usual ceremonies, Nâdir gave all orders for all civil and military officers, high and low, to assemble, and commanded that the festival for the performance of the usual ceremonies should be held on the above day on the plain of Jûlkâ Mughân."

The celebrated Jûlkâ Mughân, or plain of Mughân, extends from the neighbourhood of Ardabil to the mouth of the Cyrus. It is reported to be 60 farsangs in length, and 20 in breadth; and its rich soil, and luxuriant pastures, seem to have rendered it the favourite encamping ground of most Eastern conquerors. The victorious career of Pompey the Great was arrested by the venomous serpents, with which it is thought to be infested. Heraclius passed some time at Mughân. — (Kinuier's Memoir of Persia).

⁸⁰ *Lit.* "This scene was enacted for a whole month, the importunities of the one, and the refusal of the other, continually increasing."

Chapter XVII.

Nádir accepts the crown of Persia on condition of the Shí'a sect being abolished. A.D. 1736, A.H. 1149.

Motives which induced Nádir to make this change.

The coronation of Nádir, A.D. 1736, A.H. 1149.

Coin struck in his name.

(25).

of Shí'a has prevailed, the country has always been in continual distraction. If the Persians want me as their sovereign, and desire their own good, I must insist that they abandon this sect, and acknowledge the Suní faith; and as Imám Ja'far, who is of the family of the prophet, is venerated by all, let him be the head of the new faith." All consented to the change,⁸¹ and after a royal mandate⁸² was issued to proclaim the same, Nádir informed them, that he would communicate with the Emperor of Constantinople, and request him to add the sect of Ja'far to the four orthodox sects, and to admit it as a fifth; and, as each of the four sects⁸³ had its oratory at the temple at Makka, another column should be added for this new branch of the true religion.

Various conjectures have been made respecting his motives in this matter, for before his accession, he had shown warm admiration, in fact, was even a bigotted supporter, of the Shí'a tenets, but at Júlka Mughán he declared himself a Suní. But the truth is, he was always consistent in his object; and the only shrine at which he worshipped was that of ambition.⁸⁴ When he pretended to be a slave of the Súffavian race, and that he desired only to expel the Afgháns and Turks from Persia, he saw, that the Shí'a faith was a good instrument for carrying out his own designs; but when success attended his views, he resolved on the extinction of the descendants of Sháh Isma'íl; and as his ascending the ladder of fame led him on to contemplate the conquest of the mountains of Kandahár, the plains of India, and Baghdád and Musal, and the other provinces in those parts, he found it advisable to abolish the Shí'a sect; for, in the first place, the love of the Súffaví was blended in its very institution with this faith, and, in the second, the hatred, which the Suní bore to the Shí'as, appeared to interpose a considerable obstacle to the progress of the conquests which he had in mind.

Mírzá Mahdí states, that on the 26th February (1149 A.H.), at twenty minutes past eight in the morning, at a moment fixed by the most skilful astrologers, the royal crown was placed on his head. The usual ceremonies at accession were observed; and Nádir was seated on a throne, covered with precious jewels, and coins were immediately struck in his name, on one side of which was the following stanza;⁸⁵ "The impression (stamped) on this gold, proclaims to the world, the sovereignty of Nádir, a native of the land of Persia and the monarch who subdues the earth;" and on the reverse was inscribed, "That which has happened is the best;" but it is even confessed by this historian, that the malicious wits read it, "That which has happened is not the best."

⁸¹ Malcolm says: "I follow the historian of Nádir, Mírzá Mahdí. Hanway and Fraser inform us that the chief priest rose, and advised Nádir to confine himself to temporal affairs, and not to interfere with matters of religion. The sudden death of this rash counsellor warned others into a speedy assent to all Nádir's propositions."

⁸² The following translation of the edict Nádir issued on this occasion, is given by Fraser "To all in high stations, the chief pontiff, the governors, ministers of the law, and learned men of the royal residence of Isfahán, being exalted through the king's favour, know ye, that while the abode of our ensigns (on whom victory attends) was at Júlka Mughán, it was agreed at several meetings, that from henceforth, according to ancient custom (being fixed and established in the religion of Hanifa and Ja'far as transmitted to us by our predecessors) we do acknowledge the directing Caliphs (in all whom the High God is pleased) as the successors of the chief of messengers; and whenever they present themselves, mention the names of each of the four with great respect. Moreover, in some places of these Kingdoms, at the time of calling to prayers, and standing up at prayer, they mention these words 'All the friend of God,' according to the usual method of the Shí'as, and contrary to those who are orthodox. This is repugnant to religion, and contrary to the agreement and covenant entered into. Besides, it is evident to the world, that as the Prince of the Faithful, the Lion of God, the victorious, is elect, praised, and acceptable to the Lord of Glory, his rank and interest at the Court of Unity will not be increased by vulgar testimony, nor the full moon of his power be diminished by omitting these words. The ill consequence of this form is, that both sects, who equally acknowledge the chief and prophet of both worlds, will, by this difference, be provoked to animosities, which are disagreeable both to the prophet and to the prince of the faithful. Wherefore, as soon as the purport of this high edict is known, let it be signified to all Mussalmen, high and low, great and small, the callers to prayer in the city, its dependencies, and the adjacent countries, that, from this day henceforth, these words, as differing from the orthodox custom, be not mentioned. It is also usual with the governors in their assemblies, after the Fátíha and Takbír, to say 'May the king, from whom all our fortune flows, live for ever.' As a Takbír for perpetuating a mortal man is vain, and of no effect, I expressly order that every Khán, who is a master of a tabal and ensign, say it in this manner 'Thanks to the True King for all benefits.' From henceforward, all persons must observe these settled regulations, and written orders; for whosoever deviates therefrom, will incur the displeasure of the king of kings. Written in the month of Safar, 1149"

⁸³ The sects of Hanifa, Shí'í, Málík, and Hanbal; each of which have an oratory at the temple of Makka.—(Malcolm).

⁸⁴ Lit. "And that was self worship"

⁸⁵ Some of these coins are in the Bodleian Library. The Persian stanza is—

Sikka har zar kard nam i sultanat dar jahán.

Nádirí irán ramin o khusrá i giti sitán.

The Arabic sentence on the reverse was "Al khair fimá wata'"; when changed by the wits, it was "Lá khair fimá wata'." The letters of the Arabic sentence on Nádir's seal form, as numerals, 1149, the date of the Híjra, on which he ascended the throne.—(Malcolm).

Soon after his elevation to the throne, Nádír marched to Isfahán, and the short time he spent there, was devoted to military preparations; he had resolved to conquer Kandahár. Hussain Khán, brother of Mahmúd Ghilzáí, was at that time in possession of Kandahár; but, before Nádír proceeded on this expedition, he adopted every measure that could secure the tranquillity of Persia during his absence. The island of Bahrain was taken this year by Muhammad Táki Khán, the governor of Fárs. And as the barbarous tribe of the Bakhtyáris had disturbed the peace of the country round Isfahán by their depredations, he resolved on their entire extinction, and marched off to subdue that tribe. All the mountains of Isfahán, stretching as far as Shúshtár,⁸⁶ are inhabited by the Bakhtyáris. As the above mentioned mountains abound with rocks and caves, which, in time of danger, serve them as fortresses and dens, their subjugation had always been looked on as impossible; but Nádír assured his people, that this was a mere delusion. He led his veteran soldiers to the tops of their highest mountains, and, one by one, overcame the various sects of that tribe; and in the space of one month, the tribe was completely subdued. Their chief, 'Alí Murád, was taken prisoner and put to death, but those of them, who escaped the fury of the troops, he treated with favour; a number of them were taken into his army, (and by their extraordinary bravery at the siege of Kandahár they confirmed the wisdom of Nádír and his generous conduct to them); and transferring them from their former hilly country, he assigned them better lands, but more accessible, than they had before.

Chapter XVII.

He marches to Isfahán.

Adopts measures to reduce the Bakhtyári tribe.

Whom he subdues and puts their leader to death.

Marches to Kandahár, A.D. 1737, A.H. 1150.

Which he blockades.

And traces outlines in its vicinity for a new city, which is called Nádírábád.

Commences more active operations, A.D. 1738, A.H. 1151.

Kandahár capitulates. (26).

His generals reduce the strongholds, in the vicinity of Kandahár.

Razrá Kulí, his son, defeats the chief of Balkh and passes the Oxus.

Gains a victory over the Uzbags.

Nádír marched with an army of 80,000 men through Khurásán and Sístán to Kandahár. He met with no resistance of any consequence on his way; but when he arrived, he saw that its defences were too formidable to give him hopes of its early surrender. His first resolution was to subdue it by blockade, so that all intercourse for its inhabitants with the surrounding country might be cut off; and he gave orders to trace out a new city in its vicinity, and commenced building it, calling it Nádírábád. After Kandahár was taken, almost all its inhabitants removed to Nádírábád, and, after the death of Nádír, it received the name of Kandahár. He also gave orders for towers to be built all around the city, and connected the towers with small batteries in such a way, that the intercourse of the besieged with the country outside was completely stopped. But when Nádír saw that his plans had not affected the Afgháns in the least, and that a whole year had been wasted, and that the Afgháns had still abundance of provisions left in the city, he adopted other measures. The city of Kandahár stood on the face of a hill, and a wall ran all round it, in which were a number of small bastions for its defence. The Persians made themselves masters of some of the most commanding eminences, into which they conveyed guns and mortars, and assailed the different towers of the city; and some of them they succeeded in taking. The corps of Bakhtyáris carried one of the principal towers, and obtained possession of the citadel, and the whole town fell into the hands of the veterans. The governor, with the principal part of the garrison, still held out in a detached fort, but, seeing resistance was vain, offered to capitulate; and Nádír readily gave him a promise of forgiveness and protection. It appears, at this time, to have been the policy of Nádír to conciliate the Afgháns, and by the proclamation, which he issued and sent to all parts, on his ascending the throne, for the adoption of the Suní faith, and putting down of the tenets of the Shí'as, he had, to a great degree, disarmed the prejudices of the Afgháns; and he now saw that he had an excellent opportunity for softening their hearts, and attaching them to his own person and government, and he completely succeeded. Some of them, during his life, were reckoned amongst the bravest soldiers of his army, and were a powerful check to the discontent and turbulence of his own countrymen, the Persians.

Whilst Nádír was engaged in besieging Kandahár, his generals had been successful in reducing the strongholds in its vicinity, and his eldest son, Razrá Kulí Mírzá, had, during this period, by his dauntless courage and bravery, obtained a very great name. The particulars are as follows. The ruler of Kandahár had expected aid from the chief of Balkh, who was advancing on Kandahár; when Nádír heard this, he detached Razrá Kulí Mírzá with a body of 12,000 horse, to oppose him. The prince defeated his army, and took Balkh⁸⁷ and, crossing the Oxus, advanced on Bukhárá. The king of the Uzbags hastened forth with a very large army to oppose him, and gave him battle. He was completely routed, but a mandate arrived, at this time, from Nádír directing his son to return. At the same

⁸⁶ This ancient city is frequently, but erroneously, called Tústar, in the history of the Tartar princes.—(Malcolm.)

⁸⁷ The city of Balkh, which lies in lat. 36° 28' N. and long. 65° 16' E., appears to have continued, for a long period, the capital of the ancient kings of Persia.—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XVII.

Nádir recalls him.

Nádir's motives for doing so.

Result of Nádir's mission to the Emperor of Delhi.

Takes Kábul and all the country in its vicinity. Addresses another letter to the Emperor of Delhi.

The bearer of the letter slain by an Afghán chief.

Condition of India at the period of its conquest by Nádir Sháh.

(27).

time, Nádir addressed letters to the king of the Uzbags and other chiefs of those parts, informing them that he had directed his son to return to Persian limits, and not to disturb countries, which were the inheritance of the race of Changíz Khan and of high Turkamán families.

Some impute this conduct, which was, evidently the result of his policy of moderation, to a jealousy on the part of Nádir with regard to Razwá Kulí Mirzá; but it must be observed that, when Razwá Kulí Mirzá returned, Nádir received him with extraordinary favor and affection, and very soon afterwards entrusted him with the full government of Irán, whilst he himself proceeded to India, and this is sufficient proof that this imputation was unfounded.

Whilst Nádir had been engaged fighting the Afgháns, he had sent an ambassador to Delhi, requesting the monarch of India to give orders, (as he relied on the union that existed between the two powers,) to the governors of his northern provinces, not to give admission or refuge to the Afghán fugitives, who were enemies of his country, and were fleeing from before the swords of his brave soldiers. No satisfactory reply was received; and the Afghán fugitives were constantly allowed to escape into those parts, and obtained shelter, whilst obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the return of the Persian envoy. Nádir, incensed at these proceedings, pursued the fugitives to Kábul, and made himself master of Kábul and of all the country in its vicinity. After this, he addressed another letter to the Emperor of India, in which he reproached him for his past conduct; and he further informed him that the relations of friendship had not in any way been affected, and that he still desired to maintain them as heretofore. The bearer of this letter was slain by an Afghán chief, named Walad 'Abbás, governor of Jallálábád; and Nádir, who, it is probable was only seeking an excuse, regarding the occasion as opportune, set forth to the conquest of Hindústán.

Before relating the particulars of this expedition, some observations on the actual condition of India at that time may be useful. India had been frequently overrun by the hardy warriors of the north. Since the invasion of Mahmúd of Gházni, Hindú princes had ceased to reign, and, since then, it had continued subject to different dynasties of Muhammadan monarchs, who, each in their turn, were overpowered in the same way, as they had themselves gained power; till, at length, the sword of Taimúr desolated its every province, over which, after a series of extraordinary revolutions, his descendants afterwards ruled for many long years. When Bábar was driven from his own inheritance, the province of Farghána,⁸⁸ by the superior numbers of the Uzbags, and forced back upon the banks of the Jaxartes, he turned his face to India. He first conquered Kábul, and then made himself master of the throne of Delhi, and India attained its greatest splendour under his grandson, Akbar. We may date the commencement of the decline of the family of Taimúr from the death of that truly great sovereign; although, in Aurangzeb's time, the appearance of the former glory of India was somewhat revived by the art and wisdom and valour of Aurangzeb, but it was not lasting, in spite of its having an outward semblance to that of the time of Akbar; Aurangzeb was the last prince of the race of Taimúr, who ever enjoyed any real power in India, for in his reign, besides the turbulence and rebellion of the refractory nobles, in all parts, a race of Hindús, called Marhattas, had arisen in the southern parts of India, called the Dakkan, and threatened all parts of the country with their incessant depredations. The Marhattas take their name from Maháráshtra, their native country, which is now known as the Dakkan.⁸⁹ They first became formidable in the reign of Sháh Jahán, and during the thirty years, that Aurangzeb passed in the southern provinces of his empire, his chief occupation was to subdue the Marhattas; but this he found impossible, for they never awaited his attack, but were always engaged in devastating the country, and wherever they found any cultivation, they pounced down upon, and burnt it; and after each of their

⁸⁸ The following description of the province of Farghána is extracted by Malcolm from the memoirs of the celebrated Bábar, the founder of the Royal Family of Delhi, who was born in Farghána:—

"This province, Bábar observes, has Káshghar to the east, on the west Samarkand; to the south, the hilly country, that bounds Badakhshán; to the north were the ancient cities of Maklagh, Matn, and Maka, but these have long been destroyed by the Uzbags, and the country is now a desert. This province is small, but very fertile both in grain and fruits. It is surrounded by hills on all sides, excepting the west toward Samarkand, and from that quarter it is exposed to invasion. The river Síhún (Jaxartes,) sometimes called the river of Khanjand, coming from the north-east, divides the country, and flows west; and after passing to the north of Khujand, and to the south of Finkat, now called Shámír Khiya, the river then inclines westerly, and flows through Turkistán without meeting any other river. It loses itself in the sands."

⁸⁹ Another derivation of this name is mar (die) hatta (retreat) or "one who will die, rather than retreat."

incursions, they laid the villages level with the ground, and every force, that went in pursuit of them, was harassed, and could, in the end, do nothing; as they, from the lightness of their frames, and habits of hardihood and abstemiousness, were no burden either to their horses or to themselves, and were able to flee by any way, and take up a new stand in every new place; for the Marhatta, although not without valour and pluck, boasts more of his power to elude, than to attack, an enemy. Under these circumstances it was vain for Aurangzeb to capture a foe, whose glory lay in the rapidity of his retreat.

At the death of Aurangzeb, the Muhammadan nobles, in every direction, set up their independence and were ranged against each other; whilst the Marhattas, on the other hand, by continuing united, in a short time made a surprising progress. Beside the great possessions which they actually occupied, they compelled not only the paramount Sovereign of India, but almost every ruler of a province, to annually pay them a considerable part of their collections, that their habitations and fields might remain in safety. In the Siyár-i-Mutákhirín it is stated, that in the year that Nádir threatened to invade India, the city of Delhi itself was subject to this kind of tribute. Muhammad Sháh, the ruling emperor, was a weak and dissolute prince; the author of the Nádir Náma states, that he was never without a glass in his hand, or a mistress in his arms, and, hating work himself, he entrusted others with the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom. His chief minister was Khán Daurán Khán, who, although fond of power, was also devoted to pleasure; as he disliked Nidzám-ul-mulk, the Subadár of the Dakkan, he summoned him to Delhi, so that, by some means, he might give him a check. Muhammad Sháh had no resort to the wisdom and experience of Nidzám-ul-mulk, till his danger became really great and alarming. Some say, that Nidzám-ul-mulk invited Nádir to invade India; there is, however, no proof of this fact, nor can we assign any reasonable motive for such conduct in one of the first and most powerful nobles of the empire, that he should always impute treachery to others for their own incompetence. The real truth was, that the distracted Court of Delhi, sensible of their own weakness, tried to persuade themselves, that Nádir would not advance on India. In the first place, they had formed an exaggerated opinion of the strength of Kandahár, and the valour of its defenders; and afterwards, when they heard of its fall, they expected Nádir would return to Persia, and even when they heard he was at Kábul, they still thought some event might compel him to retire; and they were aroused from this stupid infatuation, only when they heard that the Persian army had crossed the Indus. Muhammad Sháh, when at last roused to the actual state of danger which faced him, collected all the troops he could, and hastened with all his court to the plain of Karnál, a village situated on the right bank of the Jamna, about a degree from Delhi, where he pitched his camp, and gave orders to surround it with entrenchments and small batteries, on which were mounted a useless train of heavy artillery. The progress of Nádir from Kábul to India was indeed rapid, and the governors of the provinces, through which he passed, tendered their submission to him. A letter, which he wrote to his son Razwá Kuli, telling of all the events, from the day he left Lahore, till that on which he restored Muhammad Sháh to the throne, is given in full. After informing him of an advantage, which his troops had gained over the advanced party of an enemy, and then describing an ineffectual attempt he had made, to prevent the junction of an army under Sa'adat Khán with Muhammad Sháh, he states that, when this re-inforcement reached Muhammad Sháh, he considered himself so strengthened, that he left his entrenchments and drew up his troops in order of battle.

"We," Nádir observes, "whose wishes were for such a day, after appointing guards for our camp, and invoking the support of the All Powerful Creator, advanced to the charge. For two complete hours, the action raged with violence, and heavy fire from cannon and musketry was kept up. After that, by the aid of the Almighty, our lion-hunting heroes broke the enemy's line, dispersing them in every direction."

(He here enumerates the principal chiefs of the Indian army that were killed, severely wounded, or taken prisoners: amongst the former was Khán Daurán, and among the latter, Sa'adat Khán. He then goes on—"The battle lasted two hours, and for two hours and a half more, our soldiers were engaged in pursuing the enemy. When one hour of the day remained, the field was entirely cleared of the enemy; and as the entrenchments of their camp were strong, and the fortifications formidable, we would not permit our army to assault it."

Description of his battle with the Indian army, A.D. 1739, A. H. 1152.

Letter to his son Razwá Kuli.

M u h a m m a d Sháh collects an army, and proceeds to Karnál, A.D. 1738, A. H. 1151.

Nádir's rapid and successful progress, A.D. 1738, A. H. 1151.

Chapter XVII.

"An immense treasure, a number of elephants, part of the artillery of the Emperor, and rich spoils of every description were the reward of our victory. Upwards of 20,000 of the enemy were slain on the field of battle, and a much greater number were made prisoners. Immediately after the action was over, we surrounded the Emperor's army, and took measures to prevent all communication with the adjacent country, preparing, at the same time, our cannon and mortars, to level with the ground the fortifications which had been erected.

(29) "As the utmost confusion reigned in the imperial camp, and all discipline was abandoned, Muhammad Sháh, compelled by irresistible necessity, after the lapse of one day, sent Nidzám-ul-mulk, on Thursday, the 17th Zilka'dah to our royal camp, and the following day, Muhammad Sháh himself, attended by his nobles, came to our presence.

19th February.

M u h a m m a d
Sháh goes to the
camp of Nádir,
A.D. 1739, A.H.
1152.

His reception.

"When the Emperor was approaching, as we ourselves are of a Turkamán family and Muhammad Sháh is a Turkamán, and the lineal descendant of the house of Gúrgán,⁹⁰ we sent our dear son, Nasr Ullah Mírzá, beyond the bounds of our camp, to meet him, and when the Emperor entered our tents, considering our affinity as Turkamáns, and also reflecting on the honours that befitted his majesty, we bestowed such upon the Emperor; and he delivered up to us the signet of his empire, and we gave orders that his royal pavilions, his family, and his nobles, were to be preserved. At this time, the Emperor, with his family and all the lords of Hindústán who marched from camp, are arrived at Delhi, and on Thursday, the 29th of Zilka'dah, we shall move towards Delhi.

3rd March.

"It is our royal intention, from the consideration of the high birth of Muhammad Sháh, and of his affinity to us, as a Turkamán, to fix him on the throne of the empire, and to place the crown of royalty upon his head. Praise be to God, who has granted us the power to perform such an action."

The facts stated in this letter are not contradicted, either by Persian or Indian historians, though the latter find reason for the defeat, which they had suffered at Karnál, in the rashness of some of their leaders and the caution of others; and they state that after the victory, Nádir would have returned to Persia on receiving two millions (equivalent to about eight crores of túmáns); but when Sa'ádat Khán, who had been taken prisoner, and negotiated this agreement, and in return hoped to be made prime minister, heard that that office was given to Nidzám-ul-mulk, he advised Nádir to advance on Delhi; but this appears but an idle tale. There is no better reason for the defeat at Karnal, than the cowardice and terror which had seized the army, who were so panic-struck that they fled at the first charge, and nearly twenty thousand of them were slain, with hardly any loss to their enemies, for Nádir is stated to have lost only 500 men; though this number is probably below the amount, still there was no comparison with the loss of the Indians.⁹¹ Our knowledge of the character of Nádir Sháh forbids our allowing that the results of this great victory depended less upon himself, than upon the petty jealousies and intrigues of a few captive ministers.

Pretexts and
motives which led
to the invasion of
India.

The causes, which led Nádir to invade India, have been already stated. The Court of Delhi had, certainly, not observed the established ties of friendship. It had given shelter to the Afgháns, who fled from the sword of Nádir, and this protection was likely to enable them to make another effort to regain their lost possessions, and, consequently, to re-involve Persia in war. The ambassadors of Nádir, who had been sent there to remonstrate on this subject, had not only been refused an answer, but were prevented from returning in spite of the reiterated applications of Nádir. This proceeding, we are told, originated more in irresolution and indecision, than from a spirit of hostility, but it undoubtedly furnished a fair and justifiable pretext for Nádir's advance. Regarding the other motives, which induced him to undertake the conquest of India, we can conjecture none, but his insatiable desire of plunder, a wish to exercise the military spirit of his army, and the ambitious view of annexing the possessions of the sovereign of Delhi to the crown of Persia. But if he ever cherished this latter project, he must have been led, by a near view of the condition of that empire, to reject it as wholly impracticable. We are, however, compelled to respect the greatness of that mind, which could resolve, at the very moment of its achievement, upon the abandonment of so great a conquest; for he did not even try to establish a personal interest at the Court of Delhi, except through the generous conduct, which he had displayed towards Muhammad Sháh. Nádir, it is true, did not wholly

(30)

⁹⁰ This is the common appellation of the House of Taimúr.—(Malcolm.)

⁹¹ Fraser, in his life of this conqueror, states the loss of the Persians at 2,500 killed but this appears, from all other accounts, to be exaggerated.—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XVII.

tence. Among the higher classes of Hindús, suicide to prevent disgrace, is very common. There is no race in the world who, from their frugal habits, have so little apparent use for money, and who are so devotedly fond of it.

(31) The approach of Nádir Sháh to Delhi had filled the inhabitants of that city with dread, but the strict discipline, which his troops observed on their first arrival, restored confidence to all. Nádir himself occupied a palace in the city, and had sent some troops to different quarters of it to maintain tranquillity, and to protect the inhabitants from insult or injury. In Fraser's Life of Nádir Sháh, it is stated that orders were issued by Nádir, that, if any of his troops should insult an Indian, the nose and ears of the offender should instantly be cut off. All was quiet for three days, but, on the night of the fourth, it was reported that Nádir was dead. This report, which was first circulated by some designing persons, instantly spread, and a thoughtless mob made a furious assault upon the Persians, who were scattered about the town as safeguards. These, who were divided in small parties, and quite unsuspecting of attack, were almost all murdered; but what creates the greatest disgust for the depraved nobles of Delhi is, that most of those, at whose palaces troops were stationed for their protection, gave them up without effort to the fury of the populace, and even, in some instances, assisted in their destruction.

A report is spread of Nádir's death. A. D. 1739. A.H. 1152.

The inhabitants commence a furious attack on the Persians.

Nádir in vain endeavours to undeceive the populace.

Orders for a general massacre.

Which is stopped at the intercession of the emperor of India.

Nádir, when he first heard of the tumult, sent several persons to explain to the populace their delusion and their danger, but his messengers were slain. He remained, with all the Persians he could assemble, in the palace, which he occupied, till the day dawned, when he mounted his horse, and rode forth to endeavour, by his presence, to quell the tumult; but his moderation only inflamed their insolence and fury. All authors agree, that it was his desire to spare the people; and Fraser, who was a contemporary, and was himself present on the scene, says that a shot was fired at Nádir himself, which missed him, but killed one of his principal officers, who was close by him. When he saw matters in this state, he, at last, gave his troops, who had arrived from their encampment near the city, orders for a general massacre. He was too well obeyed; the populace, the moment the Persians began to act, lost all their courage, and from sunrise till 12 o'clock, Delhi presented a scene of shocking carnage, the horrors of which were increased by the flames, which now spread to almost every quarter of the city. Nádir, after he had issued the fatal orders, went into the small mosque of Ro-han-ud-daulah, which stands near the centre of the city, and remained there, in a deep and silent gloom, that none dared to disturb. At last, the unhappy Muhammed Sháh, attended by two of his ministers, rushed into his presence, exclaiming "spare my people." Nádir replied, "The Emperor of India must never ask in vain;" and he instantly commanded that the massacre should cease. The prompt obedience, which was given to this command, is remarked by all historians, as the strongest proof of the strict discipline, which he had introduced into his army.

Muhammad Sháh were so united in friendship, that they might be esteemed as having one soul in two bodies ; and he concludes " may God forbid, but, if accounts of your rebelling against your emperor should reach our ears, we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation."

The conqueror had behaved with considerable moderation and kindness towards the chief Umrás of the Court of Delhi, but we learn his sentiments regarding them from a remarkable anecdote.⁹³ One day, when speaking to Kamr-ud-din, who was the wazír, he demanded, how many ladies he had. " Eight hundred and fifty " was the reply. " Let one hundred and fifty of our female captives," said Nádir, " be sent to the wazír, who will, then, be entitled to the high military rank of a Begbáshi,⁹⁴ or commander of a thousand."

The amount of the plunder that Nádir carried from India has been estimated variously. Some calculations make it upwards of seventy millions sterling ; the lowest is considerably more than thirty. A great part of this was in precious stones. When, on his march from India, he was informed that several of the most valuable crown jewels had been seized by some of his followers. He made this a pretext for searching the baggage of every man in his army, and appropriating all the jewels that were found to himself. The soldiers murmured,⁹⁵ but submitted ; and their not resisting this despotic act is an extraordinary proof of the subordination he had established. I have heard many Persian noblemen, when speaking on this subject, refer the conduct of Nádir more to policy than avarice. He feared, they affirm, that his soldiers would be spoiled by wealth.⁹⁶ He was, however, in general, kind and liberal to his troops, and Mírzá Mahdí says, he had given to each man a gratuity of three months' pay at the fall of Kandahár ; he gave them as much more after the victory of Karnál, and they received a still greater bounty before he marched from Delhi.

The troops of Nádir, we are told, suffered much in their retreat from India by the intense heat, to which they were exposed. Their passage over the rivers of the Panjáb, and the Indus, was delayed by accidents to the temporary bridges, which he had had constructed ; and, in one instance, by the threatened attack of the mountaineers of Kábul, whose forbearance he did not disdain to purchase ; and, when we consider the nature of the country through which he had to pass, the immense train of baggage with which his army was accompanied, and the danger, that might have arisen from the slightest confusion, we cannot blame the prudence with which he acted upon this occasion.

On his return from India, he commanded that all taxes should be remitted in Persia for three years ; and all conceived that their sovereign and his soldiers had acquired vast riches, and that Nádir was disposed to enjoy himself, from the number of artificers and musicians which he brought from India. Curiosity too was eager to behold the train of elephants, which attended his march. That noble animal had become a stranger to the plains of Persia, and the natives of that country were only familiar with its shape, from seeing its figure in the sculpture of ancient times. Nádir was hailed by the inhabitants as a hero, whose fame had eclipsed that of a Shápúr or a Naushírwán.

The soldiers of Nádir, were, we are informed, after the expedition to India, most anxious for repose ; but that prince knew too well, that the non-employment of his soldiery would mean bringing disgrace on the country. He had, after he passed the Indus, led them through the deserts of Sind to the attack of a feudatory chief, who had established himself in the government of that province. This ruler had courted Nádir Sháh when he first threatened the invasion of India, as he deemed such a measure favourable to his views of independence ; but, when his possessions were made over to the Persian monarch by the treaty between Muhammad Sháh and Nádir, he changed his policy, and lodging all his treasure and property in the fortress of Amarkot, made a feeble⁹⁷ attempt at opposition ; but his

Chapter XVII.

Amount of the plunder obtained by Nádir.

Searches the baggage of every man in his army and takes all the jewels to himself.

His troops suffer in their retreat from India.

Persia rejoices at the prospect of the return of her monarch ; three years' taxes are remitted. A.D. 1740, A.H. 1153.

Exaggerated reports of the wealth of the sovereign and his soldiers. (33)

Nádir attacks the ruler of Sind.

Takes and plunders his capital.

⁹³Nádir despised their luxurious and effeminate habits. A chief of the tribe of Afshár, Malcolm says, informed me that his father, who was one of Nádir's generals, used often to praise the great continence of that monarch, who never, he said, had more than 2 wives with him when in the field, and was displeased with any leader, who was accompanied by more than one.

⁹⁴The Turkish word for a commander of a thousand is Begbáshi (pronounced bingbáshi), Mimbáshi must be a corruption.

⁹⁵Hanway, who records the particulars of this occurrence, says, some of the soldiers were so enraged, that they threw the jewels they had plundered into the river Indus, on the banks of which they were encamped, rather than deliver them to the officers appointed to search.

⁹⁶Lit. " He knew, that a dog satiated with the chase, and an army laden with spoil, would alike not come to the fore."

⁹⁷This meaning of *harakat-i-mazbúhe* is not to be found in Richardson's Dictionary. It signifies the expiring motion of an animal, slaughtered for sacrifice, which, after having had its throat cut, makes a movement or two before expiring ; hence the signification—a weak, dying, or feeble, attempt or effort.

Chapter XVII.

Restores the Governor to his province.

capital was taken and plundered, and he was compelled to surrender himself to the mercy of the conqueror, who, however, satisfied with his submission, and the possession of his wealth, restored him to the government of the province, which he agreed, henceforward, to hold as a tributary to the crown of Persia. The following account of this transaction is given in a memoir by an English gentleman, who was lately envoy from the Supreme Government of India to the ruler of Sind. "In the reign of Muhammad Sháh, when the alarm, excited by the threatened invasion of India by Nádir Sháh, had become general, Mír Núr Muhammad 'Abbási Kálúrí, whose hereditary possessions consisted of the province of Siwí, (also called Sirí) and other districts, and who not only exercised the functions of executive power in those provinces, but possessed a spiritual authority over several military chiefs, who considered themselves bound to pay him obedience on the ground of the sanctity of his family, availed himself of the apprehensions of Sádik 'Alí Khán, (the Súbadár of Sind on the part of Muhammad Sháh), to persuade that officer, in the 1150th year of the Hijrah, to transfer the government of Sind to him, for the sum of three lakhs of rupees, part of which has remained unpaid to the present day. Nádir Sháh, having, in the year 1152 of the Hijrah, defeated the Kálúrí army, compelled the chiefs of the family to take refuge in Amarkot, a fort situated in the desert. An arrangement, however, was ultimately made, by which the Kálúris were permitted by the conqueror to retain the government of Sind, on condition of paying a yearly tribute to the sovereigns of Persia; and this appears to have been regularly paid by the first of these princes. After the death of Mír Núr Muhammad Kálúrí, which took place 1185, A. H., eight princes of the Kálúrí family, in regular succession, reigned in Sind until 1197 A.H., when Mír Fath 'Alí Tálpár effected the expulsion of 'Abdun Nabí, the last of the Kálúrí princes, and established the present dynasty of that country."

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4th June.
A.D. 1740, A.H. 1153.
Moves his army from Hirát.

(34)
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After this expedition, Nádir marched to Hirát, where he made a proud display of the jewels and plunder he had acquired in India; and seated on the peacock throne of Muhammad Sháh, ⁹⁸ which was ornamented with precious stones of every description, he held a high festival; and, for some days, the court, army, and populace, were amused with pageants, shows, and entertainments of every kind. But Nádir always appears to have dreaded the danger of inaction for his troops. So, after the exhibition was over, he moved from Hirát, and, after meeting his son Razzá Kuli, and bestowing valuable presents upon him and the other princes of his family, he moved towards Balkh, where he had ordered preparations for his crossing the Oxus, to punish the sovereignty of Bukhárá, who, unmindful of his established alliance, had taken advantage of his absence in India, to make inroads into the province of Khurásán.

His motives for undertaking this expedition.

The motives, which induced Nádir to proceed upon this expedition, were soon apparent. He had no desire to extend the boundary of his empire in a direction where he knew it could not be maintained; but he wished to visit upon the inhabitants of this part of Tartary, those calamities, which they were in the annual habit of inflicting upon the frontier provinces of Persia. Abúl Faizw Khán, who was the ruler of the Uzbags at this period, boasted a lineal descent from Changíz Khán. He was terrified into submission at the approach of Nádir, and sent his wazír, to deprecate the wrath of that monarch. The minister was well received, but was told that his master must immediately surrender, if he desired to save himself from destruction, and his country from ruin. While these negotiations were carried on, the Persian army advanced by rapid marches to Bukhárá, and five days after they had crossed the Oxus, encamped within twelve miles of that capital. The city of Bukhárá is not more than fifty miles from the Oxus, but Nádir had crossed higher up. The expedition was, at length, brought to a close by the personal submission of Abúl Faizw Khán, who attended by all his court, proceeded to the tents of Nádir Sháh, and laid his crown and other ensigns of royalty at the feet of the conqueror; who assigned him an honorable place in his assembly, and, a few days afterwards, restored him to his throne, on the condition that the Oxus should remain, as it had been in former periods, the boundary of the two empires. This treaty was cemented by an alliance between the daughter of the ruler of Bukhárá and the nephew of his conqueror; and a great

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23rd August.

The ruler of the Uzbags personally submits and gives up his crown.

He is restored to his throne.

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number of Turkamans and Uzbags were, with the concurrence of their own commander, enrolled in the Persian army.⁹⁹

The arms of Nádír were next directed against the kingdom of Khwárazm, which is situated to the westward of Bukhára, and stretches along both banks of the Oxus to the shores of the Caspian Sea. Ilburz, the prince of this country, had committed frequent depredations upon the Persian territories, and on hearing of Nádír's move towards those parts, conceiving that the strength of his fortresses, and his own high mental powers, would secure him from vengeance, he resolved on resistance. The king of Bukhára had sent a mission to advise him to submit to the arms of Nádír, but he not only treated this friendly counsel with disdain, but slew those through whom it was conveyed. This violation of the laws of all nations greatly irritated the monarch of Persia, who, after he had defeated his army, and made him prisoner, doomed him and twenty of his chief officers to death. The possessions of Ilburz were bestowed upon Táhir Khán, who, according to Mirzá Mahdí, was the grandson of Walí Muhammad Khán, Changizí, and a cousin of the sovereign of Túrán.¹⁰⁰

When the winter of the year was far advanced, Nádír marched to Kilát, to which place he continued, from his most early days, to be much attached; and as he thought he would probably¹⁰¹ end his days there, he had directed that its fortifications should be improved, that a palace should be built, and that aqueducts should be constructed to improve the fertility of its fields. He had also ordered that all his treasures should be carried thither.

In Kinnier's Memoir of Persia, it is stated that "Kilát is about a degree north of Mashad, on the road to Marw Sháh Jáhán, and is situated in a very mountainous country, named Azhdar Koh, or the mountains of the Dragon. It is a very high hill, accessible only by two narrow paths. After an ascent of about 7 miles, you reach a fine plain, nearly 12 miles in circuit, watered by a multitude of little streams, and producing corn and rice in the greatest abundance. The inhabitants of the mountains live in tents, and the only buildings in this delightful valley are two towers, and a small marble edifice, erected by Nádír. The towers were intended for the defence of the paths, and the house for the use of his majesty. On quitting the valley, you continue to ascend, and after travelling about 15 miles, gain the summit of the mountain, on which is another plain, not so large, but equal in fertility to the former. Here are also two small towers, which command the approaches, and are the only fortifications on the castle of Kilát, the strength of which, like the Kila'h Sufaid, consists in the steepness of the rock, and in the difficulty of access to it. A single stone, hurled from the top, is sufficient to stop the advance, if not to effect the destruction, of an enemy." After a short residence at Kilát, Nádír proceeded to Mashad, which he had made the capital of his empire, and, during the three months that he remained in this city, his time was passed in constant festivities. Five monarchs had been subdued in five years; viz, the two Afghán princes, Ashraf and Hussain, Muhammad Sháh, Emperor of India, Abúl Faizw Khán, king of Bukhára, and Ilburz, ruler of Khwarazm. The empire of Persia had not only been rescued from a foreign yoke, but its limits had been extended as far as the Oxus to the North, and the Indus to the East; and his subjects were looking forward to the fulfilment of his promise, that the Turks should be driven from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; but honour required that Nádír should first revenge the blood of his brother, Ibráhím Khán, who had been slain in an attack on the Iazakís. Ibráhím Khán was an active and brave man. He enjoyed the full confidence of Nádír; and his sons, after his death, were treated by Nádír as his own sons.

⁹⁹ Nádír probably esteemed the services of these hardly warriors as of more consequence to the peace of his own dominions, and the fulfilment of his future views of ambition, than all the wealth he had brought from India.—(Malcolm).

¹⁰⁰ Faridún had three sons; Silm Túr. and Irij. After the three princes had been united in marriage to three daughters of a King of Arabia, Faridún determined to divide his wide dominions among his sons. To Silm he gave the countries comprehended in modern Turkey; to Túr, Tartary and part of China; and to Irij, Persia. From prince Túr's name, Persian authors derive Túrán, which was formerly the appellation by which all the countries between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, in one direction, and the Caspian and the boundaries of China, in the other, were known to the natives of Persia. Many Persian historians derive the name of Irán from that of prince Irij. Mullá Firoz an excellent Pahlawí scholar tells me that Irán is the plural of Ir, and means the country of believers; and Irij might have taken his name from the same term. Iran or Arun signifies, I am told, mountainous in Hebrew; and the face of the country certainly favours this etymology.—(Malcolm).

¹⁰¹ A peaceful retirement to this cherished spot, after the toils and dangers of war were at an end, was one of the most innocent of those dreams, which amused the fancy of this indefatigable conqueror.—(Malcolm).

Chapter XVII.

Nádír makes war upon the kingdom of Khwarazm,

Whose ruler resolves on resistance.

He is made prisoner and put to death and the rule given to his cousin, Táhir Khán.

A.D. 1740, A.H. 1153, Nádír marches to Kilát.

Proceeds to Mashad which he makes the capital of his empire, A.D. 1741, A.H. 1155.

Resolves to revenge the blood of his brother Ibráhím Khán.

Chapter XVII.

Restores the Governor to his province.

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His motives for undertaking this expedition.

A.D. 1740, A.H. 1153.

23rd August.

The ruler of the Uzbags personally submits and gives up his crown.

He is restored to his throne.

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1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971). The concentration of chlorophylls was expressed as $\mu\text{g mL}^{-1}$ of the sample.

Chapter XVII.

A.D. 1741, A.H.
1154.

Nádir is wounded
by an assassin.

Who escapes,
but is afterwards
taken, A.D. 1741
A.H. 1154.

The Lazakís def-
end themselves
bravely.

(36)

Nádir is compel-
led to retire with
partial success but
heavy loss.

A.D. 1743, A.H.
1156, deprives his
son Razwá Kulí of
sight.

When the army was on its march to Dághistán, an event occurred, which cast a dark cloud over all the fair prospects that dawned upon Persia, and exhibited, in the strongest view, the miserable condition of those empires, whose fate hangs upon the disposition and talents of a despotic sovereign. An advanced corps, chiefly composed of Afgháns, had, by their extraordinary valour, gained the greatest advantages over the Lazakís; and Nádir was hastening by the way of Mázindarán to their support, when, pursuing his march through one of the forests in that country, a ball from an assassin, who concealed himself behind a tree, wounded him in the hand and killed his horse. The prince Razwá Kulí, who was near him, galloped towards the spot from which the shot had been fired; but neither his efforts, nor those of the guard who aided him, could succeed in the attempt to seize the fugitive, who, favoured by the thickness of the wood, effected his escape. He was afterwards taken. Mirzá Mahdí states that Nek Kadam, a slave of Diláwar Khán, Taimani, at the instigation of Áká Mirzá, the son of Diláwar, was the perpetrator of this act. Áká Mirzá, as the instigator of this treacherous act, was put to death, but, as Nek Kadam had been promised his life, he was only deprived of both his eyes. This accident, though it made a deep impression upon Nádir's mind, did not prevent his proceeding to attack the Lazakís. When he reached Dághistán, the Lazakís defended themselves with the most desperate bravery, and the rugged nature of the whole country, which they inhabit, made it almost impossible to subdue them. The bravest troops of the Persian army were worn out with the fatigue of this harassing war; and the preparations, which the Russians began to make at Hashtdar Khán (Astracan), though dictated by a fear that Nádir meant to invade their country after he had subdued the Lazakís, gave the latter every encouragement to persevere in their resistance,¹⁰² and the Persian monarch was compelled to retire from this expedition with very partial success, and very great loss.

Nádir had, from the day on which his life was attempted, entertained suspicions of his eldest son, Razwá Kulí. He summoned him to his presence. Immediately on his arrival, he was made prisoner, and deprived of sight. A respectable European writer, who went to Persia two years after this event, appears satisfied that the assassin, who fired at Nádir in the woods of Mázindarán, was employed by the prince, Razwá Kulí, who, he informs us, though brave and able, was violent and oppressive. He had, on hearing that Nádir was dead, when on his expedition to India, declared himself king, and, at the same time, put the unfortunate Sháh Tahmáshb, who was confined at Sabzawár in Khurásán, to death. Although Sháh Tahmáshb was put to death as stated by the above writer, it has been conjectured that this act was committed by the command of Nádir. The same writer assures us, that Nádir, though convinced of the guilt of his son, addressed him in the mildest and most humane terms, and offered him complete pardon, if he would only confess his crime and promise repentance, but that the fierce youth rejected this offer, and said he gloried in the attempt he had made, to rid the world of a tyrant, and provoked his fate by the coarsest abuse of his father and sovereign. It is probable that the author received the account, which he has given of this transaction, from some person desirous of palliating Nádir's guilt, but we are compelled to refuse our credit to this statement. Mirzá Mahdí expressly informs us that

¹⁰² We meet with the following remarks of Hanway on this subject:—

"The Lazakís had intimated their desire of putting themselves under the protection of Russia, from the time of Nádir's first invading their country, and it certainly was the interest of that empire to support the independence of those brave mountaineers, who form so safe a barrier against the Persians. The arrival of the Russian troops, indeed, contributed to defeat Nádir's designs; and he found himself obliged to abandon an enterprise, to which his skill and fortune were not equal. As soon as the Russian general arrived in the neighbourhood of Dághistán, the Lazakís made application to him; and from an apprehension of the danger they might be exposed to, in case Nádir was determined to prosecute his design of reducing them, they wrote to this commander as follows:—

Most honoured and most accomplished General and Commander-in-Chief,
Our most humble petition consists in this; all the inhabitants of Dághistán having been informed that you are arrived near the frontiers of Kislar with an imperial army, and that your intention is to defend and protect the subjects of her imperial majesty in Andruska, Koskoff, and Baxan, as also all the chiefs and rulers of the states bordering on the dominions of her imperial majesty, after long and anxious expectations of your arrival, we have sent our deputies, in the name of the whole nation, to desire your intercession, that her imperial majesty may receive us under her puissant protection, and permit us to be her slaves. We are determined to hold the golden border of the imperial robes, and, in spite of all the evils that may threaten us, we will not be dragged from them, nor seek any other protection, nor acknowledge any other sovereign than God and her imperial majesty. We hereby take a solemn oath of allegiance to her imperial majesty, whom we most humbly implore to protect us against our enemies, and, in her exalted clemency, to give a favourable answer to our petition. And that her puissant majesty may know in what numbers our troops consist, we send you a list as follows."

They transmitted, with this letter, a summary of the forces that the different chiefs could raise, which amounted to sixty-six thousand; but this account of their strength must have been exaggerated.—(Malcolm).

Nádir was deceived by the gross misrepresentations of infamous men into the commission of this great crime. The European physician,¹⁰³ who attended that monarch during the latter years of his life, asserts the innocence of Razwá Kulí. He adds that Nádir was so penetrated with remorse the moment the deed of horror was done, that he vented his fury on all around him; and fifty noblemen, who had witnessed the dreadful act, were put to death on the pretext, that they should have offered their lives as sacrifices, to save the eyes of a prince, who was the glory of their country.¹⁰⁴ From the moment that his life had been attempted in Mázinarán, that monarch had become gloomy and irritable. His bad success against the Lazakis had increased the natural violence of his temper, and listening to the enemies of Razwá Kulí, he, in a moment of rage, ordered him to be blinded. "Your crimes have forced me to this dreadful measure," was, we are told, the speech tht Nádir made to his son. "It is not my eyes you have put out" replied Razwá Kulí, "but those of Persia." Mirzá Mahdí says that he never afterwards knew happiness, nor desired that others should enjoy it. All his future actions were deeds of horror, except the contest which he carried on against the Turks for three years; and even in it, he displayed none of that energy and heroic spirit, which marked his first wars with that nation.

The Persian army had made unsuccessful efforts to reduce the cities of Bassara, of Baghdád, and of Musal. Nádir marched, early in the succeeding year, to meet a large Turkish force which had advanced to near Íriwán; and we are told, that he desired to encounter his enemies in battle on the same plain, where he had ten years before acquired such renown; but their general, subdued by his own fears, fled, and was massacred by his own soldiers, who, thrown into confusion at this event, were easily routed by the Persians. This was the last victory of Nádir; his son, Nasrullah, defeated about the same period an army of the Turks near Diyár Bakr. Sensible of his own condition, Nádir hastened to make peace with the Turks. His pretensions, regarding the establishment of a fifth sect among orthodox Mukhammadans, and the erection of a fifth pillar in the mosque at Makka, were abandoned. It was agreed that prisoners on both sides should be released, that Persian pilgrims, going to the holy cities of Makka and Madína, should be protected, and that the whole of the province of Írán¹⁰⁵ and Ázarbáiján should remain with Persia, except an inconsiderable territory, that had belonged to the Turkish Government in the time of Sháh Isma'íl.

The conduct of Nádir to his own subjects, during the last five years of his reign, has been described, as exceeding in barbarity all that has been recorded of the most bloody tyrants. The acquisition of the wealth of India had, at first, filled the mind of Nádir with the most generous feelings. He had proclaimed that no taxes should be collected from Persia for three years. But the possession of riches had soon its usual effect of creating a desire for more; and while the vast treasures, he had acquired, were hoarded at the Fort of Kilát, which he continually laboured to render inaccessible, he not only paid his armies, but added to his own golden heaps, from the arrears of remitted revenue, which he extorted with the most inflexible rigour. Nádir knew that the attack, which he had made upon the religion of his country, had rendered him unpopular; and that the priests, whom he particularly oppressed, endeavoured to spread disaffection. This made him suspect those who still adhered to the tenets of the Shi'a sect, or in other words, almost all the natives of Persia. The troops in his army, upon whom he placed most reliance, were the Afgháns and Turkamáns. Their leaders were his principal favourites; and every pretext was taken to put to death such Persian chiefs as possessed either influence or power. These proceedings had the natural effect of producing rebellion in every quarter, and Fárs, Shírwán and Mázinarán were all at one period in rebellion; this changed the violence of Nádir into outrageous fury. His murders were no longer confined to individuals; the inhabitants of whole cities were massacred, and to use the words of Mirzá Mahdí: "Men left their abodes, and took up their habitations in caverns and deserts, in the hope of escaping his savage ferocity. We are told that, when, on his march to subdue one of his nephews, Alf Kulí Khán who had rebelled in Sistan, he proposed to put to death every Persian in his army. There can be little doubt that his mind was, at this moment, in a state of frenzy, which amounted to insanity.

A.D. 1744, A.H. 1157, Nádir marches against the Turks.

A.D. 1745, A.H. 1158, the Turkish general massacred and his army routed. (37)

Terms, on which he concludes a peace with the Turks.

His barbarous conduct during the last five years of his reign.

¹⁰³ The monk Bazin joined Nádir Sháh, when he was at Dirband in 1741, and remained with him as physician till 1747, the year in which that monarch was murdered.—(Malcolm).

¹⁰⁴ I have conversed with the descendants of several of Nádir's chief umrás, who all concurred in the truth of Mirzá Mahdí's statement of this fact.—(Malcolm).

¹⁰⁵ For derivation of Írán, see note 98.

Chapter XVII.

Proposes to put to death every Persian in his army. His intention is known, and a plot is formed against him.

He is murdered, A.D. 1747, A.H. 1160.

Review of the principal actions of the life of Nádír Sháh.

(38)

Some of the principal officers of his court, who learnt that their names were in the list of prescribed victims,¹⁰⁶ resolved to save themselves by the assassination of Nádír. The execution of the plot was committed to four persons, among whom were Múhammad 'Alí Khán, Afshár, and Sálíh Beg, the captain of his guards. These chiefs took advantage of their stations, and, under the pretext of urgent business, rushed past the guards into the inner tents. The noise awoke Nádír, and he had slain two of them, when a blow from Sálíh Beg deprived him of existence.

The character of this extraordinary man will be best understood from a short review of the principal actions of his life. Born in a low rank, he appears to have owed the distinction, he early obtained among his rude associates, to his uncommon bodily strength, his determined courage, and a strong natural good sense, which though, afterwards, improved by experience, was never cultivated by education. The wretched condition of his native country was calculated to excite, in the ardent mind of Nádír, the most noble ambition; and, when we reflect on the success which attended his first efforts against the Afgháns, we are almost reconciled to his usurpation of the name of that sovereign power, the substance of which he had long enjoyed, and which he could not have resigned without extreme danger, both to himself and to a nation, which had been saved by his valour and his genius.

After expelling the Afgháns from Írán, and after obtaining the most signal victories over the Turks, and conquering Kandahár and Kábul, he sought, and with success, to convert the enemies of his country into friends. The causes of his expedition to India have been explained; and, though it brought misery to thousands, there never perhaps, was a conquest of such magnitude, made by an Asiatic prince, with less crime to the individual, by whom it was accomplished. The riches and the renown, which he obtained by this enterprise, gave him great means of restoring Persia to all her ancient splendour; and his invasion of the territory of Bukhárá, while it was the best, and indeed, the only way, in which he could secure the continued tranquillity of his own possessions, added perhaps still more to his fame and to his power. His generous treatment of the humbled monarch of that country, and his conduct to the Emperor of India, showed that Nádír desired to trust more to the impression of his arms, than to the extent of his dominions, for the future security of his power. Hitherto this monarch, whether we consider the noble and patriotic object, which first stimulated his ambition, the valour and ability he displayed, the comparative moderation, with which he used success, or the glorious deeds he had done, is entitled to great, if not unqualified, admiration. But a dreadful change took place in his disposition and character during his latter years. From the moment, that his mind was subdued by avarice and suspicion, he became one of the most cruel of tyrants, and Persia, by a strange destiny, seemed doomed to receive her death by that hand, to which she, a few years before, had owed her existence. When the mind of Nádír was in its most disturbed and frenzied state, he still continued to brood over those plans, which he had cherished in his happier days. He anxiously desired to encourage trade, and thought that his country would not only become more wealthy, but more powerful, if he could form a navy. The aid of an Englishman¹⁰⁷ enabled him to commence the execution of this project on the Caspian, but the effort produced no benefit to Persia; and, by exciting the jealousy of Russia, proved destructive to an infant branch of commerce, which British merchants had established in that quarter. Nádír had also ordered ships to be built on the shores of the Persian Gulf; and, with the true spirit of an unreflecting despot, commanded that timber for that purpose should be conveyed from the forests of Mázindarán, a distance of more than 600 miles, and that, through a country, which had neither canals, roads, nor wheel carriages.¹⁰⁸ The oppressed inhabitants of the intervening provinces were compelled to contribute their labour to this object, which was never accomplished. The rude ribs of an ill constructed vessel were, ten years ago, to be seen on the beach at Búsíahr. He also, directed an immense quantity of marble to be carried from Ázarbáiján, to ornament his palaces at Kílát and Mashad; the transportation of which caused almost as much misery, as the conveying of the timber did. In 1810 A.D. the author visited the quarry, where this marble was found, and saw a great number of half finished blocks that had

¹⁰⁶ The physician Bazin states that Nádír had informed the chief of the Afgháns, that he entirely reposed on the fidelity of his corps, and that he meant they should next day seize and imprison all the officers of his guards.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁰⁷ The name of this person was *Ellon*; for an account of his proceeding and their consequences, see the Works of Jones Hanway.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁰⁸ As the Persians have no term for wheel carriage, such being unknown in their country *Mirzá Hairat* has been obliged to borrow from *Hundústání*, and to translate the same by *Gári bári*; in another place he uses *Gári-i-charkh*.

been untouched since Nádir's death. This quarry is on the banks of the lake of Úrmiya¹⁰⁹ and about 18 miles from the town of Marágha.

We have a remarkable instance of the anxiety, with which Nádir desired to encourage commerce, in the conduct he observed towards an English merchant (Hanway) who visited his camp three years before his death, and at a period when Persia was devastated by his oppression and cruelty. The monarch commanded, that all the losses, which this eminent merchant had sustained by the rebellion at Astarábád, should be made good either by the recovery of his merchandise, or from the sale of the property of those by whom he had been plundered.¹¹⁰

It has been already stated, that Nádir desired to change the religion of his country. His first idea probably was to destroy, with the tenets of the Sh'ia sect, that devoted veneration and attachment, which those who held them, cherished for the Sáffavían dynasty, by whom this faith had first been established as a national religion. He also desired as it has been noticed, to do away with religious distinctions.¹¹¹ We have the strongest evidence that his conduct on this point was wholly uninfluenced by other motives, than that of policy.¹¹² He appears, indeed, to have had no fixed sentiments upon the subject of religion. Soon after his return from India, he had directed, that the four evangelists should be translated into Persian; and when this work was finished in a very incorrect manner by some Romish and Armenian priests, who wrote it under the superintendence of Mírzá Mahdí,¹¹³ he summoned some Christian priests, Jewish rabbis and Muhammandan mullás, to his presence. Extracts from the imperfect translation, that had been made of the New Testament, were read to him, and he amused himself, and some of his hearers, with ludicrous remarks on the mysterious parts of the Christian faith. He, at last, said that, if God spared him, he would make a religion much better than any of those mankind yet possessed.

The Sáffavían kings had established a powerful hierarchy in their dominions, at the head of which was a Sadr-us-Sudúr, or chief pontiff. This body, who were always possessed of much wealth, had enjoyed not only a very great share of the government, but of the revenues of the country, under the weak and bigotted Sháh Sultán Hussain. The fate of that prince had brought the popular indignation on them, and Nádir, therefore, proceeded, without alarm at the consequence, to plunder the ecclesiastical revenues. We are informed that immediately after he was crowned, he assembled a number of the principal priests, and demanded of them in what manner the immense revenues,¹¹⁴ which they enjoyed, were appropriated. They replied, "in supporting priests, colleges, and mosques. In the latter, we continually offer up prayers to God for the success of our sovereigns." "Your prayers," said Nádir, "are evidently not acceptable to the Almighty, for the empire has suffered its greatest decline, when your order was most encouraged. It has been rescued from destruction by my brave soldiers, who are, therefore, to be deemed God's chosen instruments, and your wealth must, henceforward, be applied to their support." At the same time that Nádir seized almost the whole of the church revenue, he abolished the duties of the chief pontiff, but left the name, and gave the person, who bore it, a small pension. His conduct to the priesthood, though it excited no comment at the moment, was perhaps, one of the most impolitic acts, that he ever

¹⁰⁹ This Lake, generally believed to be the Spauto of Strabo and Marciannus of Ptolemy is about 300 miles in circumference. Its water is quite salt, but is different from that of the sea, and it is remarkable that there are no fish in it.—(Malcolm.)

¹¹⁰ Malcolm says: "A Persian manuscript in my possession relates an extraordinary and amusing anecdote of Nádir at this period, which shows how completely he understood the feelings of the most ignorant and wicked of his subjects. A native merchant, travelling from Kábul, had been robbed in a plain near Nishápúr, and carried his complaint to the sovereign. "Was there no one near but the robbers," said Nádir. "None," was the reply. "Were there no trees, or stones or bushes." "Yes," said the man, "there was one large solitary tree, under whose shade I was reposing when I was attacked," Nádir, on hearing this affected great fury, and ordered two executioners to proceed instantly, and flog the tree that had been described, every morning till it either restored the property that had been lost, or revealed the names of the thieves, by whom it had been taken. The mandate of a king of Persia is always a law, that of Nádir was considered as irrevocable as fate. The executioners proceeded and the tree had not suffered flagellation above a week, when all the goods that had been stolen were found one morning, carefully deposited at its root. The alarmed robbers, who soon heard of the extravagant cruelty that inflicted such blows upon an inanimate substance, trembled at the very thought of the horrible punishment that awaited them, if ever discovered. When the result was reported to Nádir, he smiled and said: "I knew what the flogging of that tree would produce."

¹¹¹ As they seemed likely to interfere with his schemes of ambition.

¹¹² This sentence has been translated a little incorrectly by Mírzá Hairat, who has rendered it "was influenced not by policy but by other motives." The sentence in Persian should have been "Az bábi tadbir-i-mulk bad baki asbabi digar nadásh;," the "na" has been placed at the beginning of the sentence, instead of at the end before dásh.

¹¹³ Hanway tells us, that this translation, which was made in six months, was dressed up with glosses and fables, to make it agree with the Kurán.—(Malcolm.)

¹¹⁴ Hanway calculates this amount at nearly one-fifth of the revenue of the country, or about million sterling.—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XVII.

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committed; for this order became the active disseminators of sedition, and the efforts they made were successful.¹¹⁵ We are told that, on sending one of his nobles to take charge of a distant government, Nádir concluded his instructions by saying: "Remember, you are not to communicate with the Mullá; but I know you will meet him at night, and talk of me. He will call me one of the greatest monarchs in the universe, but will add that I am a villain, and that I have neither mercy nor justice in my composition."

Nádir had no faith in Darweshes, and the greatest contempt for the arts by which they imposed upon the credulity of his countrymen. Many believed that Imám Razwá¹¹⁶ continued to work miracles, and this belief gave rise to a great number of impositions. Persons pretending to be blind went to his tomb, and, after a long period of prayer, opened their eyes, and declared that their sight had been restored by the holy Imám. One of these was seated at the gate of the sacred mausoleum when Nádir passed. "How long have you been blind?" said the monarch. "Two years," answered the man. "A proof," said Nádir, "that you have no faith. If you had been a true believer, you would have been cured long ago. Recollect, my friend, if I come back, and find you as you now are, I will strike your head off." When Nádir returned, the frightened fellow pretended to pray violently, and all at once found his sight. "A miracle! a miracle!" the populace exclaimed, and tore off his coat in small pieces, as relics. The monarch smiled, and observed "that faith was every thing."

Nádir, we are informed, was a predestinarian, and the Persians believe, that even, in his frenzied moments, when he was destroying his fellow creatures, he thought himself an instrument of heaven. As a proof of this they relate the following extraordinary occurrence. An arrow was shot into his quarters, with a paper affixed, on which was written; "If thou art a king, cherish and protect thy people; if a prophet, shew us the path of salvation; and if a god, be merciful to thy creatures." The tyrant, while he made every search for the author, commanded that copies of this paper should be distributed throughout the camp, with the following answer annexed to it; "I am neither a king, to protect my subjects; a prophet, to teach the way of salvation; nor a god, to exercise the attribute of mercy; but I am he, whom the Almighty has sent in His wrath, to chastise a world of sinners."¹¹⁷

A.D. 1747, A.H. 1160, Ahmad Khán is repulsed in an attack on the Persians.

'Alí is hailed as sovereign of Persia.

The morning after the murder of Nádir presented a scene of the greatest confusion, Ahmad Khán a chief of the Abdálí tribe of Afghans, supported by a corps of Uzbags, made an attack upon the Persian troops, but was repulsed; according to some authors, Ahmad Khán was attacked by the Persians. Be that as it may, he proceeded by rapid marches to Kandahár, and not only obtained possession of that city, but took a large convoy of treasure, which was coming from Kábul and Siud to the Persian camp. By the aid of these means, this leader laid the foundation of a kingdom, which soon attained a strength, that rendered it formidable to surrounding nations. The chiefs, who had murdered Nádir, agreed to place (his nephew) 'Alí Kulí Khán, who was then in Sistán, upon the vacant throne. The prince hastened to join them, and he was hailed as sovereign of Persia, the moment he arrived.¹¹⁸ His first act was to circulate a proclamation, in which he declared, that those, who had slain his uncle, had acted by his order. This extraordinary document, which was meant to screen the conspirators from danger, deserves our attention, as it affords us, in the most authentic form, a proof of the impression, which had been made on all ranks by the horrid cruelties of Nádir. We discover from it, that a favourite nephew of that monarch, who owed everything to his bounty, makes an appeal to the inhabitants of Persia, to support him on the throne, on the ground of his merit, in having destroyed a despot; who, to use the words of the proclamation, "delighted in blood, and, with unheard of barbarity, made pyramids of the heads of his own subjects." "We commanded" this prince observes, "that

¹¹⁵ As these feelings of envy, which their wealth had excited, were soon changed into pity for their fallen condition. Nádir was well aware of their sentiments.—(Malcolm).

¹¹⁶ The Imám Razwá is interred at Mashad.

¹¹⁷ The character of this wonderful man is, perhaps, exhibited in its truest colours, in those impressions, which the memory of his actions has left upon the minds of his countrymen. They speak of him, as a deliverer and a destroyer; but while they expatiate with pride upon his deeds of glory, they dwell with more pity than horror upon the cruel enormities, which disgraced the latter years of his reign; and neither his crimes, nor the attempt he made to abolish their religion, have obliterated their gratitude and veneration for the hero, who revived, in the breasts of his degraded countrymen, a sense of their former fame, and restored Persia to her independence as a nation.—(Malcolm).

¹¹⁸ All Persians agree in their account of the causes that led to the death of Nádir, and there is no doubt, this declaration of 'Alí was only meant to screen the murderers from future imputation and danger on that account.—(Malcolm).

Muhammad Kulí Khán should prevail upon the Afghán guards to seize and remove the tyrant; thus, performing a service highly beneficial to the public welfare, and restoring rest and tranquillity to the nation."

The same proclamation informed his subjects, that 'Alí had marched to Mashad, where he had listened to the unanimous voice of the principal officers of the army, and the inhabitants of the city, who entreated him to ascend the throne, "that he might relieve the miseries, and repair the desolations of his country." He concluded by stating, that a consideration of the dreadful extortions and cruelties of his predecessor, and a desire to appease the wrath of heaven, led him to remit the revenues of the current year, and all extraordinary taxes for the two following.

In short, 'Alí took the name of 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh or 'Alí the just king, and ascended the throne.

A party of his troops had succeeded in taking by surprise the fortress of Kilát, which contained all the treasures of Nádir. The princes Nasr-ullah, Imám Kulí and Sháh Rukh were at Kilát, when 'Alí's troops entered. They fled, but were pursued, and taken. The two former were put to death, as were also the unfortunate Razwá Kulí, and thirteen of the sons and grandsons of Nádir. The only descendant of the conqueror, who was spared, was his grandson, Sháh Rukh, who was 14 years of age, when these horrid scenes occurred. We are informed, that the life of this young prince was only meant to be preserved, till 'Ádil Sháh was confirmed in the power he had usurped. It is also asserted, that the cruel tyrant was withheld from destroying him, from a fear that the clamours of the people might demand as their ruler, a prince of the blood of Nádir, and, in this extreme, he proposed elevating Sháh Rukh to the throne, and continuing to rule Persia in his name. 'Ádil Sháh endeavoured to efface the impression made by his cruelty and his usurpation, by dispensing with a prodigal hand the vast wealth which had been accumulated by his uncle; but even this attached none to his interests, and his reign was short. Muhammad Kulí Khán, who was the chief actor in the conspiracy against Nádir, incurred the displeasure of 'Ádil Sháh. He was seized, and given over bound to the ladies of the murdered conqueror, who fell upon him, and cut him to pieces. 'Ádil Sháh was defeated, taken, and deprived of sight by his brother Ibráhim Khán, to whom he had entrusted the government of 'Irák. His victory over his brother was gained by the defection of 'Alí's army. Ibráhim Khán did not, at first, declare his intention of aspiring to the throne. Aware that the young prince, Sháh Rukh was supported by several powerful nobles, he endeavoured to obtain possession of his person, and the royal treasures, before he disclosed his views. He, however, failed in this plan, and, when he found he had no other resource, except a bold and open attempt, he proclaimed himself king. He conquered Amír Arslán, who had made himself independent in Azárbáijan. But his reign was still shorter than that of his brother, whom he had dethroned. He was made prisoner by his own troops, and fell, unregretted, by the hand of an officer, who was appointed to guard him to Mashad. 'Ádil Sháh was also sent prisoner to that city, where he was put to death.

Sháh Rukh was the son of Razwá Kulí; his mother was the daughter of Sháh Sultán Hussain. He was, therefore, popular, both on account of his descent, and also on account of his youth, his personal beauty, his amiable manners, and his humane character. But his hopes were blighted by an enemy, who encouraged by the general confusion of the times, sought to obtain the crown. The name of this person was Mirzá Sayyid Muhammad. He had been employed in stations of some distinction under Nádir Sháh and boasted of being descended, through a female branch, from one of the Súffavían monarchs.¹¹⁹ Mirzá Dáúd, his father, was a man of such celebrated piety, that Sháh Sultán Hussain had not disdained to give him his sister in marriage. Sayyid Muhammad commenced his machinations by circulating a report, that the mild Sháh Rukh inherited all the rancour of Nádir against the religion of his country, and he brought forward the kindness and generosity, with which the young monarch had treated persons of other religions, particularly Christian merchants, as a proof of the truth of this allegation. The high reputation, his father had enjoyed, gave him so great an influence with the priests, that they combined to favour his views; and collecting a body of followers, he attacked Sháh Rukh, before he could assemble his troops. The young prince was made prisoner, and instantly deprived of sight, while his cruel enemy was proclaimed king of Persia, under the name of Sulaimán;¹²⁰ but his enjoyment of power was short,

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(41):

Marches to Mashad.

Assumes the title of 'Ádil Sháh.

His troops take the fortress of Kilát.

'Ádil Sháh is taken and deprived of sight, A.D. 1748, A.H. 1162.

Ibráhim Khán proclaims himself king.

Is put to death.

'Ádil Sháh is also slain.

Reign of Sháh Rukh.

A.D. 1748, A.H. 1162, Sayyid Muhammad endeavours to obtain the crown.

(42).

Sháh Rukh is taken and deprived of sight. Sayyid

¹¹⁹ His mother was the daughter of Sulaimán the 2nd, the father of Sháh Sultán Hussain (Malcolm).

¹²⁰ Lit. "But the rule of this Solomon, without a ring, had hardly opened, when it was sealed." This gives, as nearly as possible, the play on the words "Khátam (a signet ring) and Khatam "ended, closed" or "sealed" as I have rendered it.

Chapter XVII.

Muhammad proclaims himself king and assumes the name of Sulaimán.

A.D. 1750, A.H. 1164. Is put to death, Sháh Rukh is restored to the throne.

He is imprisoned.

Yúsuf 'Alí, the principal general of Sháh Rukh's army, hastened to revenge his monarch. Sulaimán was defeated, taken and put to death. Yúsuf 'Alí then restored the blind Sháh Rukh to the throne, and assumed the name of regent. But these measures were opposed by two chiefs, one Já'far, the head of a Kurdish, and the other Mír 'Álam, the chief of an Arabian tribe, by whose combined forces he was overcome and slain. Sháh Rukh was again sent to prison. His enemies, however, a few days after they had dethroned him, quarrelled with each other, marched out of separate gates of the city, and came to action. Mír 'Álam triumphed. Ahmad Khán Abdálí, immediately after the death of Nádir, had proclaimed himself king of the Afgháns, and had just added to his other conquests, that of the city of Hirát. He now advanced against Mír 'Álam, who was defeated and slain, and the city of Mashad, after some resistance, submitted to the conqueror.

Ahmad Khán was, at this period, in a condition to attempt the reduction of all Persia, but the prospect was not inviting. Every province of that kingdom was exhausted. The Afgháns were still deemed the original authors of the misery that its inhabitants endured, and the unsuccessful attempt, which had been made to alter the religion of the country, had revived, in all their vigour, those sentiments of hatred, which the Persians entertained for that race as Sunís. In addition to these obstacles, the example of usurpation, which Nádir Sháh had given, had inspired every governor of a province and every chief of a tribe with the desire of rule, and Persia abounded with pretenders to regal power. Under such circumstances, we must admire that wisdom, which led the Afghán prince to withdraw from this scene of turbulence, that he might exclusively direct his future exertions to the noble, and more legitimate, object of establishing a power in his native country, which, while it gave a crown to his descendants, raised his nation to a rank and consideration far beyond what they had ever enjoyed. It is recorded in a Persian manuscript that Ahmad Khán, before he left Khurásán, assembled the principal chiefs, and proposed, that the province, which gave birth to Nádir, should be separated from Persia and converted into a principality for his grandson, Sháh Rukh. They all agreed, and promised continued allegiance. Ahmad Khán became the guarantor of the independence of Khurásán, which, he justly concluded, would, hereafter, form a strong barrier to guard his dominions from the ambition of whatever ruler might succeed in obtaining the crown of Persia. The blind Sháh Rukh continued, as was designed, to enjoy the name of a prince. He also received annual offerings from some chiefs, who continued to acknowledge him, as their nominal superior. The few, and unimportant, events of the life of this prince, and his family, will find their place in the history of those rulers, who rose to power amid the scenes of violence and distraction, in which the empire was involved immediately after the death of Nádir.

Sháh Rukh restored by Ahmad Khán.

A.D. 1751, A.H. 1165.

CHAPTER XVIII.

*Reign of Karím Khán, Zand.*¹²¹

Chapter XVIII.

When Ahmad Khán was employed in settling the province of Khurásán, Muhammad Hussain Khán, Kájár, grandfather to the present king of Persia, had established himself at Astarábád, a town situated on the eastern shores of the Caspian, which had long been the residence of the family; and the whole of Mázindarán had submitted to his authority. The father (Fatkh 'Alí Khán) of this chief had been murdered by Nadir Sháh,¹²² and the tribe of Kájárs cherished, in consequence, a blood feud against the descendants of that monarch. Ahmad Khán might disturb his arrangements, sent a corps of his Afgháns to attack Mázindarán; but they were repulsed with considerable loss, and the fame and strength of the chief of the Kájárs were greatly increased by this victory.

The province of Ázarbáiján was, at this period, under the rule of an Afghán leader, Azád Khán, one of the generals of Nádir Sháh. Gilán had declared itself independent under one of its own chiefs, Hidáyat Khán; Georgia, governed by a Christian prince of the name of Heraclius, had assumed an attitude, which induced many to believe, that principally would emancipate itself from the subjection of the Muhammadan princes.

Such was the state of all the northern parts of the empire, when a chief of the tribe of Bakhtyári, called 'Alí Mardán Khán, took possession of Isfahán, and determined to raise a pageant of the house of Súfi to the throne, in order that he might reconcile the inhabitants to his own usurpation of regal power. Mírzá Sádík, the author of the *Tárikh-i-Zandiya*, states that he attacked and defeated Abúl Fatkh Khán, who was the governor of the city on the part of Sháh Rukh. As he was well satisfied he could not effect his object without great aid, he invited several Umrás to join his standard. The principal of these was Karím Khán of the tribe of Zand. In a genealogical account of his family, written by one of his immediate descendants, Karím Khán is stated to have been the son of a celebrated freebooter of the name of Aimák, but there is no attempt to trace his descent further. This chief was not of high birth, and had obtained no command in the army of Nádir, but he was distinguished for his good sense and courage. We are told by Mírzá Sádík, that Karím Khán, from the first, enjoyed an equal rank with 'Alí Mardán, and when it was agreed to raise to the throne a young prince of the race of Súfi, (who was the son of the sister of Sháh Sultán Hussain, and between 8 and 9 years old, and who was crowned under the name of Sháh Isma'il), it was settled, that one of the chiefs should be appointed his minister, and that the other should command the army. But it appears from other authorities, that Karím did not consider himself on a level with 'Alí Mardán Khán. There is, indeed, ground to conclude that his ambition was, at the commencement of the connection, limited to the prospect of succeeding that leader, who was very old, and had no children.

When the forces of these chiefs occupied Isfahán, that city was distracted by a number of parties. Every pretender to the throne had his adherents in the capital, but the inhabitants were soon reconciled to the new government. The troops of 'Alí Mardán Khán had, at first, committed some excesses, but no blood was shed; and that chief, though stern and severe in his manner, was neither cruel nor unjust. His fame, however, was soon eclipsed by that of Karím, who, when they took possession of Isfahán, defended the inhabitants of Jálfa, which was the quarter where he commanded, from the slightest injury either to their persons or property. His conduct, when the forces of these chiefs occupied Isfahán, that city was distracted by a number of parties. Every pretender to the throne had his adherents in the capital, but the inhabitants were soon reconciled to the new government. The troops of 'Alí Mardán Khán had, at first, committed some excesses, but no blood was shed; and that chief, though stern and severe in his manner, was neither cruel nor unjust. His fame, however, was soon eclipsed by that of Karím, who, when they took possession of Isfahán, defended the inhabitants of Jálfa, which was the quarter where he commanded, from the slightest injury either to their persons or property. His conduct,

Karím Khán defends the inhabitants of Jálfa. (44)

¹²¹ The History of Persia, from the death of Nádir Sháh till the elevation of 'Aká Muhammad Khán, the founder of the reigning family, though it occupies nearly half a century, presents to our attention no one striking feature, except the life of Karím Khán, and. The happy reign of this excellent prince, as contrasted with those who preceded, and followed him, affords, to the historian of Persia, that description of mixed pleasure and arduous journey over barren and rugged wastes. It is pleasing to recount the actions of a chief, who, though born in an inferior rank, obtained power without crime, and who exercised with a moderation, that was, in the times in which he lived, as singular as his humanity justice. — (Malcolm).

¹²² His death, and its cause, have been noticed in the 16th Chapter.

Chapter XVIII.

'Ali Mardân Khán oppresses them.

And puts the Governor of Isfahán to death. A.D. 1751, A.H. 1165.

'Ali Mardân Khán is assassinated. A.D. 1753, A.H. 1167.

Character of the population of Persia at the commencement of Karim Khán's efforts to gain the empire.

duet was more remarkable, as almost all those he protected were Christians; but Karim thought more of their condition, than their religion. The conduct of Karim obtained him a popularity, which excited the jealousy of 'Ali Mardân Khán, and a short period brought these chiefs to an open rupture. 'Ali Mardân Khán had taken advantage of Karim's absence, to oppress the inhabitants of Jaffa, and afterwards publicly reproved that leader. He had also put to death the governor of Isfahán, Abúl Path Khán; and it was obvious to all, that Karim would be the next victim. That chief, aware of the danger of his situation, and preferring a state of open hostility to such friendship, took the field with his followers, and declared himself the enemy of 'Ali Mardân, who, after a short contest of various fortune, was assassinated by a noble of the name of Muḥammad Khán, and his death left his rival the undisputed possession of the southern provinces of Persia.¹²³ Mirzá Sádik, the writer of the Zand History, states that Muḥammad Khán was a relation of Karim Khán, and that he deserted the standard of that ruler and joined 'Ali Mardân Khán for the express purpose of perpetrating this crime. But Karim Khán had still to contend, before he could expect to preserve those territories in peace, with many and powerful enemies. Before we proceed to a narration of the wars, in which he was engaged, it will be useful to take a view of the character to those means to which he trusted for success.

The inhabitants of Persia may be divided into four great classes. The first and most powerful, if united, are the native tribes of that nation, who continue to live in tents, and change their residence with the season. The great mass of this part of the population, whose habits are pastoral and military, are to be found along those ranges of hilly countries, which, commencing near the entrance of the Persian Gulf, stretch, parallel with its shores, to Sháshtar, and from thence, taking a north-west direction, extend up the left bank of the Tigris as high as the province of Armenia. The region, that has been described, includes Kirmán, almost all Fárs, a part of 'Irák and the whole of Kurdistán. The inhabitants of these countries are divided into many different tribes, but there cannot be a stronger proof of their coming from one stock, than that the languages, which they speak, are all rude dialects of the Pahlawí. There is a considerable difference in these dialects, but not so much, as to prevent the inhabitants of one province understanding that of another. From the period of the introduction of the religion of Muḥammad, there never had been a king of Persia of this race. That country had either been governed by monarchs of a Tartar, or an Arabian, family. The numerous tribes of native Persians had, consequently, always been regarded with apprehension; and a jealous policy had sought, by transplanting them to distant quarters of the empire, and by fomenting internal divisions, to weaken their strength; but the great balance to their power were the Tartar, Turkí, or Turkamán tribes,¹²⁴ who had, at different periods, accompanied conquerors from beyond the Oxus, from the banks of the Volga, and from the plains of Syria, and the provinces of Turkey, into the kingdom of Persia. The usages of these tribes, in all that related to their rude habitations, their mode of life and of warfare, were the same (45) as the others; but they had continued distinct from the difference of their language; and that circumstance alone (had other motives been wanting) would have kept alive a spirit of rivalry and hatred in the minds of these two great classes of the military population of Persia. The Turkí tribes, though not so numerous as the Persians, were more powerful, because more united and more wealthy. They had, through all the revolutions of that kingdom, been kept more concentrated, as they formed, from the period of the conquest of Tighral Beg, till that of 'Abbás the Great, the force on which the different races of monarchs chiefly depended.

The citizens and cultivators of Persia were not warlike, though the former had, on many occasions, by their gallant defence of their lives and property, acquired a high reputation for valour. Almost all the towns and villages were walled; and in a country, where the science of attack was but little known, the efforts of the inhabitants in repelling attacks were often successful; and, consequently, though this part of the population seldom furnished many recruits to an army, their attachment was, in scenes

¹²³ *Lit.* "Karim Khán, in consequence, when he saw this state of affairs, sounded the drum of hostility and matters culminated in warfare. After a short contest between the two, and after each had conquered, and been conquered, a few times, a noble named Muḥammad Khán, massacred 'Ali Mardân Khán, and the Southern provinces of Irán fell into the possession of Karim Khán without further opposition."

¹²⁴ There can hardly be said to be any distinction in these names, which are indiscriminately used by Persian historians to describe those tribes in Persia who derive their origin from Tartary or Turkistán, and who speak the Turkí language.

of civil warfare, of great consequence to the chief, whose cause they espoused.¹²⁵

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The fourth class of the inhabitants of Persia consisted of a number of tribes of Arabians, who entirely occupied the level country between the mountains and the shore of the Persian Gulf. This tract, which resembles, as has been stated in the first volume, the peninsula of Arabia, more than any of the interior provinces of Persia, had been long abandoned to this race, who had, from the most early ages, possessed a superiority over the Persians at sea. The latter, indeed, seem, at all periods of their history, to have at once dreaded and abhorred that element. The Arabs had, consequently, not only possessed themselves of the islands of the gulf, but of almost all the harbours along the coast. Their children had maintained their possessions, yielding, at times, a real, and at others, a nominal, obedience to the government of Persia; but their poverty, the heat of the climate and the barrenness of the soil of the countries which they inhabited, combined with the facility with which those tribes, who dwelt near the coast, could embark in their boats, have, at all periods, aided the efforts made by this race to maintain themselves in a state of barbarous independence. Such was the character of that population, over which Karím Khán desired to establish his government. The Zand tribe, though not numerous, and described as a branch of that of the Lak, claimed a high rank amongst the tribes. Some authors assert that this tribe received the name of Zand, from being charged by Zoroaster with the care of the Zandavesta. Karím Khán summoned to his standard the whole of this class, and urged them to union and exertion, that they might, no more, be deemed a conquered people, but resume that pre-eminence to which they had a right, from their numbers, their valour, and their glorious descent from the ancient heroes of Persia. The inhabitants of these principalities of the empire showed, from the first, their partiality to Karím, which was grounded on the confidence they reposed on his humanity and justice. The Arabians admired the manliness and simplicity of his character, and even his enemies considered Karím with respect, and placed an implicit reliance, not only in his pledged faith, but on the generosity of his disposition, and the probity of his mind.

Karím Khán summons the native tribes of Persia to join his standard.

Karím Khán had, after the death of 'Alí Mardán Khán, two formidable rivals, whom it was necessary that he should subdue, before his power could be firmly established. One was Ázád Khán, Afghán, the other, Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, Kájár. In the first action he had with Ázád Khán, Afghán, the ruler of Ázarbáiján, which was fought near Kazwín, he was so completely defeated, that he was compelled, not only to abandon Isfahán, but also Shíráz, and flee to the Koh Gílú range of mountains. We are informed, that Karím, discouraged by the reverses, and the desertion of a number of his followers, had, at this period, some thought of seeking the repose he loved, by flying to India; but, if ever he indulged so unworthily a resolution, he was diverted from it, by the remonstrances of Rustam Sultán, the chief of Khisht, a village, situated in a small valley that lies near the top of one of those mountains, which immediately overlook the Garmasír. That gallant soldier represented how easy it would be to defeat the army of Ázád Khán, when they were entangled in a difficult pass, that they must march through, before they reached Khisht. Rustam Sultán did more than give advice, he offered to attack the enemy with his mountaineers, and was successful in persuading Karím Khán.

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His first action with Ázád Khán, A.D. 1752, A.H. 1165.

Is compelled to abandon Isfahán and Shíráz, A.D. 1753, A.H. 1167.

Rustam Sultán remonstrates against his flying to India.

The pass of Kamárij is, in extent, about 2 miles. The road, or rather path, which winds along the edge of the mountain, is very narrow (in some places, not more than 2 feet wide), and, consequently, only admits of troops, marching in single files. The surface, over which this difficult road has been made, is hard rock, but there are a number of small hills in its vicinity, on which there are neither rocks nor vegetation. These appear to be formed of different strata of pebbles and loose earth. They are very steep, and rise in clusters of low and high peaks, some, of which, approach the road within a distance of less than a hundred yards. It was in the peaks of these hills, and the most inaccessible parts of the mountain, that Rustam Sultán posted his men, while Karím Khán waited for the enemy in the valley below. The troops of Ázád Khán were permitted to enter the pass, before the attack commenced. When it did, the confusion was instant and irremediable. Those, who rushed forward, were met and destroyed by the body under Karím Khán. All, who remained for any time in the pass, were killed, but retreat was for a long time impossible, as those in the rear, when the action commenced, rushed forward to the support of their comrades. A few brave men, rendered desperate by their

Description of the pass of Kamárij.

Defeat of the army of Ázád Khán, A.D. 1753, A.H. 1167.

¹²⁵ Turkí is used to imply a Turkí born soldier; Tájik a civilian.

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Karím Khán re-occupies the city of Shíráz

Ázád Khán throws himself on his clemency.

An account of Muhammad Hasan Khán Kájár.

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situation, made an attempt to reach their enemies, but they only hastened their own destruction.¹²⁶ The victory was complete, and Karím Khán, attended by the chief of Khisht, and reinforced by several tribes of Arabs, pursued the fugitives, and once more occupied the city of Shíráz, where he employed himself in recruiting his army. He had no further contest with Azád Khán,¹²⁷ who was, soon afterwards, compelled by the result of a contest, into which he entered with Muhammad Hasan Khán, to fly to Baghdád; but the ruler of that city, though he granted him protection, refused to aid him in an effort he was desirous of making to recover his possessions. He next endeavoured to engage the Georgian prince, Heraclius, in his cause, but with no better success. Wearied of a wandering life, he, at last, threw himself on the clemency of Karím Khán,¹²⁸ who received him with kindness, promoted him to the first rank among his nobles, and treated him with so generous a confidence, that he soon converted this dangerous rival into an attached friend.

The most powerful of all the enemies of Karím Khán was Muhammad Hasan Khán, the chief of the Kájárs. The Turkí tribe of Kájár had been long settled in Syria. They were brought from that country to Persia by Taimúr, and were one of the seven tribes,¹²⁹ who combined to raise Sháh Isma'íl, the first king of the Sáffavian race, to the throne of Persia. We must conclude, that this tribe were both numerous and brave, from the division, that was made of them by 'Abbás the Great, into three branches; one of which he stationed in Georgia, that they might check the invasion of the Lazakís,¹³⁰ another was planted at Marw against the incursion of the Uzbags, and the third was settled at Astarábád, a small province, bordering on the country of those Turkamán tribes, who dwell along the eastern shores of the Caspian, and who, defended from subjugation by their deserts and their courage, subsist by making constant predatory inroads into Persia. In Kinnier's "Memoirs of Persia," the author says:—"The small province of Astarábád is sometimes included in Mázinadaran, which it resembles in appearance, climate, and productions. This is the ancient Hyrcania, and the paternal estate of the present king of Persia as chief of the Kájár tribe, who have entire possession of the province. It is bounded on the west by the Caspian Sea; to the south, it is separated by a lofty ridge of mountains from the districts of Dámaghán and Bastám; it extends to the east as far as long. 58°; and is divided from Dághistán, by the river 'Ashúr. The city of Astarábád, the capital of this province, is situated near the mouth of the river Istar, on a bay of the Caspian Sea." The first of these branches of this tribe, which was settled at Ganja, attached themselves to the fortunes of Nádir Sháh, and, in compliment to him, took the name of Kájár Afshár. They declined from the death of that monarch. The second, called Kájár Azdánlú, continued to hold possession of the city of Marw; while the chiefs of the third, now that Nádir was out of the way, openly aspired to the throne of Persia, which they would, even at this period, have attained, had they not been distracted, and weakened, by domestic feuds. This branch of the Kájárs is divided into two great families or clans; one termed Yúkhárá Básh, (the higher) and the other, Asháka Básh, (the lower). The chiefs of the former had been the acknowledged superiors, till the elevation of Fat'h 'Alí Khán (who belonged to the latter), to be the general of Sháh Tahmáshb, gave him an influence and authority, which led to his being recognised as the head

¹²⁶ Lit. "The troops of Ázád Khán entered the pass, and arrived opposite the arid peaks. Rustam Sultán's men then stretched forth their hands (to attack them) and, as had been hoped, not one of them escaped alive. Those, who rushed forward, were met by the body under Karím Khán, and were destroyed, and all, who remained in the pass, were also shot down by their adversary's arrows and bullets; and retreat was, for a long time, impossible, as those in the rear, when the action commenced, rushed forward to the support of their comrades, and were overpowered, before they could ascertain that the pass was closed. A few tried to reach the enemy on the peaks, but only hastened their own destruction."

Malcolm says: "I have been twice over the ground where this action was fought. When I visited it in 1800, I was accompanied by the grandson of Rustam Sultán, and there were several old men with him, who had fought in the battle, and who pointed out every spot they had occupied. I became, afterwards, acquainted with Zál Khán, the son of Rustam Sultán, who recited to me, with feelings of just pride, the particulars of this action."

¹²⁷ The army of this chief, though, only in part, composed of his countrymen, was still called the Afghán army; and the great hatred, which the inhabitants of the southern parts of Persia entertained against a ruler of that nation, no doubt operated, at this moment, in favour of Karím Khán. (Malcolm).

¹²⁸ It is stated that Karím demanded from Heraclius to deliver up Ázád Khán, but that was an act, of which the Georgian prince was incapable. He, however, when he refused the Afghán chief his support, is supposed to have recommended him to throw himself upon the clemency of Karím. (Malcolm).

¹²⁹ The names of these seven tribes were the Ustájálú, the Shámílú, the Nikálú, the Bahárlú, the Zakkádar the Kájár, and the Afshár. Each of these, according to the Persian manuscript, from which Malcolm took their names, had seven subordinate tribes under them; but this, he states, refers not to its, or tribes, but subordinate tribes or branches.

¹³⁰ The Lazakís, as has been previously noted, inhabit the mountains between Georgia and the Caspian; and are alike remarkable for their valour and turbulence. They are now subject to Russia. (Malcolm).

of the whole tribe. When he was murdered by Nádír Sháh, that monarch, who desired to cherish divisions in this formidable tribe, gave the government of Astarábád to a noble of the higher family, Zámán Beg, son of Muhammad Hussain Khán; the father was a great favourite of Nádír Sháh. (It was this chief, who acting by the order of Razwá Kulí Mirzá, put an end to the life of Sháh Tahmásh). The consequence was that Muhammad Hasan Khán, the son of Fath 'Alí, was compelled to save his life by taking refuge with the Turkamán tribes, who feed their flocks in the neighbourhood of that town; aided by these robbers and a few other adherents, he made, during the life of Nádír, an attack on his native district, which was, at first, successful; but being unable to maintain himself, this expedition terminated in the death, or ruin, of almost all those who were rash enough to attach themselves to his fortunes. He escaped again to the Turkamáns.

From the occurrence of this event, till the death of Nádír Sháh, a period of nearly four years, Muhammad Hasan Khán remained with the Turkamán tribes. The moment he heard that the conqueror was slain, he appears to have left his retreat, and we find him, a few months subsequent, in such force, that he defeated (as has been before stated) a large body of Afgháns of the army of Azma'd Sháh, who attempted to penetrate into Mázinarán.

Karím Khán, after he had made himself master of Shíráz, took advantage of the contest, in which his enemies, Ázád Khán and Muhammad Hasan Khán, were engaged with each other, not only to subject the whole of Fárs to his authority, but to possess himself of the city of Isfahán and a great part of the province of 'Irák. He was, however, soon compelled to abandon the greatest part of these territories, for Muhammad Hasan Khán after defeating Ázád Khán and adding Azarbáiján to his possessions, directed his march toward Isfahán, with an army far superior to any that had been assembled under one chief, since the death of Nádír Sháh. Karím Khán made an attempt to arrest the progress of this force, but in vain; he was compelled to retreat to Shíráz, where he shut himself up, and determined to abide a siege.

(48) Karím Khán subjects Fárs and takes the city of Isfahán, A.D. 1756, A.H. 1170.

Is compelled to retreat to Shíráz.

We are informed by an intelligent traveller, that success completely changed the character of Muhammad Hasan Khán. He had been remarkable for his mildness and moderation, but the near prospect of the crown made him haughty and rapacious. He particularly evinced this change in his altered conduct to the inhabitants of Isfahán, whom he no longer treated with that temper and justice which he had shown, when he thought their attachment was of consequence to his interests. He now levied large contributions upon the city, and allowed his troops to commit, unpunished, the most wanton excesses. These proceedings were not more calculated to diminish his reputation, than to add to that of his rival, Karím, whose behaviour towards the citizens of the capital had, under all circumstances, been the same.

Muhammad Hasan Khán, having completed his preparations, left 8,000 men in Isfahán, and advanced with a force, amounting to nearly 30,000, to lay siege to Shíráz. The defences of that city consisted only of a high mud wall, flanked by round towers,¹³¹ and surrounded by a deep dry ditch; but, in Persia, the science of attack is not more advanced than that of defence, and the slightest fortification seemed formidable to those whose force was chiefly cavalry, and whose unskilful gunners could only fire their unwieldy cannon a few rounds in the course of a day. Nevertheless, everything concurred to give confidence to the besiegers. The attack commenced at a season, when the country round Shíráz is beautiful. The fields were covered with grain; and the most abundant harvest seemed growing for the support of the invaders. But their batteries were hardly opened, before they were attacked by successive sallies from the garrison; and while their attention was occupied in repelling these, a considerable body of horse, commanded by Shaikh 'Alí Khán, a brave and able leader of the tribe of Zand, commenced a predatory warfare upon their supplies, in which he was aided by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who burnt their own fields, and retired with their families, and all the property they could carry, into the neighbouring mountains. The effect of these measures was to produce a scarcity of provisions in the camp of Muhammad Hasan Khán, and to spread discontent among his soldiers. The delays and hardships of a protracted siege, which often weary the patience of well appointed and disciplined bodies of men, are altogether insupportable to those loose, irregular and unconnected masses, which constitute the force of an Asiatic prince. In the present case, the evil became more dangerous from

Muhammad Hasan Khán lays siege to Shíráz, A.D. 1757, A.H. 1171.

Commences an attack.

His supplies are intercepted by Shaikh 'Alí Khán.

¹³¹ Lit. "Towers in the shape of cylinders."

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the composition of the besieging army, a great portion of which were new levies, and some had, till the flight of Ázád Khán, been fighting for years against the chief, under whose banner they now served.

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While the light troops of Karím were employed in harassing the besiegers, that chief not only bravely defended the city, but employed every art to spread disaffection among his enemies. His efforts were completely successful; and the daily desertion of numerous bodies of his troops warned Muhammad Hasan Khán of the necessity of an early retreat. He suddenly raised the siege, and marched to Isfahán; but the corps, he had left at that capital, dispersed the moment they heard of his failure. Under such circumstances, he was compelled to retire to Mázinarán, which he reached with a dispirited army, whose numbers had been reduced by desertion to 12,000 men.

Raises the siege and retreats to Isfahán.

Karím Khán, after recruiting his forces, and restoring tranquillity to the provinces of Fárs, advanced to Isfahán, where he was received with the most sincere joy. The inhabitants welcomed him as the ruler they loved, and their example was followed by all the principal cities of 'Irák. Karím took care by his conduct to preserve a feeling to which he was already so deeply indebted. His military career, since he had become a competitor for the sovereign power, had not been fortunate. He had gained but few victories, and was often defeated. His condition had, more than once, seemed desperate; but still the preference, which the citizens of Persia gave to this prince over his rivals, had the constant effect of enabling him to support reverses, and to take full advantage of every casual success. He could not but be proud of an attachment, to which he had no claims but what originated in his personal good qualities; and the strength it gave him must have been a motive for persevering in that course of justice and moderation, by which it had been obtained.

While Karím was employed in settling the numerous provinces, he detached Shaikh 'Alí Khán into Mázinarán, and placed under the command of that general, the choicest troops of his army in order that he might completely subdue Muhammad Hasan Khán; but it is not probable that object would have been effected if the tribe of Kájárs had remained united. The division, which existed between the two principal families, has been before noticed. Muhammad Hasan Khán, the chief of the family of Yukhári Básh, either tempted by the offers of Karím Khán, or actuated by a desire for revenging former injuries, deserted at this critical moment the cause of his prince, and joined the army of Shaikh 'Alí Khán. Several of his relations and adherents were, in consequence, put to death; a rash act of resentment, which revived with increased violence the feud that had so long distracted this tribe. Though these events must have left Muhammad Hasan Khán with little hope of success, he nevertheless determined to meet his enemies, and even these confess, that he fought with a valour which deserved victory. His efforts, however, were in vain. Some levies, who had just joined his standard, fled soon after the action commenced, and their example was followed by all his troops. We are informed, in the Tárikhi Zandiya, that he would have escaped, if his horse had not fallen, which gave his pursuers time to come up; among these was a chief of the Kájárs, who had deserted in the opening of the campaign. The principal chiefs of the Asháka Básh family (together with the sons of Muhammad Hasan Khán under 'Alá Muhammad Khán the eldest) fled to the country of the Turkamáns, where they remained for four years before they gave themselves up to Karím Khán, by whom they were always treated with consideration and kindness.

A.D. 1757, A.H. 1171.

An action, in which Muhammad Hasan Khán is slain.

Pretensions of Fath 'Alí Khán.

(50)

He is defeated, A.D. 1760, A.H. 1174.

And throws himself on the generosity of Karím Khán.

The conquest of Mázinarán was followed by the submission of Gílán and the greatest part of Ázárbáiján; but the latter province was soon disturbed by the pretensions of Fath 'Alí Khán, a chief of the tribe of Afshár, who had given his support, at different periods, to the competitors that were opposed to Karím Khán, and now ventured to proclaim himself the open enemy of that prince; he was, however, defeated in an action, that was fought on the plain of Kará Chaman (or the Dark Meadow), situated a short distance to the south of Tabríz. He fled to the city of Úrmiya, but, after sustaining a siege of some months, seeing no prospect of success, he threw himself on the generosity of Karím, who did not hesitate to grant him the pardon he solicited. He, some time afterwards, forfeited by misconduct his title to clemency, and was put to death. In Kinnier's "Memoirs of Persia," the following account is given of Úrmiya. "The very ancient city of Úrmiya,¹³² and supposed birth-place of Zoroaster, is situated in a noble plain, fertilised by the river Shár, and on the south-west of the lake, to which it gives its name. The town is 32 farsangs from Tabríz, and contains a population of 12,000 souls. It is defended by a strong wall and

¹³² The Thebarma of Strabo.—(Kinnier.)

deep ditch, that can be filled with water from the river; and the neighbourhood produces corn and fruit in abundance. Urmíya cannot now boast of a single ruin of any consequence; and the natives are not even aware of the tradition concerning the birth of Zoroaster.

Before Fath 'Alí Khán surrendered, he had endeavoured, and apparently with success, to engage some of the principal nobles of Karím Khán to enter into a conspiracy against the life of that prince. The plot was discovered, and those concerned punished. Some persons of high rank were put to death; and the author of the "*Tárikh-i-Zandiya*" informs us, that it was for a participation in this conspiracy, that the gallant Shaikh 'Alí Khán was condemned to lose his sight.¹³³ If the chief, who was related to Karím, and whose valour had been so instrumental to his elevation, was tempted by ambition to conspire against his life, he merited the dreadful sentence that was passed upon him; and it is not consistent with that justice, which we owe to the character of a ruler who had the courage not only to forgive, but to employ, some of the most inveterate of his enemies, to suppose that he was led by a cowardly jealousy of the increasing reputation of a favourite general, to commit an act, that combined, if it proceeded from such a motive, the deepest guilt with the basest ingratitude.

Karím Khán had been, throughout the whole of his struggle for power, partially supported by the Arab tribes, who inhabit the Persian shore of the Gulf. A large body of these had, indeed, marched with him as far as Isfahán, and though their discontent had compelled him to precipitate an action with Muhammad Hasan Khán, in which he had been defeated principally from their bad conduct, he continued to value their attachment, and was never severe with them, except when forced to be so by their excesses, or by their refusal to pay tribute. The vigour, with which he acted when compelled to punish them, increased the respect of this class of his subjects. The most refractory and troublesome of all these petty rulers was Mír Muhanna of Bandar Reg, a small sea port, half a degree to the north-west of Abúshahr. This chief was at once remarkable for his valour and his atrocious wickedness. He had offended the Persian government almost beyond hope of pardon, having been led, by the desire of plunder, to interrupt, by his depredations,¹³⁴ the communication between Shíráz and Abúshahr, which had now become the principal port of the empire. When attacked by a numerous army, he defended his possessions on the continent for several months, and, when forced to abandon them, he took refuge in the small island of Khárgo, (Corgo) which is situated near the top of the Gulf, at the distance of nearly a degree from Bandar Reg. On this spot, which does not contain more than two square miles, and has hardly any cultivation, the desperate Arab not only supported a number of his followers, and defeated all the efforts of the Shaikh¹³⁵ of Abúshahr to subdue him, but added to his means by plundering a number of vessels, and succeeded in surprising the Dutch governor of the neighbouring island of Khárak. These successes, instead of adding to his power, only accelerated his ruin. All around him were enemies, but he might, for some time, have braved external danger, if he could have preserved the fidelity of his own tribe. A rebellion of his followers obliged him to fly to Bassarah, where he was immediately seized and slain. The governor of that city directed¹³⁶ that his corpse should be cast into a field to be devoured by dogs, as a warning to the malcontents¹³⁷ of those parts. The account of the death of Mír Muhanna spread joy from the court of Shíráz to the shores of India. This monster, at the head of the list of whose crimes was the murder of a father, possessed an energy and courage that had rendered his name an object of universal dread.

The territories of the Arabian tribe of Ka'b extend along the sea-shore from the river Dzáb, which falls into the sea about a degree to the north-west of Abúshahr, to the mouth of the Kárún, which bounds the kingdom of Persia and the province of Bassara. Their chief, Shaikh Sulaimán, had

Karím Khán's conduct towards the Arab tribes.

An account of the Arab chief Mír Muhanna.

(51)

Conduct of the Arabian tribes of Ka'b.

¹³³ Malcolm says: "Olivier (on what authority I know not) places this act several years subsequent to the period mentioned by the author of the '*Tárikh-i-Zandiya*,' and states that it was imputed to a jealousy of the reputation Shaikh 'Alí Khán had acquired with the army."

¹³⁴ Lit. "By highway robbery, and rapine, and robbing, murdering, and plundering travellers."

¹³⁵ Shaikh means an elder, and also a holy teacher; but when used in describing any person possessing temporal power, it can only be correctly translated chief, lord, ruler.—(Malcolm).

¹³⁶ The Governor of Bassara refused his claims to protection; the Arabs, though they held Mír Muhanna in abhorrence, blamed the governor for having violated, even in Mír Muhanna's person, the sacred rights of hospitality; they believe that he did so to flatter the Court of Shíráz.—(Malcolm).

¹³⁷ Mírzá Hájrat had a fine opportunity here of a play upon words, of which he did not fail to avail himself, in translating "dogs" and "malcontents" by "sagau and sukkan" which if the vowel points are not given, would be written alike in Persian.

Chapter XVIII.

A.D. 1762, A.H. 1177.

Conduct of Zakí Khán.

made himself so strong during the troubles, that ensued on the death of Nádir, that he ventured to oppose Karím Khán, who was obliged to march with a considerable force to reduce him. Sulaimán, alarmed at his superior numbers, embarked in his boats, and sought refuge in the neighbouring small islands; but he was glad to save from destruction, himself and his possessions, by the payment of a considerable sum, and a promise of regularity in the future remittance of his tribute.

A.D. 1763, A.H. 1178.

(52)

Zakí Khán is always called the brother of Karím, but, from the geneological table of the Zand family, it appears that he was only the cousin, and the half-brother, of that prince. His father, Búdák Khán, was the brother of Aimák Khán, Karím's father, and had married the widow of Aimák Khán, the mother of Karím Khán. This lady had three children by her second husband; Iskandar Khán, Zakí Khán, and a daughter. The latter obtained celebrity from being the mother of 'Alí Murád Khán, who attained, and held for some time, after Karím Khán's death, the sovereignty of Persia. The government of Karím Khán was frequently disturbed by the turbulence and perversity of his brother, Zakí Khán. This chief, at one time, openly rebelled, and, having possessed himself of a number of the hostages, which the principal officers of the kingdom had given as pledges of their fidelity, he fled to the tribe of Fáilí, from whom he expected support. The attempt failed, and he was compelled to again throw himself upon the clemency of his offended brother. He was not only pardoned, but restored to confidence and employment. We find him immediately afterwards detached to Dámaghán, where Hussain Kulí Khán, Kájár, had excited some disturbances, which Zakí Khán soon quelled. The author of the "*Tárikh-i-Zandiya*" states that Hussain Kulí Khán had been placed in the government of this place by Karím Khán. The Kájár chief fled to the Turkamáns, by whom he was seized, and put to death. Hussain Kulí Khán was the father of the reigning sovereign of Persia. In the "*Tárikh-i-Zandiya*," it is stated, that he was murdered at the instigation of Hasan Khán, Yúklíarí Básh. A more cruel fate awaited those of his followers, who fell into the hands of Zakí Khán. Mírzá Sádík is careful to inform us that Zakí Khán directed the earth to be opened at equal distances, as if for the reception of trees, to form an avenue. Large branches were then cut, and a prisoner tied to each, with his head towards the root, which being placed where the ground was opened, the soil, as it was thrown in, produced a gradual suffocation.¹³⁸ It is horrible even to think on such scenes, but still the relation is important, were it only to make the mind sensible, by extreme contrast, to the blessings of civilization.

The terror, which the cruelty of Zakí Khán inspired, was, no doubt, useful in preserving the general tranquillity of the kingdom. The known lenity of the ruling prince had encouraged numbers to rebel, with an expectation, that even if unsuccessful, pardon would follow submission. All knew that these hopes were vain, when his savage brother was employed. He had succeeded not only in repressing rebellion at Dámaghán,¹³⁹ but in Mázindarán, and several other parts of the empire. The very rumour of his approach was at last sufficient to spread dismay; and those, who most execrate his memory, confess that he greatly contributed to that general peace and security which Persia enjoyed during the latter years of Karím Khán.

The troops, which civilized nations maintain for their defence, are raised indiscriminately from the mass of the population, and the power to support them increases with those resources, which are greatest at periods of the most profound tranquillity. The case is very different with barbarous states, whose armies are formed of a class of men quite distinct from the rest of the country. These receive no regular pay; such a body, if at all numerous, cannot be supported but in war, when they live upon the enemy; yet it is hazardous to disband men, who have no pursuits of industry, and, who have hardly any resource, when at peace with foreign powers.

If (which rarely happens) the wealth of a rude government enables it to pay an army, it cannot allow that to remain idle without the certainty of its soon becoming useless; for, in bodies of men so constituted, efficiency must be the result of that individual energy and experience, which actual employment can alone give; and the place of which is, in regular armies, in a great degree, supplied by the influence of order and

¹³⁸ Lit. "So that their heads were opposite the underground roots, and, after that, soil was thrown in on the branches to which were attached the men with their heads down, below the ground."

¹³⁹ Dámaghán is supposed to be the ancient Hecatompylos, for some time, the metropolis of the Parthian Empire.—(Kinnier).

the impulse of discipline. It is upon this general reasoning that we must account for those constant wars, in which we find some of the best Asiatic monarchs engaged; and it is probable that these circumstances influenced the conduct of Karím Khán in the attack, which he made, a few years before his death, upon the Turkish territories. That prince had continued to display as much moderation in the exercise of his power, as sovereign of Persia, as he had in the progress to its attainment. Though he deemed it prudent to confine the pageant, to whom 'Alí Mardán Khán had given the name of king, and remove him from Isfahán to a fort, called 'Abádah, on the road between that city and Shíráz, he only styled himself "Wakíl" or lieutenant of the kingdom, and seemed to act under no desire of personal aggrandisement. Devoted to Shíráz, which he had made his capital, he had ceased to lead his armies in person, and he even committed the large force, he had assembled for the siege of Bassara, to the command of his brother, Sádik Khán, though he must have been sensible, that the ties of blood only rendered it more probable, so great a trust would be abused. From every consideration, therefore, of his disposition, and the actual state of Persia at the moment, we must conclude his principal motive for the attack of the Turkish territory was to preserve the internal tranquillity of Persia,¹⁴⁰ and having taken that resolution, he studied to devise pretexts that would render this measure popular with his subjects. There could be no greater encouragement offered, than the prospect of becoming the conquerors of that land, which contained the tombs of the holy 'Alí and of his sainted sons, Hussain and Hasan. There were several other pretexts. He accused 'Umar Páshá, the Wálí of Baghdád, of having, by the aid he had granted to the Imám of Maskat, prevented the Persians from subduing the province of 'Umán. He was also said to have plundered some Persian merchants; but the most prominent ground, on which Karím attempted to justify the war, in which he engaged, was that 'Umar had levied a tax upon Persian pilgrims, who visited the sacred tombs, and for this he demanded the head of 'Umar from the Court of Constantinople. The answer, he must have expected, soon arrived; the Turkish emperor refused to abandon his servant for doing his duty, and Sádik was directed to commence his march; he proceeded along the shore of the Gulf with an army of nearly 50,000 men; and a fleet, consisting of about 30 vessels,¹⁴¹ almost all of very small size, which had been fitted out at Abúshahr and Bandar Reg, accompanied his operations.

(53)

Karím Khán's motives for attacking the Turkish territory.

Sádik Khán is sent with an army against the Turks, A.D. 1775, A.H. 1189.

Situation of the city of Bassara.

The city of Bassara is situated upon the right bank of that noble stream, called the Shat-ul 'Arab or river of Arabia, which is formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates. From the point of their confluence at Karna¹⁴² to Bassara is nearly 60 miles, and it is about the same distance from that city to the sea. The whole of this extent is navigable for ships of large burthen. The Turkish government have generally some vessels of war at Bassara, but they are seldom in a state of equipment. This fleet appears to have offered no efficient resistance to that of Sádik Khán, who, after he became master of the river, was soon enabled to construct a bridge of boats, by which he passed his whole army to its right bank, and immediately commenced his preparations for a siege. The city, which he had to reduce, was of great extent, as it contained a large number of gardens, as well as houses, within its walls. The inhabitants were reckoned at 40,000, and the troops, who formed the garrison, were more than one-fourth of that number. The Governor, Sulaimán Áká, was a brave soldier, and his character gave him every right to expect the attachment of those under him.¹⁴³ The walls were high, but not strong; and the chief defence consisted of a number of bastions, on which nearly a hundred pieces of cannon were mounted.

Sádik Khán commences the siege of Bassara.

Though the siege proceeded slowly, still the Persian army made progress, and the weak Court of Constantinople, alarmed at the prospect of

¹⁴⁰ Lit. "From every consideration, therefore, whether with regard to the disposition of Karím Khán himself, or the state that Persia was in at the moment, we must conclude that his sending this army against the Turkish territory was for the sake of preserving peace and quiet in Persia, on the supposition, that, by sending away, and employing in foreign war, those persons, by whose presence the tranquillity of his subjects would probably be endangered, the people of his realm would be secured from the violence of their excesses."

¹⁴¹ The word "farwand" used before Kishti, is not to be found in any Persian Dictionary; but it is commonly employed by Persian writers in conjunction with Kishti, in the same manner as zangir is with fil, or rás with asp. It will be met with in the "Tárikh-i-jahán Kushái Núdíf." At page 259 is one passage, in which I can remember its being so used; "Házár o-sad farwand-i-kishti ki kablaz in ba hukm-i-wálá baráe safar i Khucarazm tartib yáfta bud."

¹⁴² Karna, which is one of three Apameas, built by Seleucus, in honour of his first wife Apama, is situated at the points of a triangle, formed by the confluence of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Apamea, although now dwindled into a petty town, was formerly a place of consequence. Karna is situated on a low flat, with apparently a rich soil; and along the river are low banks, to prevent the country being flooded. At this spot, some Oriental traditions have fixed the garden of Eden.—(Malcol.)

¹⁴³ Lit. "Sulaimán Áká, the governor of that place, was a soldierly and intelligent man, and as he was of good disposition, the people were contented with, and attached to, him."

Chapter XVIII.

Arrival of an
envoy from Con-
stantinople.

Bassara surren-
ders, A.D. 1776,
A.H. 1190, 27th of
Safar.

(54)

Sádik Khán re-
turns to Shíráz
but is again re-
called.

Quells a distur-
bance in Bassara,
A.D. 1779, A.H.
1193.

Removal of the
English factory
from Gombroon.

Establishment of
one at Abúshahr.

Conduct of the
Dutch.

Their agent is
confined and com-
pelled to pay a
large sum for his
release.

Baron Knippha-
usen takes posses-
sion of the island
of Khárák and
blockades the
Bassara river.

(55)

Compels the
Governor of
Bassara to return
all the money he
had extorted.

losing a possession of such importance, ordered the Pásbás of the neighbouring provinces of Wán, Musal, Diyárbákr, Aleppo and Damascus, to march, with all the troops they could collect, to Baghdád. It was at first, thought that these were meant to combine with the ruler of that province for the relief of Bassara; but it soon appeared that they were only instructed to put 'Umar to death, in the hope, that his punishment might satisfy the king of Persia, and cause him to desist from his enterprise. An envoy was then sent to Shíráz, to inform Karím Khán, that his demand was complied with, and that the rupture between the two States was removed. But that prince, whilst he amused the envoy with promises, was only encouraged, by this proof of the weakness of his enemy, to prosecute his plan to its accomplishment; and the brave governor of Bassara, after sustaining a siege of 13 months, was compelled to surrender for want of provisions. Sádik Khán enjoyed his victory with great moderation, and appeared anxious to reconcile the inhabitants to their change of masters; but the officer, 'Ali Muḥammad Khán, whom he left in command, (when he returned to Shíráz) imprudently engaged in a dispute between two Arab tribes, and sustained a defeat, in which the Persians suffered very severely, and amongst others, their commander was slain. Sádik, on hearing this intelligence, hastened to Bassara, and by his conciliating manner and good conduct, restored peace. He was particularly attentive to the English. He told the resident, that the factory, the resident lived in, was the only house fit for him to occupy, but, that so great was his respect for the English nation, that he would not take it for that purpose, if the walls were made of "gold." He remained in undisturbed possession of his conquest till the death of Karím Khán; when a regard for his personal interests and safety led him to abandon it, and the Turkish government, by this accident, regained, without having made any effort for its recovery, one of the most important of their possessions in that quarter of Asia.

From the period of the invasion of Persia by the Afgháns, till the latter years of the reign of Karím Khán, European nations had maintained but little intercourse with Persia, as the distracted state of that empire was most unfavourable for commerce. The English had removed their factory from Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbás), in consequence of the oppressive conduct¹¹ of a governor of Lár, named Nasír Khán; but they had afterwards fixed it at Abúshahr, where it continued subject to all the vicissitudes of the changing and unsettled government, within whose dominions it was established.

The Dutch still carried on a trade with Persia, and the eastern parts of Turkey; and an event occurred, in the beginning of the reign of Karím Khán, that would, if the power of that nation had not been on the decline, have given them a permanent and superior influence to all their European rivals on the shores of these kingdoms. Baron Knipphausen, a man of considerable ability, had been appointed by the Dutch Government of Batavia, to be their agent at Bassara. The Turkish governor of that place, on the pretext, that the Baron had cohabited with a Muḥammadan lady, and had withheld some customs, that were the right of the government, imprisoned him, and refused to grant his release, until he had taken 50,000 rupees from the Baron, 30,000 from his second, and 20,000 from the broker. The Baron proceeded to Batavia, where he justified himself completely to his superiors, and then laid before them a plan, which combined the resentment of the injury, that had been offered to his country, in his person, with the advancement of the interests of the Dutch East India Company. His project was to seize upon Khárák, an island, containing about twelve square miles, which lies near the top of the Gulf; it is very healthy, has plenty of fine water, and, in some parts, the soil is good; and while it, in a great degree, commands the navigation of the entrance of the Bassara river, it has an easy communication of a few hours' sail both with the shores of Persia and of Arabia. His plans were adopted. He sailed with two ships, and found no difficulty in taking possession of the island, for the Shaikh, or governor, of Bandar Beg, who claimed the right of lordship of this island, made him a grant of it; he instantly erected a small fortification. His first step was to make the two vessels, he brought with him, blockade the Bassara river; and the detention of some Turkish ships from India compelled the governor of that city, not only to make restitution of the money he had extorted, but to court the friendship of the Baron, who received equal marks of attention and respect from all the rulers in the vicinity of his new possession. The island of Khárák rose rapidly into importance. It was a safe emporium, where merchants

¹¹ Nasír Khán, in the year 1761, forced them to give one thousand túmáns. The Court of Directors, on hearing of this, ordered them to quit the factory. Nasír Khán, who had committed other outrages, was taken prisoner by Karím Khán in 1763, and carried to Shíráz. — (Malcolm).

Chapter XVIII.

Prosperity of the island of Khárák under the Dutch.

Karím Khán's encouragement of commerce and agriculture.

His improvement of the city of Shíráz.

(56)

Death of Karím Khán, A.D. 1779. A.H. 1193, 13th of Safar.

His character and government.

were approximated to numerous markets, at which it was advantageous to sell, but dangerous to trust their goods for any length of time, as every change in the government exposed them to the hazard of being plundered. The local position of this island was peculiarly favourable to commerce; and it possessed great advantages, in the abundance and excellence of its fresh water, and the salubrity of its climate. Under circumstances, so propitious to its prosperity, it is not surprising that Khárák should soon have become a flourishing settlement. Its population, which amounted to 100 poor fishermen and pilots, when Baron Knipphausen first established himself, increased, within the 11 years that the Dutch held it, to upwards of 12,000 souls.¹⁴⁵

The internal commerce of Persia, as well as its agriculture, had greatly revived during the latter years of Karím Khán. That prince gave the most particular encouragement to all the industrious classes of his subjects, and to none, more than the Armenians, who were settled in his dominions. This body of Christians were the first that benefited from his justice, and, to the last moment of his existence, he was anxious for their prosperity. The possessors and cultivators of the soil in Persia have to pay but a very moderate proportion of its produce to the government, but, as the monarch can impose arbitrary fines and requisitions, he may be said to possess the power of taxation at pleasure. The Armenians enjoyed, under Karím, as much consideration as he was able to give them; and he was, on all occasions, ready to redress the wrongs they received from the oppressions of the officers placed over them; but still, from the opposite views, which travellers, who visited Persia during his reign, have taken of the actual condition of his subjects, we must conclude that the state of the countries, which were near the seat of rule, and consequently under his immediate observation, was very different from that of provinces, which from their remoteness from the capital, or the turbulence of their inhabitants, were given over to the arbitrary rule of military chiefs. All the cities in Persia flourished under this prince, but none, in any degree, to be compared with Shíráz. Karím, perhaps, was first, induced to make this city his capital, by the circumstance of its being central to the pasture lands of those tribes, on whose support he chiefly depended, and from the attachment its inhabitants early showed to his interests. He was at great pains to strengthen its defences; and he improved and ornamented the city itself with a number of useful and magnificent buildings, and beautified its environs by the erection of some fine edifices, near which were planted luxuriant gardens; but he appeared still more desirous of promoting the comfort and prosperity of the inhabitants of Shíráz, than of increasing the magnitude, or adding to the splendour, of that capital. 'Alí Razwá, author of the "History of the Zand family," observes, speaking of Karím Khán; "The rays of this sun of majesty were spread over the whole empire, but the influence of its genial heat was most felt at Shíráz. The inhabitants of that favoured city enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity and happiness. In the society of moon-faced damsels, they passed their leisure hours; the sparkling goblet circulated, and love and pleasure reigned in every breast."¹⁴⁶ This is an oriental mode of informing us, that by the protecting care of their sovereign, they were contented and happy.

Karím Khán died 1193 A.H. at an advanced period of life; some authors say that he was 75, others, 76, and several, that he was near 80; it is probable that Karím only knew his own age by a reference to events that occurred about the period of his birth. There is no register of births kept in a wandering tribe; and it is not probable, that either this prince, or any of his family, possessed an exact record on such a subject. I, one day, asked a Persian of a wandering tribe, his age. The answer was, "Mullá nístám, ki hisábi sál ba danám," i.e., "I am not a learned man, that I should understand to calculate my years."

Karím Khán had enjoyed independent power for 26 years, and, during the last 20, he had been, without a competitor, the acknowledged ruler of the kingdom of Persia. The character of this prince is not easily described. It has few of the common features of a despotic monarch. He had ambition, but it was free from the turbulence, which almost always mixes with that passion. He preserved, equally amid scenes of violence and of repose, an undisturbed temper, and was, through life, distinguished by a manly simplicity of mind, which kept him, as remote from the pomp

¹⁴⁵ It was neglected and lost, because it was not worth possessing to the nation by whom it had been acquired.

¹⁴⁶ Lit "From the splendour of his mercy-spreading, fortunate countenance, the favour-illuminating rays of prosperity shone on the expanse of the condition of all his hereditary dominions, but especially over that of the inhabitants of Shíráz; the people of which, in the extensive plain of that favoured city, enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity and comfort; on the couch of peace and safety, their time was continually passed with moon-faced beauties, and in drinking goblets of delicious wine, whilst the fire of love and pleasure blazed on the heart of their breasts."

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and vanities of his high rank, as from that affectation which endeavours to conceal its pride under the garb of humility. This prince, though humane, sometimes punished severely ; and he employed others, of a disposition very different to his own, to spread terror among his enemies and rebellious subjects ; but his clemency was hardly ever refused to a fallen, or a repentant, foe.¹⁴⁷ One of the most remarkable features of his character was goodness of heart. He very often repeated the following anecdote of his early life : “ When I was a poor soldier, in Nádir Sháh’s camp, my necessity led me to steal from a saddler, a gold embossed saddle, which had been sent by an Afghán chief to be repaired. I soon afterwards learnt, that the man, from whose shop it was taken, was in prison, and sentenced to be hung. My conscience smote me, and I replaced the saddle exactly on the place, from whence I stole it. I watched, till it was discovered by the saddler’s wife, who, on seeing it, gave a scream of joy, fell down upon her knees, and prayed aloud, that the person, who had brought it back, might live to have a hundred gold embossed saddles. I am quite certain,” Karím used to add, smiling “ that the honest prayer of the old woman has aided my fortune in the attainment of that splendour, which she desired I should enjoy.” He was reputed pious, and was exact in the performance of his religious duties ; but his religion was not austere. His natural disposition was, indeed, gay and cheerful ; and he continued, to the last, to enjoy the pleasures of this world, and anxiously desired that others should do the same. This inclination has given rise to one¹⁴⁸ of the few attacks that have been made upon the reputation of this prince, that he was a prince, immersed in luxury and heedless of the miseries of his subjects ; but, if we are to believe the concurring testimony of historians, and of living witnesses, we must pronounce that his example, even in the path of dissipation, could not have been baneful, for his love of pleasure never degenerated into intemperance, nor was he ever unfitted by indulgence for the active performance of his duties as a sovereign.

(57) Karím Khán had received no education. It is stated that he could not even write, and from his birth, and the occupation of his early years, he neither had, nor desired to have, any such accomplishment. The son of a petty chief of a barbarous tribe would be brought up to despise all attainments, except such as were suited to his condition of life. In these he excelled ; possessed of great bodily strength, and an active frame, he was an admirable horseman, and expert in all his military exercises ; but though, unlearned himself, he valued and encouraged learning in others. His court was the resort of men of liberal knowledge. He built tombs over the remains of Sa’di and Háfidz, which are deposited near Shíráz.¹⁴⁹

It is the usage of the king of Persia to devote a number of hours each day, to hear the complaints of his subjects. An anecdote is related of Karím Khán, which, while it shows the confidence, which was reposed in his temper and justice, admirably illustrates the consideration and feeling, with which he performed this important part of his duty. He was, one day, on the point of retiring from his judgment seat, harassed and fatigued with a long attendance, when a man rushed forward, in apparent distraction, calling out in a loud voice for justice. “ Who are you ?” said Karím. “ I am a merchant,” replied the man, “ and have been robbed and plundered by some thieves of all I possess.” “ What were you about,” said the prince “ when you were robbed ?” “ I was asleep,” answered the man. “ And why did you sleep ?” exclaimed Karím, in a peevish and impatient tone. “ Because,” said the undaunted petitioner, “ I made a mistake, and thought you were awake.” The irritation of the royal judge vanished in a moment ; he was too much pleased with the manly boldness of the petitioner, to be offended at the reproach his words conveyed. Turning to his wazír, he bade him pay the amount of the merchant’s losses from the treasury. “ We must,” he added, “ try to recover the property from the robbers.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Karím Khán was possessed of that noble courage, which dares to pardon ; and the generous confidence, with which he treated those whom he forgave, appears to have, almost always, attached them to his person. The virtues of this prince had nothing of a romantic character ; they were, like all his other qualities, plain and intrinsic.—(Malcolm).

¹⁴⁸ The Russian traveller, Gmelin, who visited, during Karím Khán’s reign, some of the provinces near the Caspian, which had been recently subdued, and were, with difficulty, kept in subjection, reports him (conformable to the local impression he received) as a prince, immersed in luxury, and heedless of the miseries of his subjects.—(Malcolm).

¹⁴⁹ He also endowed these edifices with gardens and lands, for the support of the dervishes, or holy men, appointed to watch over them. This pious act, while it marked his regard for superior genius, was one of the most popular of his reign with the inhabitants of a city, whose chief boast is that of being the birth-place of those, whose memory he so greatly honoured.—(Malcolm).

¹⁵⁰ This anecdote of Karím Khán is taken from a small Persian manuscript, and I have heard it from several Persians. It is the custom in Persia, as in other countries, to apply such stories to remarkable personages ; but, even in that view, the application proves the impression entertained of his character.—(Malcolm).

The inhabitants of Persia, to this day, venerate his name.¹⁵¹

Verses, Gulistán Book I, Story II.

The auspicious name of Naushírwán remains alive to this day.
Though ages have passed since he passed away.

¹⁵¹ This couplet is taken from the second story of the first book of the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí with a slight alteration at the end of the first line. The original has "for his justice, (ba'adl)" instead of "hanoz (still, to this day.)"

Malcolm concludes this chapter with the following remarks, which have been omitted by Mirzá Hairat in his translation:—

"The mode, which Karim Khán took to attain, and to preserve, his power, was different from that pursued by any former monarch of Persia. He made no effort to gain strength by the aid of religious or superstitious feelings. He neither tried to attach his army by gratifying their lust of plunder, nor courted the applause of a vain-glorious nation, by the pursuit of ambitious projects, or the gorgeous display of royal splendour. He was modest, even to his attire; and, though his rule was always firm, and at times harsh, his general manner to the meanest of his subjects was familiar and kind. There is no part of the character of this prince, with which we are more pleased and surprised, than his being able, amid such scenes as those in which he lived, to carry the best affections and feelings of humane nature into almost every measure of his government; and his success affords a striking lesson to despotic monarchs. He lived happily, and his death was that of a father amid a family, whom he had cherished, and by whom he was beloved. The inhabitants of Persia, to this day, venerate his name, and those who have risen to greatness on the destruction of the dynasty, which he founded, do not withhold their tribute of applause to his goodness. These, indeed, when meaning to detract from his fame, often give him the highest possible eulogium. "Karim Khán," they say "was not a great king. His court was not splendid, and he made few conquests; but it must be confessed," they add, "that he was a wonderful Kat khudá, Magistrate," Kat khudá is the common appellation for the magistrate of a ward in a city, or the headman of a small town, or village.

CHAPTER XIX.

*An account of the descendants of Karīm Khān, Zand.*¹¹²

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Karīm Khān had five sons. Sālik Khān, his eldest, was never raised to even nominal power; he was deprived of sight by his cousin, Akbar Khān.¹¹³ The second, Abūl Fath Khān, after being a nominal king, had his eyes put out also during the reign of Sālik Khān. The third, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān was blinded by Akbar Khān. The fourth, Muḥammad Rukm Khān, had the good fortune to die during the life-time of his father; and the fifth, Ibrahim Khān, was deprived of his virility by Akbar Khān.

A.D. 1779, A.H. 1194

Zakī Khān, the moment Karīm died, assumed the reins of government. Several of the principal chiefs of the Zand tribe (amongst them, Nādir 'Alī Khān and the sons of Shaikh 'Alī Khān)¹¹⁴ knew, that they were personally obnoxious to that chief, and fearing everything from the atrocity of his character, they seized upon the "ark,"¹¹⁵ or citadel, at Shirāz and prepared for a siege. They at the same time proclaimed themselves the adherents of Abūl Fath Khān, the son of Karīm; but Zakī Khān deprived them of any popularity, they might have expected from this act, by declaring that young prince and his brother, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, (who had married his daughter), the joint successors to the throne of their father. But though he elevated these youths to nominal sovereignty, he him-self assumed the substance of power, on the specious pretext of being, from his affinity of blood, the natural guardian of princes who, from their age, were deemed incompetent to the management of public affairs.

Zakī Khān assumes the management of public affairs.

Is supported in his pretensions by 'Alī Murād Khān, and attacks the citadel.

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He was supported in his pretensions by his nephew, 'Alī Murād Khān, the son of the daughter of Būdāk, and their mutual efforts were directed to the reduction of the citadel. This, however, was not an easy task; and to avert the dangers of a protracted siege, Zakī Khān had recourse to treachery. He pledged his faith, to the nobles who defended it, in the most solemn manner, and not only promised to forgive all that had passed, but to admit them to a share of the highest offices in the state. They believed his professions, submitted, and were instantly seized and put to death in the most inhuman manner.¹¹⁶

They treacherously murder the nobles who defended the citadel.

Sālik Khān, son of Būdāk, and Ibrahim Khān, brother of Sālik.

Sālik Khān, the moment he heard of the death of Karīm Khān, evacuated Baccm and advanced towards Shirāz. 'Alī Baccm, in the History of the Zand family, states that when he arrived near that city, he entered it with his army, and sent his son, Jaffar Khān, (nephew of Zakī Khān), to wait upon Zakī Khān, and discover the sentiments of that chief respecting the future settlement of the government. The youth probably went to this conference with a mind not free from suspicion; and when he returned, he told his father that though every man, that Zakī Khān had attacked, he either from filial piety or fidelity, he felt rejoiced, even what he had also said in the expression of his contempt, and from the looks and manner of all around him, that if he went into the city, he would find the people of the city

fortunate nobles.¹⁵⁷ Sádik Khán, on this, having abandoned all thoughts of a union of interest with his dangerous relation, prepared to besiege Shiráz.¹⁵⁸ Zákí Khán then imprisoned Abúl Fath Khán, whom he suspected of being well-affected to his uncle's interests, and proclaimed Muhammad 'Alí Khán,¹⁵⁹ who had, before, only shared with his brother the name of king, the sole monarch of Persia. He at the same time made prisoners three sons of Sádik Khán, (Muhammad Takí Khán, 'Alí Nakí Khán, and Hussain Khán) Fath Khán, who were in Shiráz; and, having shut the gates of the city, threatened with instant disgrace and death all the families of the officers and soldiers, who should continue to adhere to his fortune; accompanied by these he was what he had anticipated, and they all deserted Sádik Khán. Only three hundred men remained attached to his cause. A body of horse was sent to cut off his retreat. They overtook him, and an irregular conflict ensued at the pass, or defile, of Arsanján, about 40 miles to the eastward of Shiráz. The leader of the pursuers, Muhammad Hussain Khán, Zand Hazára, was slain, and his disheartened followers returned to Shiráz; while Sádik Khán continued his march to the province of Kirmán, where he took shelter in the small fortress of, as Ali Razwá says, Kasanján, or, as others state, of Bam, which was commanded by a noble who continued firm in his attachment to him.

A.D. 1779, A.H. 1193. Besieges Shiráz. Zákí Khán imprisons Abúl Fath Khán, proclaims Muhammad 'Alí Khán sole monarch. Imprisons three sons of Sádik Khán.

The chiefs of Sádik Khán's army desert. Sádik Khán flies to Kirmán.

The most important, if we consider its ultimate consequences, of all the events which occurred at the death of Karím Khán, was the flight of Áká Muhammad Khán, Kájár, who had been, for many years, a prisoner at large in the city of Shiráz. This prince had, for some time after he surrendered himself, been very strictly guarded, and was never allowed to go beyond the walls of the town; but latterly he was permitted to take the amusement of the chase. This indulgence was not more owing to the kindness of Karím's character, than to the settled state of his government. The extraordinary wisdom of Áká Muhammad had attracted the notice of that ruler, who was, we are told, in the frequent habit of asking his advice on questions of state policy. Áká Muhammad, therefore, had the fullest opportunity of appreciating the characters of the princes and nobles of the Persian court, and we can believe, that he had long looked to the death of Karím Khán, as the crisis of his own fate. When the last illness of that prince assumed a dangerous appearance, he contrived, the day before that of Karím's death, on the 12th of Safar A.H. 1193, to leave the city on the usual pretext of hunting. His sister, who was in the royal harem, sent him intelligence, from hour to hour, of the progress of Karím's disorder. At last, the wished for messenger announced, that the founder of the Zand dynasty was no more. Accompanied by a few attendants, Áká Muhammad Khán commenced his flight. He travelled with astonishing celerity, having arrived at Isfahán the third day, a distance of more than 250 miles. Áká Muhammad Favoured by the confusion of the moment, he reached his native province Mázinadaran in safety. A considerable body of his tribe having gathered round him, he proclaimed himself one of the competitors for the crown of Persia, and began to collect all the means he could, to support his pretensions.

A.D. 1779, A.H. 1193

Proclaims himself king. Zákí Khán detaches 'Alí Murád Khán, against him.

Zákí Khán, confident that the chief of the Kájárs would not long remain satisfied with the province of Mázinadaran, detached his nephew, 'Alí Murád Khán, with 10,000 horse and 5,000 infantry, the best troops of his army, to oppose his further progress; but he only increased by this measure the danger, which he desired to avoid. His nephew was brave and ambitious; and experience taught him, that in the actual condition of his country, a person of his rank could have no safety, but in the possession of power. He had probably only waited for a favourable opportunity of revolting from a ruler; in whom he could never repose confidence, and who was hated, and dreaded, by all his subjects; an appeal, which Sádik Khán, after his flight from Shiráz, made to 'Alí Murád, who was then at Tihrán, and demanded from them, if it was not disgraceful to support any longer a chief, who treated the son and brother of Karím Khán in the manner Zákí Khán had done. There was no difficulty in persuading his followers to entertain the sentiments which he professed. 'Alí Murád immediately marched to Isfahán, from whence the governor, (whom Zákí Khán had placed in charge of that city) fled at his approach. The name of

And marches to Isfahán.

¹⁵⁷ Lit. "But, as from the expression of his (Zákí Khán's) countenance, the thoughts of his heart were plain and apparent, Ja'far Khán, from the looks of those around him, discovered signs of deceit and hypocrisy, and when he returned, he told Sádik Khán the state of affairs, exactly and undisguisedly, saying, as soon as he entered the city, he would certainly be treated in the same way as the sons of Shaikh 'Alí Khán and the other nobles." Khwáná, "easy to be read, plain" and hálí, "exactly" in this sentence, are well-worthy of notice.

¹⁵⁸ Lit. "Sádik, therefore, resolved to oppose Zákí Khán, and made preparations for seizing the fort, and erecting barricades and intrenchments."

¹⁵⁹ He was the son-in-law of Zákí Khán.—(Malcolm.)

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this governor was Rustam Khán. He had been nominated to the government, as a reward for his conduct in repressing a commotion, which had been excited in Isfahán, on the death of Karím Khán, by Jahángír Khán and Muhammad Rashíd Beg, sons of Fath 'Alí Khán, Afshár. All ranks appeared to rejoice at 'Alí Murád's success; and he obtained additional popularity by proclaiming that he had no design, beyond that of restoring the eldest son of the virtuous Karím Khán to the throne, which was his lawful inheritance.

Zakí Khán assembles all the troops and marches against him.

A.D. 1779, A.H. 1193. His cruel acts at Yazdikhwást.

We are told, by 'Alí Razwá, that Zakí Khán became quite furious, when he heard of the revolt of his nephew. He immediately assembled all the force he could collect, and marched towards Isfahán; but the hour was near, when the tyrant was to fill up the measure of his guilt. When he arrived at Yazdikhwást, he demanded from the inhabitants the payment of a sum belonging to the public revenue, which he charged them with having secreted. An English writer states that the whole of the sum was only 300 túmáns; and on their persisting in denying all knowledge of this sum, and pleading inability to raise the amount required, he commanded that 18 of the principal men of the town should be thrown from a precipice, which was immediately under the window at which he sat. Not satisfied with this act of barbarity, he sent for a Sayyid (a descendant of the prophet) who was remarkable for his piety, and charged him with having taken part of the money he was so anxious to recover. The man protested his innocence, and was doomed, after being stabbed, to be thrown over the same precipice as the others. Peculiarly enraged at what he deemed the obstinacy of his last victim, he directed that his wife and daughter should be given over to the brutal lust of some of his guards, who were of the tribe of Máfi; but these men, savage as they were, shuddered at this horrid act. A conspiracy was formed; and those, who had long been the instruments of his guilt, established a claim upon the gratitude of their country by the murder of their inhuman leader. The Máfi are, like the Zand, a branch of the Lak, and one of the most numerous tribes of Persia.

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Murder of Zakí Khán.

The town of Yazdikhwást, where this event took place, is situated upon the high and rocky bank of a narrow and deep valley, which, in this quarter, divides the provinces of 'Irák and Fárs.¹⁶⁰ The traveller, who is passing Yazdikhwást, is stopped to hear the catalogue of his crimes; he is shewn the window, from which he directed the principal inhabitants and the holy Sayyid to be thrown;¹⁶¹ and his memory is held in execration.

A.D. 1779, A.H. 1193, Abúl Fath Khán is proclaimed king.

Sádik Khán hastens to Shíráz.

The character of Abúl Fath Khán¹⁶² would not lead to the conclusion that he was at all concerned in this bold act of justice. His elevation, however, was evidently the only measure, which could save the Zand family from that destruction to which it seemed doomed. The young prince entered Shíráz, as sovereign, on Friday, the 30th of Jamádi-ulawwal A.H. 1193. Sádik Khán, the moment he heard of Zakí Khán's death, hastened from Kirmán to Shíráz. We are told, that this chief was a plain soldier, of a good disposition, but subject to violent passion. We are informed by the historian of the Zand family, that the only joys of Abúl Fath Khán were the circling goblet and fair damsels; and that, immersed in luxury, though altogether unfit for government, and himself incapable of governing, he was too jealous to commit his power to those who had more experience and wisdom. Sádik Khán was not satisfied to live under this weak and dissolute prince. He and his sons broke in upon Abúl Fath Khán, when in his harem, and seized him without meeting any opposition; but, not satisfied with usurping his authority and confining his person, he put out the eyes of the unfortunate Abúl Fath Khán, and proclaimed himself sovereign of Persia. Fully aware of the ambitious designs of 'Alí Murád Khán, he sent his son Ja'far Khán, who was a half

Confines Abúl Fath Khán and deprives him of sight.

¹⁶⁰ Its remarkable site and rude fortifications give it a very singular and romantic appearance; and it is now interesting from being considered as a scene, which has been hallowed by the sword of retributive justice. — (Malcolm.)

¹⁶¹ The feelings, which this spectacle and the relation of these deeds of barbarity excite in the mind, are relieved by the story of his death, and the praises bestowed on those who had the courage to free their country from the rule of such a monster. — (Malcolm.)

¹⁶² Abúl Fath Khán was proclaimed king of Persia, the instant Zakí Khán was put to death; and though, for a moment, all indulged in the delusive expectation of a long period of tranquillity from his elevation, he does not appear to have been fit to exercise the power placed in his hands. Mr. Scott Waring, in his history of the period, affirms, on the authority of a Persian writer, that Abúl Fath Khán was not only concerned in this plot, but took an active part in its execution. I follow a manuscript, written by a very respectable Persian, who had the fullest opportunity of knowing the real history of this transaction. The only author, who speaks at all favourably of the qualities and disposition of this prince, is Olivier; but that well informed and intelligent author seldom refers us to the authority, from whence he composed his history. All contemporary Persian authors, that I have read, represent him as weak and dissipated. I have conversed with many persons, who knew him well, and they confirmed this account; they added, that he was of a gentle disposition, and unambitious. — (Malcolm.)

brother of that chief, ¹⁶³ to assume the government of the city of Isfahán, and to watch his movements.

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As long as Abúl Fath Khán was king, 'Alí Murád had professed allegiance. He had, during that period, marched against Zulfakár Khán of Khamisa, who had rebelled and seized upon the countries in the vicinity of Kazwín, Sultániya, and Zanján. 'Alí Murád defeated and slew this chief, whose head, according to usage, he sent to Shiráz.

A.D. 1780, A.H. 1194, appoints his own son to the government of Isfahán.

'Alí Murád, who was at Tíhrán, when these events occurred, instantly declared himself king, and marched with all the force he could collect toward Isfahán, from whence the newly appointed governor, Ja'far Khán, fled to Shiráz at his approach.

Who flies at the approach of 'Alí Murád Khán.

Sádík Khán, having assembled a considerable army (which consisted of 20,000 men and had been engaged in besieging Yazd) placed it under the command of his son, 'Alí Nakí, whose first operations were completely successful. 'Alí Nakí was joined before he encountered 'Alí Murád's army by his brother, Hasan Khán. He attacked, and discomfited the advance of 'Alí Murád; and the troops with that prince were so discouraged by this slight reverse, that they dispersed in different directions. A few went over to 'Alí Nakí; and the remainder retired to their respective homes. The deserted 'Alí Murád, accompanied by his own family and a few faithful adherents, retreated to Hamadán, and must either have been taken or compelled to fly his country, if he had been immediately pursued. Sádík Khán, we are informed by 'Alí Razwá, wrote to his son to desire he would not lose a moment in improving the great advantage, which fortune had given him; but the idle youth, intoxicated with his success, thought of nothing but enjoying the triumph. He entered Isfahán as a conqueror, and for 30 or 40 days, as 'Alí Razwá states, that he remained in that city, he gave himself up to every species of excess. The moments, which he so imprudently wasted, were taken full advantage of by 'Alí Murád. That chief, taught by past misfortunes to know that his sole dependence was upon his own efforts, and the attachment of his army, evinced, on this occasion, an union of the most resolute spirit with the most conciliating temper. He was not only refused protection, but threatened with violence, by a powerful chief, (who had deserted from his army), if he went to Hamadán; but, instead of avoiding that city, as he had been advised, he advanced rapidly with a few followers, and took its ungenerous governor by surprise, slew him, and used his wealth in the payment of his new levies. His conduct had more effect upon those he desired to gain, from being contrasted with the vanity, the insolence and the dissipation of 'Alí Nakí Khán, who was, at last, roused from his dream of pleasure. But the hour of success was past; he was met near Hamadán by 'Alí Murád, and was, in his turn, abandoned by almost all his followers. This unexpected defection filled his mind with dismay, and gave his enemy an easy victory. He was compelled to fly to Shiráz; and the victorious 'Alí Murád Khán, encouraged by some further successes in the field, resolved upon laying siege to that city. His troops had gained several advantages over those of Sádík Khán, particularly in an action that took place at Ábádah, where Táhir Khán, the son of Sádík Khán, commanded the forces of his father.

'Alí Nakí sent with a force against 'Alí Murád, who is deserted by his troops.

He retreats to Hamadán. (61)

'Alí Nakí returns to Isfahán.

Marches to complete his conquest of Irák.

'Alí Murád Khán defeats 'Alí Nakí.

Sádík Khán, when he heard that 'Alí Murád was advancing to attack his capital, detached an army (chiefly infantry) to a position, near the village of Hazárobaizica, about 25 miles from Shiráz, with orders to oppose his progress; but the different corps, of which it was composed, quarrelled about the distribution of their provisions, and the whole retreated in a disorderly manner, pursued by the horse of 'Alí Murád Khán.¹⁶⁴

A.D. 1781, A.H. 1196, also a body of troops near Shiráz.

Shiráz was blockaded, rather than besieged, for a period of 8 months. The assailants had made no progress in destroying the defences; but both the inhabitants and the troops were reduced to such distress for want of supplies, that a general spirit of revolt began to display itself, which terminated in a part of the garrison seizing one of the gates, and giving it up to 'Alí Murád Khán, whose army immediately took possession of the town on the 18th of Rabi'ulawwal A.H. 1195 (February A.D. 1781); but they committed no outrage that could cause those, who were within the walls, to regret the desire, they had, for some time, entertained, of submitting to his authority.

Blockades Shiráz.

¹⁶³ Sádík Khán had married the mother of 'Alí Murád; and his eldest son, Ja'far Khán, was a half-brother of that chief.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁶⁴ 'Alí Murád hastened to take advantage of an occurrence, which promised more important results, as it evinced a want of union and discipline among those, with whom he had to contend.—(Malcolm.)

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A.D. 1781, A.H. 1196. Sádik Khán surrenders and is put to death.

His character and conduct.

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Sádik Khán with his family retreated to the citadel; but he was soon compelled to surrender, and was put to death with all his sons, that had reached manhood, except Ja'far Khán, who had made his terms (long before the city was taken) with the conqueror. 'Alí Razwá states that Sádik Khán was put to death; other accounts inform us, that his eyes were first put out and then poison administered; while another asserts, that frantic at the loss of sight, he dashed his own brains out. Sádik had evinced, during the life-time of his brother Karím, a moderation and judgment that had given a very favourable impression of his disposition; and his conduct at the siege of Bassara added, to his former character of a respectable man, the reputation of a good soldier; but, in his latter years, we lose all respect for an inactive and indulgent parent, who, shutting himself up in his capital, appeared alike insensible to the incompetence and the vices of his sons, whom he continued to intrust with the command of his armies, and the government of his provinces, till a general disgust at their misconduct and their oppression alienated all minds from his rule. Nor can we deplore the fate of a chief, who attained power by depriving of his crown, and of the blessing of sight, the son of a brother, to whose courage and virtues he and his family were indebted for all they possessed.¹⁶⁵

'Alí Murád Khán becomes sovereign of Persia.

'Alí Murád Khán was now sovereign of Persia, and his character and success seemed to promise some years of rest to that disturbed kingdom. Among the chiefs of his army, there was none who, during the siege, had distinguished himself more for his courage than Akbar Khán, the son of Zakí Khán; but we may conclude, that chief was as cruel and revengeful, as he was brave and enterprising, from a knowledge that he not only urged 'Alí Murád to put Sádik Khán, with his three younger sons, and some of his principal nobles, to death, but obtained permission to be their executioner. His eagerness for their fate precipitated his own; he was accused of having plotted against the life of the ruler he served, and it could not have been difficult to persuade 'Alí Murád of the dangers he had to apprehend from his dangerous cousin. He believed, or affected to believe, that he was guilty; and the prince, Ja'far Khán, became the willing instrument of putting to death the man, whose hands were yet stained with the blood of his father and of his brothers.

Returns to Isfahán.

After remaining a few months at Shíráz, 'Alí Murád Khán returned to Isfahán, which city became, during his reign, the capital of the kingdom. He confided so far in his half brother, Ja'far Khán, as to employ him in the government of a province. He was first appointed to Shúshtar, and afterwards to Khamasa. The command of his army was given to his son, Shaikh Wais, who was detached to the north-western frontier to keep in check Áká Muhammad. The young prince was at first very successful.

Shaikh Wais is detached against Áká Muhammad Khán.

He invaded Mázindarán, took Sári,¹⁶⁶ the capital of that province, and defeated the chief of the Kájárs, who fled to Astarábad. A force was detached in pursuit of him; but the rash commander of this corps, Muhammad Táhir Khán, advanced without securing the difficult defiles, through which he had passed; the consequence was, these were occupied by the enemy, who succeeded, not only in cutting off his communication with the army in Mázindarán, but in preventing any supplies from reaching his camp. The distress, which was the consequence of these operations, compelled him to attempt a retreat, but that was impracticable. He was attacked, defeated and slain, by Áká Muhammad; and almost all his followers either lost their lives, or were made prisoners. The few, who escaped, communicated a panic to the troops with Shaikh Wais, who instantly dispersed, and, by their cowardice, compelled their leader to abandon Sári and the other conquests which he had made. He retreated to Tihrán, where he was joined by 'Alí Murád Khán, whose rage against the chiefs that had deserted his son was so great, that he ordered several of them to be put to death in a most cruel and disgraceful manner. 'Alí Razwá states that he commanded that their brains should be beaten out by wooden mallets.

A.D. 1782, A.H. 1197, whom he defeats, and sends a force in pursuit of him.

A.D. 1784, A.H. 1199.

Shaikh Wais abandons his conquests, and retreats to Tihrán where he is joined by 'Alí Murád.

Who sends another army into Mázindarán.

'Alí Murád Khán, though suffering under a very severe illness, evinced, on this occasion, the most active energy. He had formed another army, which he sent into Mázindarán; and was preparing to support it in person,

¹⁶⁵ Franklin, Olivier, and Waring agree in stating that the eyes of Abúl Fath Khán were put out by Sádik Khán: and it appears almost impossible, that the former, who visited Shíráz in 1786, when Ja'far Khán, the son of that prince, was upon the throne, could be mistaken in such a fact. Yet 'Alí Razwá, in his History of the Zand family, distinctly states that the eyes of this prince and his brothers were put out by 'Alí Murád Khán, when he took Shíráz. But this is probably an attempt of a partial historian to remove the guilt of this act from a prince, for whose memory he cherished respect. The memory of Karím Khán was so revered in Persia, that the inhuman Zakí Khán had not dared to outrage public feeling by the commission of that crime, by which Sádik Khán had commenced his unpropitious reign.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁶⁶ Sári, the capital of Mázindarán, was visited by Jonas Hanway in A.D. 1743; and there were, then, standing four ancient temples, built in the shape of rotundas, about thirty feet in diameter, and near one hundred and twenty high.—(Malcolm.)

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when he learnt that Ja'far Khán, (who, 'Alí Rázwá tells us, was at this time governor of the Khamasa) encouraged by the intelligence, that he had received, of the reverses which his arms had sustained, and by a report of the dangerous state of his health, had not only revolted, but had actually commenced his march towards the capital. 'Alí Murád was so irritated at this event, that he instantly resolved to proceed to Isfahán. His ministers and medical attendants entreated him to remain where he was, till the violence of his disease had abated; and the latter gave it as their opinion, that the fatigue of travelling at that severe season of the year, (for it was the depth of winter) would be attended with extreme hazard to his life, but the impatient monarch refused to listen to their advice. Their predictions, however, proved true, and he expired on the road. He died on the 28th of Safar A.H. 1199, (11th February 1785) at the village of Morcha Khwár,¹⁶⁷ situated about 30 miles from Isfahán. The principal officers of his court concealed his death from the army, till they had reached the capital; and the royal property was, by this wise precaution, saved from pillage; for almost all the troops, who had attended this monarch, when they learnt he was no more, spread themselves over the country, and began to plunder in every direction.

A.D. 1785, A.H. 1199. His death.

And character.

The character of 'Alí Murád Khán has been variously given. He appears to have possessed an energetic and firm mind. There can be no better claim to character than the respect of an able enemy. Áká Muhammad Khán, who found it difficult, while this prince lived, to maintain Mázindarán, was wont to say to those of his adherents, who urged him to advance into 'Irák, "Let us wait till that respectable blind gentleman is out of the way, and then, but not before, we may succeed in such an enterprise."

A period of five days elapsed from the death of 'Alí Murád till the arrival of Ja'far Khán at Isfahán; during which short time the name and ensigns of royalty were usurped by Bákir Khán, the governor of that city, a vain, imprudent man, who appears to have had no means whatever of supporting his pretensions. He fled at Ja'far Khán's approach, but was pursued and taken; and his ambition only obtained him the distinction of sharing the imprisonment of the relations of his late sovereign. The person, whose pretensions to the throne Ja'far Khán had most cause to apprehend, was Shaikh Wais, the son of the deceased monarch. He addressed a letter to that prince, couched in the most friendly terms; but, as soon as he had deluded him within his power, the mask was thrown off, and the confiding youth was deprived of sight to prevent his ever disturbing the reign of his treacherous uncle.

Bákir Khán, usurps the name of king.

Is taken and imprisoned by Ja'far Khán.

Who deprives Shaikh Wais of sight.

Áká Muhammad kept the promise, which he had often made to his followers, of leading them into the plains of 'Irák on the death of 'Alí Murád. The moment intelligence of 'Alí Murád's death reached 'Áká Muhammad, he issued from the mountains of Mázindarán into the plains of 'Irák, accompanied only by five or six hundred men; and, as he found that his numbers were hourly increased by the junction of his own adherents, and the disaffected chiefs of his enemies, he pushed boldly on towards Isfahán, satisfied that decided success alone could keep together an army composed as his was. It is affirmed by some writers, that he had a secret correspondence with several of the principal nobles¹⁶⁸ in the country, which he invaded; but there had been little time for such intrigues, as he was at Astarábad, when 'Alí Murád died; and, in little more than two months from that date, he entered Isfahán,¹⁶⁹ from whence Ja'far Khán fled at his approach in such confusion, that his baggage, treasure, and even the ensigns of royalty, were plundered by the rabble of the capital. We are told that the rabble, who plundered Ja'far Khán's baggage, were encouraged and led by some nobles, who had escaped from prison; among these was Bákir Khán, who has been before mentioned. This chief had not only been imprisoned, but severely beaten, by Ja'far Khán to make him discover his wealth. While his formidable rival, Áká Muhammad Khán, was establishing himself at Isfahán, Ja'far Khán was welcomed to Shiráz. The fidelity of Sayd Murád,¹⁷⁰ the governor of that city, was very doubtful; but the allegiance of its inhabitants had been preserved by the influence of their magistrates.¹⁷¹ The most active of these was Hájí Ibrahim, who was immediately promoted by his grateful sovereign to the high

Áká Muhammad advances into 'Irák.

A.D. 1785 A.H. 1200, Enters Isfahán.

Ja'far Khán is welcomed to Shiráz.

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¹⁶⁷ This village has already been mentioned in the 16th Chapter; see p. 48. It is his position (after his retreat from Dámaghán) to receive the attack of Bákir.

¹⁶⁸ Olivier states, that he was invited by Bákir Khán, but gives no authority for this assertion. The fact is not stated in any of the Persian histories of this period, that I have perused.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁶⁹ The distance from Astarábad to Isfahán is 400 miles.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁷⁰ Sayd Murád was the nephew of 'Alí Murád.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁷¹ Katkhudás and Kalántara. The latter have already been mentioned, in page 2; the former are fully described in Chapter XXIII; see page 55.

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Áká Muhammad Khán retreats to Tihrán.

Ja'far Khán takes Isfahán but is compelled to abandon it.

A.D. 1786, A.H. 1201.

2nd March 1786.

A.D. 1788, A.H. 1203, Lutf 'Alí Khán is sent to subdue Lár.

Marches to Isfahán.

office of Kalántar (or chief civil magistrate) of the province of Fárs. Áká Muhammad Khán did not long remain in possession of his conquests. An unsuccessful attack, which he made on some tribes of mountaineers (the Bakhtyáris), who inhabit the great ranges in the vicinity of the capital, led the fluctuating bands, who had been the instruments of his success, to desert what they deemed his falling fortunes. He was consequently obliged to make a precipitate retreat to Tihrán; and, while he employed himself in forming a more efficient force, Ja'far Khán succeeded in repossessing himself of Isfahán. Rahím Khán, the governor, defended the citadel for some time, and was, when taken, put to death. But the advance of Áká Muhammad obliged Ja'far Khán again to abandon that city, and the remainder of his life was a defensive war against that ruler, who became master of almost all 'Irák. Ja'far Khán had not been much more successful in repressing the rebellion of his own subjects, than in opposing his foreign enemies. His cousin, Isma'il Khán, (whose father, a brother of Karím Khán, died during the life-time of that ruler) whom he had entrusted with the government of Hamadán, revolted, and defeated the army which he had sent against him; the victory is chiefly ascribed to Khusrú Khán, the Wálí of Ardalán, who brought a large corps of Kurds to the aid of Isma'il. He was also repulsed with considerable loss from the city of Yazd, which he made an effort to reduce. The governor of that city, Takí Khán, was aided by the independent chief of Tabbas.¹⁷² But, in the beginning of the last year of his reign, fortune seemed more favourable.¹⁷³ His son, Lutf 'Alí Khán, had made a successful expedition into the mountains of Lár, and, encouraged by Áká Muhammad Khán's absence, he had marched with a considerable force to Isfahán, and defeated the troops which had been left for its defence. But his triumph was short; a report of the near approach of his formidable rival obliged him to evacuate that city, which was never again possessed by a prince of the Zand family. We are informed by an authority,¹⁷⁴ to whom we cannot refuse credit, that Ja'far Khán was kind to his subjects, and gracious to strangers; that his temper was mild, and that he was inclined to justice. This favourable account, which is given of a luxurious prince enjoying himself at a moment of comparative repose, and whose affairs were at that period administered by a wise and popular minister, Mirzá Hussain (father of Mirzá Buzurg, the prime minister of the prince Sháh 'Abbás, the heir apparent of Persia), is not irreconcilable with that character, which we are disposed to form of this ruler, from a contemplation of the events of his life: nor is the possession of the negative virtues, ascribed to him, at variance with those charges of cowardly weakness and meditated treachery, which have been affixed to his memory.¹⁷⁵ There can be no doubt, that it was the total disregard, which this monarch showed to the honour of one of his most faithful and distinguished leaders, and to his own pledged faith, which led to his becoming the indirect instrument of his own destruction.

Conduct of Hájí 'Alí Kuli of Kázirún.

Among the chiefs who served this ruler, there was none more distinguished than Hájí 'Alí Kuli of Kázirún. This nobleman had been sent to quell a very serious revolt in the country to the east of Kashán. He had subdued the leader, Muhammad Hussain Khán, Arab, (who was aided by Mir Muhammad Khán of Tabbas) against whom he had been detached; and among the prisoners he had made was a corps of 1,500 Khurásán infantry, who, after defending themselves bravely, had capitulated upon the express condition of being honourably treated.

Ja'far Khán refused to ratify this agreement, and directed that the men of this corps should be deprived of their arms, and thrown into prison. It was in vain that his general represented that this act would be alike impolitic and disgraceful; his remonstrances were disregarded. The indignant chief resolved to quit the service of a monarch, who had sacrificed his reputation. He left the army, accompanied by his followers, and, notwithstanding the alternate threats and entreaties of his monarch, he retired to Kázirún. It is probable, that Ja'far Khán had not power, at the moment it occurred, of

¹⁷² Tabbas is a neighbouring town in Khurásán.

¹⁷³ Lit. "Light again shone from his candle, and joy flowed from his cup."

¹⁷⁴ Franklin, who resided for some time at Shiráz during the reign of this prince. — (Malcolm).

¹⁷⁵ Lit. "This favourable account refers to a period, when Ja'far Khán was enjoying, to the full, the cup of greatness, and comparative repose, and when the administration of his affairs was controlled by the judgment and mature deliberation of Mirzá Hussain; the above minister was the father of Mirzá Buzurg, the vazir of 'Abbás Mirzá, the heir apparent of Persia; he was a wise and polished man, and one of the most honoured men of his day, and had the complete attention of the eyes, and unbounded influence over the hearts, of the people. Even admitting the negative virtues (of Ja'far Khán), this account is not at variance with that weakness of spirit, cowardice, timidity, treachery, and violation of his word, which are attributed to him."

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preventing¹⁷⁶ this act of open contumacy; but he soon afterwards sent an army to reduce *Hájí 'Alí* to obedience. This leader, who had, subsequently to his departure from camp, refused to obey a summons to attend court, was at last persuaded to yield; he did not, however, consent to go to *Shíráz*, till the monarch, he had offended, had sworn upon the *Kurán*, that he would not offer him the slightest injury; but *Ja'far Khán*, immediately on his arrival, seized him, and, unmindful of his faith, threw him into a prison. Rendered desperate by his situation, the chief of *Kázirún* entered into a conspiracy with some other prisoners to destroy the despot, by whom he had been so cruelly treated. Among these was *Sayd Murád Khán*, who was first trusted and employed, and afterwards confined, by *Ja'far Khán*, who ordered him to be beaten very severely to compel him to discover his riches. When the plot was ripe for execution, a slave, who had been bribed, managed to convey poison¹⁷⁷ into the victuals of *Ja'far Khán*; and, when that monarch was writhing under its effects, the prisoners were released by their friends, and, rushing into his chamber, put an end to his existence. The head of their sovereign, thrown from the citadel into the square before its gate, announced to the astonished inhabitants of *Shíráz*, that their ruler was no more.

Lutf 'Alí Khán, the son of *Ja'far Khán*, was in *Kirmán*, when his father was murdered; and *Sayd Murád Khán*, through the influence of the conspirators, who had acted with him, was proclaimed king; but he only reigned a few months. *Lutf 'Alí Khán*, who had been compelled, on receiving the first intelligence of the events which had occurred, to fly from the uncertain fidelity of his own troops to the *Shaikh* of *Abúshahr*, was soon enabled to assert his claim to the crown of his father. The Arab chief, who had granted him protection and aid, died immediately after his arrival at *Abúshahr*; but, with his last breath, he charged his son, *Shaikh Nasr*, (who was till very lately the chief of *Abúshahr*, and is still living) to devote himself to *Lutf 'Alí Khán*, whose small army, when he first took the field, was almost entirely formed of the followers of this petty ruler. *Hájí Ibráhím*, the principal magistrate of the city of *Shíráz*, who was firmly attached to the cause of the absent prince, disposed a number of the inhabitants, and the chiefs of tribes, to his interest. The approach of a considerable corps under *Sháh Murád*, the brother of *Sayd Murád*, threatened destruction to *Lutf 'Alí Khán's* force; but the second-in-command, *'Alí Himmat Khán*, being attached to *Hájí Ibráhím*, prevailed upon the soldiers to seize their general, and to declare in favour of the prince whom they were sent to oppose; who, encouraged by this event, hastened to the capital, where the influence of his friends had been so effectually exerted, that he was welcomed by the unanimous voice of its inhabitants. *Sayd Murád Khán*, who had shut himself up in the citadel, was soon compelled to surrender, and suffered death; but *Hájí 'Alí Kulí*, (whose defection from that cause, which resentment and despair had led him to adopt, was essential to the success of this revolution), had, with several others, received the most solemn assurances of pardon from *Hájí Ibráhím*; and *Lutf 'Alí Khán*, on his accession to the throne, not only confirmed these promises, but marked, with favour and confidence, those to whom they were made.

Sayd Murád Khán is proclaimed king.

Detaches an army against *Lutf 'Alí Khán*.

Lutf 'Alí Khán is welcomed into *Shíráz*.

Sayd Murád Khán surrenders, and is put to death.

Hájí Ibráhím was the son of *Hájí Hášam*, a respectable magistrate of *Shíráz*, who, having lost his eye-sight through old age,¹⁷⁸ was, during his latter years, unfit for business, and left a large family in very low circumstances. The name of *Hájí Hášam* is still held in very great respect in his native city. When the great conqueror, *Nádir Sháh*, encamped there, this magistrate gave him an entertainment in the garden of *Dil-Kushá*. This event, which flattered the vanity of the family, as it proved the consequence of *Hájí Hášam*, is related in the history of *Hájí Ibráhím*; and the son of that minister, *Mirzá Muhammad Khán*, gave the author an entertainment in 1800 on the same spot, where (he took care to inform him) his grandfather had feasted *Nádir Sháh* and his court about 70 years before. *Hájí Hášam's* son, *Hájí Ibráhím*, early succeeded to the office of magistrate to one of the wards of his native city; and his manly character, in which good temper and good sense were combined with the most extraordinary fortitude, raised him rapidly into high employment. He had been placed in the situation, his father held, by *Karím Khán*, and promoted to the higher charge of all the *Haidarí Mahals*, which included more than

An account of *Hájí Ibráhím*.

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¹⁷⁶ It is possible that the chiefs of his army would have refused to act against *Hájí 'Alí Kulí* on an occasion, when the question was one of personal honour, and evidently unmixed (at the moment) with any desire of revolt.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁷⁷ I here follow the history of *'Alí Razzá*, who is very particular, and, I have no doubt, correct in his account of the death of *Ja'far Khán*. Waring states, that the poison was administered by a female slave, who had formerly belonged to *Sayd Murád Khán*. *Olivier* asserts, that this prince had taken medicines to lessen his corpulence, which had such an effect upon his general health, as to reduce him to a state of debility and suffering, that made it easy for the conspirators to attack and overcome him.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁷⁸ Lit. "Through his great years and excessive old age."

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Character of
Lutf 'Alí Khán.
A.D. 1789, A.H.
1204.

half the city, by 'Alí Murád; and as it was chiefly owing to his exertions, that Ja'far Khán obtained such easy possession of Shíráz, when forced to fly from Isfahán, he had (as has been before stated) raised Hájí Ibráhím to the high station of Kalántar, or first magistrate, of the province of Fárs; and the influence, which that situation gave, enabled him to repay the debt of gratitude to the father, by placing his son upon the throne.

Though Lutf 'Alí Khán, on his elevation to the throne was not yet 20 years of age,¹⁷⁹ he had been matured by continual employment during his father's reign; and he was already ranked, in the estimation of both his friends and enemies, among the bravest and the best soldiers of his country. His appearance was singularly calculated to win that admiration, which his qualities commanded. His countenance was beautiful, and full of animated expression; his form tall and graceful; and though slender, he was active and strong. In skill as a horseman, and in dexterity at all martial exercises, he was unrivalled; nor was he deemed wanting in those mental qualities which his situation required. He had displayed, on several occasions, as much conduct as courage: and before he ascended the throne, his manners were kind and prepossessing, particularly to his inferiors; but, soon after he obtained power, his disposition changed, and his mind appears to have lost some of its best qualities. He was no longer mild and conciliating, but proud and self-sufficient. The gratitude and esteem, which he expressed for Hájí Ibráhím, gave way to feelings of alarm and suspicion.¹⁸⁰

Lutf 'Alí Khán
is defeated by Áká
Muhammad Khán.
A.D. 1789, A.H.
1204.

Lutf 'Alí Khán was hardly established in the government, before Áká Muhammad Khán advanced to attack him. The young prince ventured to meet his enemies in the field, and a battle was fought at a village, called Hazárobaizma,¹⁸¹ within 25 miles of Shíráz; but he was defeated by superior numbers, and forced to fly to Shíráz. The Kájár prince, encouraged by his success, immediately invested that city; but, after a vain endeavour (continued for more than a month) to make some impression upon its defences, he raised the siege, and returned to Tíhrán, which had now become the capital of his kingdom.

A.D. 1790, A.H.
1205.

Lutf 'Alí Khán
marches into Kirmán.

The next year, Lutf 'Alí Khán, who expected a repetition of this attack, made formidable preparations to resist it; but Áká Muhammad Khán was occupied in Ázarbáiján; and the young ruler of Fárs, unwilling that the force, he had collected, should remain idle, resolved to march into Kirmán to compel the governor, Mir Hussain Khán, Kakhí, of that province to submit to his authority. The season of operations was almost past; and all the prudent counsellors of Lutf 'Alí Khán urged him to accept the terms offered by the chief of Kirmán, which included the full acknowledgment of his authority, the regular payment of the revenue of the province, and every submission, that could be required of him, except his personal attendance at court. But on this the impetuous prince insisted; and, with a view of enforcing it, he laid siege, during a very severe winter, to the city of Kirmán. Almost all the horses, and many of the men of his army, perished through cold and hunger; for, when the snow became deep, it was impossible to furnish his camp with regular supplies of provisions. Compelled by the defection of some of his troops, and the clamorous discontent of all, to raise the siege of Kirmán, he returned to Shíráz.¹⁸²

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Lays siege to
that city.

Is compelled to
raise it and re-
turns to Shíráz.

Before he proceeded on this unfortunate expedition, he had appointed one of his younger brothers, who was quite a child, to the nominal rule of Fárs; but he had, at the same time, committed the civil government of Shíráz, and the countries in its vicinity, to Hájí Ibráhím. The command¹⁸³ of the garrison¹⁸⁴ of that city was given to a chief of his own tribe, called Barkhwardár Khán; and the ark, or citadel, was placed in charge of another nobleman of the Zand family. This division of authority, which was meant to guard against the effects of treachery, tended only to promote it. Barkhwardár Khán, who was a weak and arrogant man, vain of his rank and his independent power over the military, insisted, but without effect, upon Hájí Ibráhím paying him all those submissive attentions, which, in Persia, are considered as due to a superior.¹⁸⁵ Offended at what seemed a personal insult, he laboured to impress his prince with the belief, that so marked a proof of disrespect to a lord of the Zand family could only have been shown by a man, who cherished traitorous designs. If these representations were

¹⁷⁹ Lit. "Had not yet traversed 20 days' marches of the daily stages of life."

¹⁸⁰ Nor was it, perhaps, surprising that he should have viewed, with more jealousy than regard, the subject, who had shown himself possessed of the dangerous power of placing the crown upon his head.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁸¹ This village has already been mentioned in this chapter, as the place at which Sádik Khán's army quarrelled over the division of their rations and dispersed.

¹⁸² With a mind rendered sullen and irascible by the reverse he had sustained.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁸³ With separate powers.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁸⁴ Lit. "Towers and walls, and the soldiery told off for garrisoning the fort."

¹⁸⁵ Lit. "Reverence and respect."

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or a *Kájár* was upon the throne ; but all desired, that Persia should be great and powerful, and enjoy interpal tranquillity."

Hájí Ibráhím had, perhaps, persuaded himself that, by this act of treason, he was only anticipating an event which must occur, and saving his country from the misery of a protracted war between two rival families ; but there can be no doubt that his real motive was that of self-preservation. He had lost all confidence in *Lutf 'Alí Khán*. He knew that he had many enemies, who were incessant in their endeavours to destroy him ; and, he perceived from the conduct of the prince, that their representations had made all the impression which they could desire. Under these circumstances, he sought to preserve his life, and to place himself, by an act of signal service, under the protection of a powerful monarch. He was successful in attaining his object ; but his memory is stained with the reproach of having destroyed a family, to whom he owed all his advancement.

A.D. 1791, A.H.
1205, *Zilhajj*.

When *Lutf 'Alí Khán* had advanced some marches on his way to *Isfahán*, *Hájí Ibráhím*, by the aid of a small corps of citizens, which he had formed, and placed under the command of his youngest brother *Muhammad Hussain Khán*, seized the two noblemen, *Barkhwardár Khán* and *Muhammad 'Alí Khán*. They were invited to a consultation on some affairs regarding the civil administration, and seized as they were at the *Hájí's* house ; and so well were his measures taken, that this was effected without the slightest bloodshed. An account of his success was despatched to one of his brothers, *'Abdur Rahím Khán*, who was with the army, which was, when the messenger arrived, encamped at a village within five farsangs of *Kamisha*, to which the troops of *Áká Muhammad Khán* had advanced, commanded by *Fath 'Alí Khán*, the nephew of that ruler, then known by the familiar appellation of *Bábá Khán*,¹⁸⁸ and who was, at that period, 22 years of age. The brother of *Hájí Ibráhím* communicated to his friends, and to the chiefs concerned in the plot, the intelligence he had received ; and it was settled that, immediately after dark, some of the infantry should fire upon *Lutf 'Alí Khán's* quarters, and that this fire, accompanied by a great noise, should be the signal for the friends of *Hájí Ibráhím* to assemble. The moment the first shot was fired, loud shouts followed from every quarter of the camp, and bodies of men began to move. The prince, equally astonished and enraged, sent messenger after messenger to enquire the cause of the uproar. These, at last, returned, and advised him to mount his horse, and escape, as his own troops had become his enemies. None of his principal officers would attend his summons ; one chief alone, *Tahmásh Khán*, *Faili*, and 70 men continued with him. Accompanied by this small party, he proceeded towards the capital, of which he was satisfied his friends still retained possession. On the second day after he left the camp, he received full information of all that had passed ; but, being now joined by about 300 horsemen, he moved boldly on the gates of *Shiráz*, and sent a person to demand of *Hájí Ibráhím*, the reason of his conduct. "Inform *Lutf 'Alí Khán*," said that minister, calmly to the person who waited on him, "I knew his intentions, and had no other mode of saving my life, but by depriving him of the power to take it away. Advise him," he added, "to abandon all hope of repossessing *Shiráz*, and bid him think only of saving himself by flight." But the proud prince, who had already been joined by a number of his troops, scorned this advice.

Lutf 'Alí Khán's
troops revolt and
desert him.

Lutf 'Alí pro-
ceeds towards his
capital.

Demands of
Hájí Ibráhím, the
reason of his con-
duct.

Lutf 'Alí Khán
is joined by a
number of his
army.

But is again
deserted, and
proceeds to *Abú-
shahr*.

Is assisted by
the governor of
Bandar Reg.

"The traitor," said he, "after all is but a citizen,¹⁸⁹ and his force consists merely of a few shop-keepers, who can never withstand brave soldiers." Supported by the expectations he expressed, he encamped near the walls of the city ; but *Hájí Ibráhím* called upon the few troops, who still adhered to their monarch, to return immediately to their homes, if they desired the safety of their property and of those they loved.¹⁹⁰ The appeal had full effect, and the deserted *Lutf 'Alí Khán* was compelled to fly with four or five attendants to *Abúshahr*. He found, however, that the *Shaikh* of that place, who had before rendered him essential service, was no longer his friend. The chief was devoted to *Hájí Ibráhím*. But he met with a kind reception, and all the aid his limited means could afford, from the governor of the neighbouring port of *Bandar Reg* ; and was enabled, from the support he received from him, to collect a few followers, with whom he resolved to attempt the recovery of *Shiráz*.

¹⁸⁸ *Bábá Khán* was the name, by which *Fath 'Alí Khán* was known till the death of his uncle. *Áká Muhammad Khán* was in the habit of terming him "*Bábá*" or "*child* ;" and the name continued to be given to him, after he attained manhood.—(*Malcolm*).

¹⁸⁹ *Shahri*, or "*citizen*" is used in Persia as a term of contempt to signify unwelcome ; the soldiers, called *Turki*, of that country being all men of wandering tribes.—(*Malcolm*).

¹⁹⁰ He obtained this great advantage, owing to that policy which had placed the families of the soldiers of the army in the capital.—(*Malcolm*).

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Attacks another body of troops.

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composer of the History of the extinction of the Zand dynasty, they outnumbered more than ten to one. The brave prince, however, did not decline the combat, but left the entrenchments, with which he had fortified his camp, and drew up his men in some gardens, with the double object of occupying a strong position, and concealing his numbers from observation. The action was, at its commencement, favourable to his enemies, who drove his men from their position and pursued them some distance beyond it; but Lutf 'Ali Khán, who possessed eminent talents as a commander, observed that they had commenced to plunder the camp, which he had abandoned; and, judging the opportunity favourable, he made a resolute and successful charge with a body of horse, whom he rallied. His repulsed troops, encouraged by the gallantry of their chief, returned to the charge, and the enemy gave way in every quarter. The victory was complete; and it was rendered more decisive from one of the principal leaders of the Kájár army, Razwá Kuli Khán, being among the prisoners, who were taken on this day by the Zand prince.

And completely defeats them.

Áká Muhammad Khán advances with a large army A.D. 1792, A.H. 1206.

Lutf 'Ali Khán defeats his advanced guard and attacks the main body.

Conceives the victory complete.

Is disappointed and compelled to make his escape.

Hájí Ibráhim, who perceived, in these recurring successes, a dangerous increase of reputation to Lutf 'Ali Khán, wrote to Áká Muhammad, urging him to advance in person to Shíráz. That monarch, quite sensible of the importance of the crisis, moved with a large force towards the city. Some authors state that he had 40,000 men, but this number is an exaggeration. Though his numbers exceeded those of his enemy, in a proportion of nearly a hundred to one, he appears to have proceeded with a caution, which proved that he thought there was much to apprehend from the bold enterprise of his enemy; nor was he mistaken. On the 14th of Shawál, A.H. 1206, he reached the village of Mávin, which is at a distance of about 60 miles from Shíráz, and 31 from Persepolis. He posted an advance guard under Ibráhim Khán in the pass, between the villages of Mávin and Albarz. Lutf 'Ali Khán, with a band of only a few hundred men, attacked upwards of 30,000. He was successful in surprising the advance guard of Áká Muhammad Khán's army, which he defeated; he killed Ibráhim Khán, and a great number of his party, and pursued the fugitives to their camp. The darkness of the night, the fears that were communicated by those who had fled from the advance, and the terror of his name, created a dismay and confusion, which, at one period, promised complete success. Almost the whole of Áká Muhammad Khán's army dispersed, and the assailants had arrived at the royal quarters, when a chief, named Mirzá Fathulla, Ardalání, who had joined Lutf 'Ali Khán, assured him, that the Kájár monarch was among the fugitives, and entreated that he would not lose the wealth, he had so nobly won, by permitting his followers to plunder the jewels and treasures of an empire. The chief was, unfortunately, believed. Lutf 'Ali Khán directed his men to halt, and not to enter the royal pavilion; they obeyed, but dispersed to plunder in other directions. Some historians declare that Fathulla was sincere in his report; others assert, that he was the emissary of the crafty Áká Muhammad Khán. When the morning dawned, Lutf 'Ali heard, with dismay, the public crier call to prayers,¹⁹⁵ which announced to those, that remained of Áká Muhammad Khán's army, that their sovereign was at his post. He had never left it, and, when he found it impossible to remedy the confusion, into which his troops were thrown, he had remained stationary at his quarters, surrounded by some of his guards, expecting from the small numbers of the enemy, and their want of discipline, the very events which had occurred. Lutf 'Ali Khán, awakened from his dream of victory, found himself compelled to fly with all the speed he could, to save himself from being made prisoner.

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The daring attempt of Lutf 'Ali Khán to recover his power ought not to be deemed an act of desperate temerity, in which success was impossible. That prince well knew from experience, that, in an army composed like the one which he attacked, confusion, if once introduced, was likely to become irremediable. He also knew that, in the actual state of Persia, the minds of a number of chiefs of tribes fluctuated between him and Áká Muhammad Khán. These leaders, it was obvious from recent occurrences, always acted upon the impulse of the moment, and as the part they took was blindly adopted by their followers, he had a right to expect that brilliant success would turn the tide in his favour, and that he should be able to overcome his enemies, with the very means they had collected for his destruction. The plan of the attack was able; he proceeded with every caution, and completely surprised the advance corps of his enemy. The advantage he took of this first success showed at once his skill and his determined courage. Victory was snatched from him by one of those accidents, which have, so often, decided the fate of battles and of empires.

¹⁹⁵ This is never done, except when the king commands in person.

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Which he takes
by assault.

Assumes the
style of a sovereign.

Áká Muhammad
Khán hastens to
Kirmán.

And lays siege
to that city A.D.
1795, A.H. 1210.

Lutf 'Alí Khán
is compelled to fly.

Reaches Nirmá-
shír.

Áká Muhammad
Khán orders the
massacre of the
inhabitants.

'Abdulla Khán, who was the most distinguished of all those that had adhered to his fortunes, to advance with half his force, and make a false attack upon the town. He kept the remainder in reserve; and when he saw that the attention of the enemy was wholly occupied by the corps with 'Abdulla, he led the troops under his immediate command to another part of the fort; and, being furnished with scaling ladders, they had mounted the walls before they were perceived. The garrison, though surprised, made an obstinate resistance, but were ultimately driven from all their posts, and obliged to take shelter in the citadel; and, even that, they were soon compelled to abandon. The officers, Muhammad Hussain Khán, Kará-gúzálú, and Abdur Rahím Khán, brother of Hájí Ibráhím, who commanded in Kirmán, effected their escape, but a great number of their men were slain, and the whole of the baggage fell into the hands of their conquerors. Lutf 'Alí Khán once more assumed the style of a sovereign; and coins were struck, and the Khutba read in his name, to commemorate the last of his glorious achievements. 'Alí Razwá, the historian of his reign, when speaking of this event, emphatically observes, "that the fortune of this prince shone brightest at the moment of its close."

Áká Muhammad Khán, when he heard of the fall of Kirmán, marched with all the force he could collect, to encounter a foe, who seemed to rise greater from every misfortune. Lutf 'Alí Khán was not dismayed by the vast superiority of numbers, that came against him; and his soldiers were encouraged by some partial successes to second his heroic ardour; but, after the siege had lasted four months, they began to suffer great distress, and several corps became discontented. One body of infantry, which had charge of some towers, gave them up to the enemy, and between two and three thousand of Áká Muhammad Khán's troops had entered, before the information of this treachery reached Lutf 'Alí Khán. The moment he heard of it, he hastened to the spot, and succeeded, after a severe contest, in repulsing the enemy; but this was his (74) last success. One of the chiefs, Najaf 'Alí Khán, Khurásání, in whom the gallant prince had most confided, determined to betray him. The traitor had charge of the citadel, which joined in one part with the outworks of the town. He opened the gates at this entrance, and Áká Muhammad Khán introduced between ten and twelve thousand men, and prepared to support them with his whole army. Lutf 'Alí Khán, when he heard of this second act of treachery, hoped that his efforts might be again successful, and attacked them with the most determined valour, but in vain; their numbers were too great, and he was obliged to retire, after seeing the bravest of his followers, either slain or put to flight.

Áká Muhammad Khán, whose principal object was to prevent the escape of Lutf 'Alí, had surrounded Kirmán, and had posted a strong body of men opposite every gateway. The young prince, though beset on all sides, maintained the contest in the town during three hours; and at night, he crossed the ditch by a small bridge, made of loose planks, which were removed the moment they had served the purpose for which they were placed. The lines of the enemy were yet to be passed. He threw himself upon them with great courage, and, accompanied by three attendants, succeeded in breaking through the troops, by whom he was opposed. He fled in the direction of Nirmáshír, and reached that district in safety.

When day dawned, and Áká Muhammad heard of the flight of Lutf 'Alí Khán, he wreaked his vengeance upon the unfortunate inhabitants of the city of Kirmán; nearly 8,000 women and children were granted as slaves to his soldiers, and all the males, who had reached maturity, were commanded to be put to death, or to be deprived of their eye-sight. The numbers, that were slain upon this memorable occasion, were great, and exceeded even those who were deprived of sight; though the latter are said to have amounted to 7,000.¹⁹⁶ Those, who escaped his cruelty, owed their safety neither to mercy, nor to flight, but to the fatigue of their executioners, who were exhausted with the work of blood. It has been stated that Áká Muhammad Khán directed that a number of pounds' weight of eyes should be brought him; nor is the tale in the least incredible. Many of these miserable wretches are still alive. Some, who subsist on charity,¹⁹⁷ wander over Persia. I find, in one of my manuscripts, a remarkable anecdote of Áká Muhammad Khán's conduct on this occasion.

¹⁹⁶ I follow the manuscript of a contemporary writer. When I have asked any of the chiefs, who were present at this massacre, how many men were deprived of sight, their answer was always the same: "Many thousands."—(Malcolm).

¹⁹⁷ When at Shiráz, on the 4th of June 1800, I thought that the best mode, in which I could celebrate the birth-day of our beloved monarch, was to distribute alms to the poor; a great number assembled, and among them were more than a hundred men, whose eyes had been taken out at Kirmán.—(Malcolm).

The Mirza or secretary of Lutf 'Ali was made prisoner, and brought before him. He demanded how he had dared to write farmanes, or mandates, to him, who was a sovereign. "I wrote them," said the man, "by the order of my master, Lutf 'Ali; and my fear of him, when present, was greater than my dread of you, who were at a distance." "Strike off his hands, and take out his eyes," exclaimed the enraged monarch. Next day he sent for the son of the man, he had so inhumanly treated. "Tell your father," said he, "that the prophet has upbraided me in a dream for my cruel usage of him; what can I do to repair the injuries I have done?" "He will desire, if he lives," said the youth, "to pass the remainder of his days at the tomb of the holy 'Ali at Nâsaf." The king immediately directed that mule, tents and every necessary equipment should be furnished for his journey. He also sent him a present of 500 *tûmans* (about £300 sterling) and entreated the young man to solicit his father to forgive him, and to remember him in his prayers.

Lutf 'Ali Khân was at first kindly received by the governor of Nirmâshir, but that chief enquired anxiously after his brother, who had accompanied the prince to Kirmân; he was told that he would soon arrive; but three days passed in anxious expectation, satisfied his mind that he was, if alive, in the power of Ākā Muhammad Khân.¹⁷⁵ His love for his brother, and his fears for his own safety, silenced the dictates of honour and of good faith; he determined to seize his royal guest, and to offer him as a ransom for the life and pardon of one who was dearer to him. The companions of Lutf 'Ali discovered this plot, the moment before its execution; they hastened to inform him, and entreated he would escape; but their advice was disregarded; nor was he awakened from his dream of security by seeing those¹⁷⁶ who had remained faithful in every danger, abandon him as one who had resolved not to avoid death. Soon after their departure, the approach of a party of armed men convinced him, that the information, which he had contemplated, was too true. He grasped his sword, and rushed upon those who were advancing to seize him. A momentary terror prevailed, and the prince was already on the back of his favourite horse called *Karân*,¹⁷⁷ when one of the assailants made a blow with his sabre at the legs of the noble animal, and brought him to the ground. Lutf 'Ali Khân started up again and renewed an unequal contest, in which he at last fell, having received two severe wounds, one up in his arm, and the other upon his head. In this state, he was carried to the camp of Ākā Muhammad Khân. The page of history would be stained¹⁷⁸ by a recital of the indignities which were offered to the royal captive, when brought to the presence of his cruel and implacable enemy. Sufficient to observe, that his eyes were torn out, and that he was sent a prisoner to Tihân, to languish out a miserable and protracted existence, far from his native province, and from all those to whom his name was dear; but the fears of his conqueror made him at last humane, and an order was sent to put a period to the life of a prince, who, even, in the wretched state to which he had been reduced, was still an object of dread to the proudest and most powerful of his enemies. Though Ākā Muhammad Khân cherished the most implacable resentment against all the Zand family, and particularly this prince, he nevertheless admired his character. We are told, that some time before he took Kirmân, he received accounts that his nephew and heir, Fath 'Ali Khân, had several sons born to him in one night. "May God grant," said Ākā Muhammad, "that one of them may resemble Lutf 'Ali Khân."

Lutf 'Ali Khân terminated his extraordinary career before he was 25 years of age. He had all the qualities of a fine soldier. Had he been born to the undisputed sovereignty of a large kingdom, at a period when allegiance to the reigning prince was, at once, a habit and a principle, his fame might have emulated that of a Changiz or a Taimûr. But, in the condition of his country at the time he succeeded to the throne, every

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The conduct of the Governor of Nirmâshir A.H. 1795, A.H. 1210.

(75) Who determines to seize Lutf 'Ali Khân.

He is apprized of it but refuses to escape.

Is surrounded.

Is severely wounded and carried before Ākā Muhammad Khân.

A.D. 1795, A.H. 1280.

Is sent a prisoner to Tihân.

Is slain.

His character.

¹⁷⁵ He naturally concluded that his brother's fate would be decided by the conduct he himself pursued upon this trying occasion.—(Malcolm).

¹⁷⁶ One of the persons, who were with him upon this occasion and whose name was Khudâ Baksh, fled to India. He afterwards obtained a small command of horse in the service of the Nizâm of the Dakkan, and was attached to a party, that served under me in the campaign of 1799 against Seringapatam. The account he gave of the life of Lutf 'Ali Khân, and of his conduct upon this occasion, exactly corresponds with that of the historian 'Ali Razwî.—(Malcolm).

¹⁷⁷ He was of Arabian blood, but bred in Persia. Though a low horse, his activity and strength were wonderful; and credulity is staggered with the accounts, which all Persians concur in giving of his speed and of the extraordinary distance, which he, at different times, carried his royal master, who regarded and treated him with the greatest affection and care.—(Malcolm).

¹⁷⁸ The brutal insults offered to Lutf 'Ali, when he was carried before Ākā Muhammad, are too shocking to be described. The English reader would revolt from the narration of a scene which disgraced human nature.—(Malcolm).

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quality he possessed (except his personal valour and his ability as a leader) was against him. He had knowledge without prudence; and his judgment was subdued by his passions. His pride was extreme; and when his fortune was at its lowest, he scorned to use any efforts to conciliate or attach those whom he considered himself born to command. He was violent and unrelenting, and never tried to conquer by other means, than fear.²⁰² But his faults, which were numerous, have all been forgotten by his countrymen, who speak only of his manly beauty, elevated courage and cruel destiny.

(76) The princes of the Zand dynasty ruled over a great part of Persia for nearly half a century; but from the death of their founder, Karim Khán, their power had never possessed any stability. This is, in the first place, to be attributed to their internal divisions; and in the second, to the genius of their enemy, Aká Muhammad Khán. That monarch had, from the hour he fled from Shiráz, laboured incessantly to destroy them, and his task was now completed. He owed this triumph more to his foresight and perseverance, than to any brilliant successes of his arms. His present object was to prevent the claims of those he had subdued ever being revived: almost every person, who could have formed the most remote pretensions, from his birth, to the throne, was put to death or deprived of sight. 'Abdulla Khán, the uncle of Lutf 'Alí Khán was, I believe, the only exception. He had married the sister of Hájí 'Alí Kúkí Khán, of Kázirún, and his pardon was granted in consideration of that chief, for whom Aká Muhammad Khán had great regard and respect. Not only the tribe of Zand, but all those, who had been the active supporters of the family of Karim Khán, were removed from the province of Fárs into the most distant quarters of the kingdom.²⁰³

²⁰² Whenever success favoured him, he used his power with a severity which might have strengthened an established ruler, but which could have no effect but that of creating enemies to one, who, like him, was always struggling against the stream of adversity,—(Malcolm).

²⁰³ It has been before mentioned, that the native tribes of Persia had been encouraged by Karim Khán to assert the superiority, which had belonged, in former days, to their ancestors. Their efforts had been successful; and they had, for a short period, enjoyed power; but their use of it had not been such, as to lead the more peaceable inhabitants of Persia to regret their downfall. This race of men were brave and warlike; but habits of long subjection had rendered them even more rude and barbarous than those, who rose to fortune upon their ruins.—(Malcolm).

CHAPTER XX.

An account of the state of Persia, and of the neighbouring nations, at the period of the establishment of the power of Áká Muhammad Khán, the founder of the reigning family.

Before we proceed to give the history of the family, which now occupies the throne of Persia, a chapter must be devoted to a review of the actual condition of that kingdom and of the neighbouring states, at the moment that Áká Muhammad Khán overcame the last prince of the Zand dynasty. By referring to the situation, in which the provinces of the empire then were, and to that of adjoining countries, we shall better understand the progress which the reigning dynasty have made to establish their power, and to restore Persia to that rank which it once held among Asiatic nations.

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At the death of Lutf 'Alí Khán, we may pronounce that Áká Muhammad Khán was the actual, as well as acknowledged, sovereign of the provinces of Astarábád, of Mázinarán, of Gílán, of the whole of 'Irák, of Fárs and of Kirmán. The situation of these countries, which extend from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, could only be deemed settled and obedient by a comparison of their condition to Khurásán, and other parts of the empire, which had been broken into a number of petty principalities at the death of Nádir Sháh, and had, subsequent to that event, thrown off their allegiance to those rulers, who assumed the title of sovereign of Persia.

Provinces actually under the rule of Áká Muhammad Khán at the death of Lutf 'Alí Khán.

The territories, which were at this period under the rule of Áká Muhammad Khán, had enjoyed tranquillity during the latter years of the reign of Karím Khán, but, since his death, they had become a scene of continual contests. Though the efforts to obtain the crown had been limited to the descendants of that prince and their enemy, Áká Muhammad Khán, the necessity, which each pretender had, in his turn, experienced for the support of the chiefs of tribes, had elevated that class into a consequence much beyond what they had ever before possessed. The events, which have been related, show that the attachment of these chiefs, to the cause they had adopted, was seldom to be depended upon. It rested upon no honourable basis; and defection, from being common, had almost ceased to be considered as disgraceful. A selfish feeling had taken the place of that spirit of loyalty, for which the nobles of Persia were once distinguished, and their descendants showed, even in action, a cautious prudence, which rendered their courage as equivocal as their faith. The greatest of those engagements, which the native historians of this period describe, deserve no other name than that of trifling skirmishes. When the armies met, a few men (generally of the tribe of the ruler for whom they fought) attacked each other with all the ardour of inveterate hostility. The other tribes almost always kept aloof till they saw one or other of these parties prevail; and then, if they did not betray their leader, they joined in flight, or pursuit, according to the issue of the first contest. In many of these bloodless battles, though there were twenty or thirty thousand on each side, not more than fifteen or twenty were killed, and perhaps double the number wounded. This fact alone sufficiently accounts for those extraordinary victories, which the personal valour of a leader, and a few brave attendants, often obtained over the most superior numbers.

Character of the contests between the chiefs of tribes, from the death of Karím Khán to the succession of Áká Muhammad Khán.

Though some of the chiefs of tribes were compelled to place their families at the capital of the ruler they served, where they were guarded as hostages for their fidelity, others, (and among them, the most powerful) had lodged both their wives and children and their possessions in their native towns or villages, which they had fortified on the plea of providing against the predatory attacks of their enemies, but with the real view of rendering

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themselves, in some degree, independent of the caprice and power of their sovereign.

Efforts made by Áká Muhammad Khán to unite the chiefs of his own tribe.

The condition of the military nobles, or rather feudal lords, of Persia, was not favourable to the designs of Áká Muhammad Khán; but that politic prince had succeeded in uniting the efforts of his own tribe, all of whom were devoted to his cause. To effect this object, he had made what were deemed the greatest sacrifices. He had forgiven, when he had the power to revenge it, the blood of his father and of his uncles; and had pardoned the grossest personal insults, which had been offered to himself in captivity. His magnanimity was rewarded by the unanimous support of his tribe; and, in the condition in which Persia then was, he derived the greatest strength from their fidelity and attachment.

Makes Tíhrán the capital, and demolishes other strong places.

Astarábád had long been the residence of the Kájár chiefs; it was impossible from its situation, at a distant corner of the empire, ever to make it the capital: but many reasons combined to render Áká Muhammad Khán desirous of being near the hereditary possessions of his family, and those Turkí tribes, on which he was in a great degree dependent for maintaining the crown he had acquired. He determined, therefore, to fortify Tíhrán, which stands immediately at the base of that lofty range of mountains, which divide 'Irák from Máizindarán. The fortifications of Isfahán and Shíráz were dismantled. Those of Kirmán had also been razed to the ground; and the inhabitants of those cities, harassed with the sieges they had sustained, saw, without sorrow, the progress of the work of demolition.²⁰⁴ The city of Kirmán had, at a former period, been one of the richest and most populous in Persia. When the European factories were established at Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbás), it became a great emporium of trade between Europe and India, and the countries of Persia, Kábul and Tartary. The province, of which it is the capital, was not productive; but it boasted some rare articles of commerce, particularly the celebrated wool of its goats, which approaches nearer, than any other, in fineness to that of Kashmír.

An account of the province of Kurdistán.

(78) The ancient province of Carduchia, (the modern Kurdistán) which is bounded to the east by the plains of 'Irák and Ázarbáiján, to the west by the river Tigris, to the north by Armenia, and to the south by the territories of Baghdád, had, in former ages, as at present, always maintained its own rude government; and though its mountain chiefs had generally acknowledged the authority of a paramount lord, they had, for ages, enjoyed more real independence than those of any other province in this quarter of Asia. Sharif-ud-dín, in his preface to the Tárikhi Akrád, a history of his native country, states that authors differ regarding the origin of the Kurds. Some believe them to be descended from those Persians, who were saved from the cruelty of Zwahhák. Others trace them to the jins, or genii; while many state, that the devs, or demons, connected themselves with the women of the earth, and begot the Kurds. Xenophon also informs us that, in the very earliest periods of the history of Persia, the chiefs of Kurdistán were disobedient and turbulent vassals²⁰⁵ to the most powerful of its monarchs.²⁰⁶ There are indeed some grounds to believe, that it was the valour of this race, which emancipated their country from the foreign rule of the successors of Alexander.

For a short time, the legions of Rome²⁰⁷ had occupied a part of Carduchia, but they had, probably, possession of little more than their military positions; and it is remarkable that none of the numerous Tartar tribes, who have overrun Persia, have ever permanently established themselves in this province, which is still inhabited by an original and rude race; who, though they have departed from the religion, maintain the usages and habits of their forefathers, and speak a barbarous dialect of the ancient language of Persia. There are some Arabian tribes in this country; and

²⁰⁴ Though some of the military classes might have sighed after their lost power, and regretted that their harvest of plunder was over, the other inhabitants of these provinces, that were now subject to Áká Muhammad Khán's rule, were quite prepared, by past scenes, to welcome the establishment of any government which promised, from its stability, to afford them an effectual and permanent protection.—(Malcolm.)

²⁰⁵ Mirza Hairat has rendered "vassals" by Nawwáb the plural of naib, a vice-regent. This certainly is rather a free translation, but very correct in this instance, at it is exactly what these chiefs were.

²⁰⁶ We have evidence of this fact in the page of Xenophon, which informs us, that such was the case in the very earliest periods of the history of Persia. (Spellman's Cyrus) "The prisoners informed Xenophon, that the Carduchians, who inhabited the mountains along the Tigris, through which he desired to march, were a warlike nation, and not subject to the king; and that once the king's army, consisting of 120,000 men, penetrated into their country, whence not one of them returned, the roads being hardly passable."—(Malcolm.)

²⁰⁷ The Persian word is Róm; this term is now used for the Turkish dominions, and has been adapted since the establishment of the eastern empire of the Romans. It may always be considered as a general and indefinite name, by which Persian authors describe the provinces west of the Euphrates, to the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.—(Malcolm.)

several of the principal Kurdish chiefs boast a descent from families of that nation. The historian of Kurdistán includes all the province of Lárístán in that country, which, according to him, extends to the Persian Gulf. The same author states that Kurd signifies, "valiant" and that Rustam, though born in Sistán, was of a Kurdish family. He says that the common reading of Rustam-i-Gurd is erroneous, and that it should be Rustam-i-Kurd, or Rustam the Kurd.

The causes, which have enabled this people to preserve their soil from strangers, are obvious. Their country is mountainous and barren; and the few beautiful and fertile valleys, which are interspersed amongst its clustering hills, offer no adequate temptation to reward the effort, that would be necessary, to its complete reduction: for its warlike and robust inhabitants are singularly attached to their native land, and the conquest of their rugged mountains would be found as difficult to make, as it would prove unprofitable to maintain. This race of men have never been united under one ruler;²⁰⁸ and perhaps this circumstance, which, had they possessed a more inviting country, must have soon led to their subjugation, has been one of the causes, which has enabled them to preserve their independence. Sharíf-ud-dín, in his history of this nation, asserts that, when an envoy from a chief of Kurdistán came before Muḥammad, the prophet was so struck by his fierce looks and gigantic frame of body, that he prayed to God, that so formidable a race should never be united; and hence those divisions, which have ever since continued to distract that country. Their chiefs, constantly at war with each other, have always sought the protection of some great power, whose influence or occasional aid enabled them to preserve, or increase, their territories. They have repaid the support they received, by the acknowledgment of the monarch, who granted it, as their paramount sovereign; and, as such, they have discharged the obligations they had incurred, sometimes by tribute, and sometimes by military service. We are not surprised to find, that their most powerful neighbours have preferred the professions of allegiance and real aid, which they have received from the petty rulers of Kurdistán, to the hazard of an attempt to subdue them into more complete submission. The situation of their country, which has generally been the frontier that divided great empires, has been favourable to the policy of its chiefs; and we may conclude that, in ancient days, these vacillated between the two empires of the Roman emperor and of the monarchs of the Sásání dynasty, in the same manner, as they do at this moment, between the kings of Persia and the emperors of Turkey.²⁰⁹ The largest half of Kurdistán, at present, term themselves subjects of the Turkish empire, which they prefer to Persia, as it is, at this moment, less able to coerce the payment of tribute, or to exact military service. (79)

The districts of Kurdistán, which lie near the Tigris and in the vicinity of Baghdád, admit the supremacy of the Turkish government; while those, that are situated more to the northward and eastward, profess to be under the protection of the king of Persia. Among the latter chiefs, the Wálí, or prince, of Ardalán is by far the most powerful. The town of Saḥna, the capital of Ardalán, lies in lat. 35° 12' N., and long. 40° E, and is distant 60 miles from Hamadán. It is pleasantly situated in a small valley, encircled by mountains. The author encamped at it for several days in the autumn of 1810, and was entertained in the most hospitable and princely manner by the ruling Wálí, Amánulla Khán, the son of Khusrú Khán, who was Wálí at the period of which he wrote. His territories, which border on 'Irāk and Āzarbáiján, are nearly 200 miles in length, and about 160 in breadth. The revenues of this tract are not great; but its princes, who maintain almost regal state, boast their descent from the celebrated Saláḥuddín, Ayyúb.²¹⁰ Their title, however, to this honour is not clearly made out; but the history of their country proves that the government of this province has continued in the same noble family for more than four centuries. The character of their rule is patriarchal; and though the kings of Persia have seldom interfered with the internal administration of Ardalán, and have never attempted to set aside the family, who govern it, they have often

²⁰⁸ We are told by Greek historians, that when Artaxerxes Longimanus entered their country with an immense army, he was only saved from destruction, by one of his allies fomenting a division between the two great rulers of Carduchia, that led to their consenting to a peace with that monarch.—(Malcolm.)

²⁰⁹ Here we have the word "Rún" standing in the Persian, both for the Roman, and the Turkish empires; it does not actually occur twice, but both are implied. In this, I think, lies one of the great beauties of *Mirzá Haidar's* translation, that he so often expresses so much of the English in one word in the Persian.

²¹⁰ The famous enemy of the crusaders, and called Saladin by European writers. The family of Ardalán trace their lineage to this monarch through female descent; but, in the history of Kurdistán, their title to their possessions rests upon an actual occupation for four centuries, and a succession of twenty-five male heirs.—(Malcolm.)

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exerted their influence and power to alter the direct line of succession; and, by supporting the potentates of junior branches, they have obtained their object of creating feuds, which have rendered its rulers more dependent upon their power.

(80) Khusrú Khán, who, at the period of Lutf 'Alí Khán's death, was Wálí of Ardalán, had professed allegiance to Karím Khán; but he withdrew his support from the descendants of that prince, and became the open enemy of Ja'far Khán, whose nephew, Isma'íl, had fled to Sahná, and thrown himself upon his protection. The defeat, which Ja'far Khán sustained near Hamadán, was chiefly ascribed to the valour of the troops of Ardalán. In the history of this family, which the author obtained from the reigning Wálí, it is stated that Khusrú never meant to support Isma'íl Khán, till the suspicions and intended hostility of Ja'far Khán forced him to that measure. As their chief, after the above defeat, could not hope to effect a reconciliation with the ruler, he was led, by considerations of policy, to attach himself to the cause of Áká Muhammad, to whom he sent all the arms and other trophies, which he had taken in this action, as a proof of his acknowledgment of his paramount power. It is said that Khusrú Khán, when very young, had been expelled from his territories, and deprived of his birthright. He owed his restoration to power to Muhammad Hasan Khán, the father of Áká Muhammad, and was led, by that event, to entertain a partiality to a family, from whose aid he had derived such great benefit. After the defeat of Ja'far Khán, Khusrú became one of the most formidable supporters of the Kájár monarch; and the latter, when he overcame the Zand dynasty, had a right to expect that the continued allegiance of the Wálí of Ardalán would ensure the submission of all those districts of Kurdistán, which had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Persia.

State of the north-eastern provinces of Armenia.

The family of the princes of Armenia had been extinct for centuries; and that disunited province could hardly be deemed entitled to the continuance of a name, which had long described a country inhabited by a brave and independent people. The greatest part of it had fallen under the rule of the Turkish government; but the north-eastern districts, which stretched along the bank of the Araxes,²¹¹ and intervened between Ázarbáiján and Georgia, had been, in general, subject to the sovereigns of Persia. The chiefs, by whom these districts were governed, had, at no period, possessed a power, which could enable them to resist the authority of an established monarch of that kingdom.

Condition of the province of Georgia.

The fine province of Georgia, which is bounded to the north by the high ranges of the Caucasus; to the east, by the lofty mountains of Dághistán and Shírwán; and to the west and south, by the district of ancient Armenia, was governed by a Wálí, or prince, who usually acknowledged the sovereignty of Persia, as his paramount power. This province boasts a singular salubrity of climate, and is alike famous for the abundant fertility of its soil, the luxuriance of its diversified scenes, of rich plains, clear streams and wooded mountains, and the superior courage and beauty of its inhabitants;²¹² but, for many centuries, all these apparent blessings had operated as curses to this charming region. Its inhabitants, who had continued to profess the Christian religion, were, from the situation of their country, which lay between two great Muhammadan nations, Turkey and Persia, subject to a violence and oppression, which had sunk their character to the lowest state of degradation. Independent of the evil resulting from this cause,²¹³ the internal government of Georgia was bad. The power of the Wálí was not only checked by the divisions, which his neighbours always fomented, in his own family, but by the great authority, possessed by his insubordinate nobles, who exercised, in their respective districts, the most despotic tyranny over their miserable vassals.²¹⁴ Men would not labour, in a country so situated, beyond what was necessary for their own subsistence; and that, the earth yielded almost spontaneously. The manly form and courage of the male, and the beauty and vivacity of the female, youth of Georgia made their Muhammadan neighbours always anxious to obtain them as slaves. As they lived in misery at home, and often attained the highest rank among other nations, even parents did not hesitate to sell their offspring. In Turkey, it is the usage to promote slaves from Georgia and Circassia to the principal offices of government. This custom has its origin in the

²¹¹ Now called Arras.

²¹² *Lit.* "It has an extremely salubrious climate, and very fertile soil, and rich meadows; its plains are all flower gardens, and its deserts, full of many kinds of flowers; the splendour of each of which resembles that of the heavens, filled with stars; its hills and grottoes are covered with varieties and sorts of superior trees and clear streams; and its inhabitants are celebrated in the world for their beautiful looks and renowned bravery."

²¹³ *Lit.* "External."

²¹⁴ *Lit.* "Representatives and agents."

policy of despots, who, fearing the natural influence of men of high families, desire to raise those only, whom they can cast down at pleasure. The Georgian nobles made offerings of their vassals; and the Wális of Georgia, themselves, were often compelled to send as part of their tribute to the paramount sovereign, some of the fairest of their family and of their subjects. (81)

Joseph Amin, a brave and adventurous Armenian, who tried in vain about this period to excite his countrymen, and the Georgians, to throw off the degrading subjection, in which they were held, informs us, that Karim Khán had sent to Heraclius to demand "that his daughter-in-law (the widow of his eldest son), his heir, (Georgeen Khán), his son-in-law (the prince David), twelve noblemen's sons, and twelve beautiful Georgian virgins (none of whom were to be above 12 years of age), should be sent to him." These were required as hostages, and as slaves of his pleasure. The messenger, who brought this demand, threatened, in the name of his prince, an invasion of the country, if it was not instantly complied with. The degraded nobles of Georgia urged their prince to compliance, but he refused; and Karim Khán, being forced to march to another quarter, could not carry his threat into execution. The same writer furnishes us with many curious facts relative to the actual condition of Georgia about this period. He gives no favourable character of any class of its inhabitants; and he expresses his opinion of the wickedness of the nobles in a very odd, but emphatic, manner: "They were born," he says, "twenty-four hours before the devil."

When tribute was withheld by the Georgians, or any cause gave a pretext for war against Georgia, the Muhammadan armies rejoiced at an invasion, which enabled every soldier to gratify his love of plunder, and his brutal lust by the possession of Christian captives; nor had these armies much to apprehend from opposition; for the princes and nobles of this province were too divided by the collision of their personal interests, to be united, even by the approach of a danger, which nothing but their union could avert.²¹⁵

There had been no period, for many years, in the history of Georgia, at which the inhabitants of that country appeared more capable of throwing off the degrading yoke, to which it had been so long subject, than that, when Aká Muhammad Khán became the monarch of Persia. Its Wáli, Heraclius, had attended Nádir Sháh in his campaigns, and had gained the reputation of a good soldier. Favoured by the distractions, which had prevailed in Persia subsequent to the death of that conqueror, he had preserved his native province in a state of tranquillity; but, aware that it would be impossible to maintain himself without powerful aid, he sought, and obtained, the alliance of Russia. The treaty, which placed Georgia under the protection of that state, will be noticed hereafter; suffice it at present to say, that it transferred (as far as its ruling prince had the power of doing so) the allegiance of the Wális of Georgia from the sovereigns of Persia to those of Russia.

The kingdom of Persia is bounded to the east by the great province of Khurásán, which is upwards of 400 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth. This province has Irak to the west, the country of Kandahár and Kábul to the north. It stretches to the east as far as the banks of the Oxus, and is bounded to the south by the arid plains of Sistán. This celebrated region contains many fruitful plains, some lofty and irregular ridges of mountains, and several wide tracts of desert. It is, except in its most fertile districts, but partially supplied with water, and, from local position, has, perhaps, been more exposed to predatory invasions, than any country in the universe. Whenever Persia was distracted by internal factions, or had to sustain foreign attack, the tribes of Tartary crossed the Oxus, and spread themselves²¹⁶ over Khurásán. It was this province, which the valour of Rustam had to defend against the continual inroads of Afrásiyáb. The Seljookian chiefs invaded it long before their rule was extended over the other parts of the empire to which it belongs. It suffered greatly from the ravages of Changiz and Taimúr; and, during the reign of the first Súffavian kings, the Uzbags, who had conquered the country of Bukhárá, made annual attacks upon its fields and cities.²¹⁷ The genius of Abbás the Great, checked these ruinous inroads: and the victorious sword of Nádir made this

An account of the state of Khurásán.

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²¹⁵ Lit. "For the nobles of Georgia were so taken captive with their own interests and divisions, that they were unable to unite and coalesce, which was the only means of opposing such a danger." Nafáí really means "making a market brick" and hence the meaning, in which Mirzá Hairat has used it.

²¹⁶ Lit. "Made the empire of Khurásán trampled over by the hoofs of their quadrupeds."

²¹⁷ Lit. "Annually made the cities and plains of Khurásán, the object of their depredations and plunderings, desolate." Lit. "Made."

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race of plundering Tartars tremble for their own possessions.²¹⁸ But the death of that conqueror left his native province more exposed than ever to hostile invasion;²¹⁹ for while his descendants, stript of the vast inheritance which he had bequeathed them, exercised a mock sovereignty over the city of Mashad, several military chiefs, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, seized upon the different forts of Khurásán; and, aided by the confusion of the times, they succeeded in establishing a number of small principalities, over which they exercised an almost regal sway, making war, or concluding peace, with their petty neighbours, as it suited their interest.

Khurásán is peopled by many races: its warlike inhabitants boast their descent from Arabian, Kurd, Turki²²⁰ and Afghán tribes, who came into the province, at different periods, to subdue or to defend it; but neither their having so long inhabited the same soil, nor a common sense of danger, has softened those inveterate prejudices, or abated that rooted hatred, with which these races regard each other; and it had been the policy of the monarchs of Persia to increase divisions, which enabled them to keep in subjection a country, whose inhabitants, if united by any feeling that resembled patriotism, would have been dangerous; for the men of Khurásán, from the robustness of their frame, and from their being continually inured to war, are proverbially brave; and Nádir Sháh, with the vanity of a native, but not without truth, used to term this province, "the sword of Persia."

An account of Mashad, the capital of Khurásán, and the chiefs, who governed it.

Mashad, the capital of Khurásán, had been, for some years, the residence of the court of Nádir Sháh; and it was all, that his successors saved from the wreck of his dominions. It has been already mentioned, that the generous gratitude of Aẓmad Sháh, the monarch of the Afgháns, had assigned it, and the districts in its immediate vicinity, to the support of the unfortunate Sháh Rukh, the grandson and heir of Nádir. The city, from this period, became a scene of distraction, which was principally owing to the incompetence of its unfortunate ruler, and the disputes of Nasrulla Mírzá, and Nádir Mírzá, his unworthy sons, who combated, with alternate success, for the sole possession of that power, which was the right of their father. The chief ornament and support of Mashad is the tomb of the Imám Razwá, to which many thousands of pious pilgrims annually resort, and which had been enriched by the bounty of sovereigns. But the sacred character of this celebrated mausoleum did not save it from the sacrilegious hands of the sons of Sháh Rukh, who, in their turn, plundered its treasury, and despoiled the sacred monument of its massive and valuable ornaments, which they converted into coin to pay their clamorous soldiers. It is stated that Nasrulla carried away the golden railing that surrounded the tomb, and Nádir Mírzá took down the great golden ball, which ornamented the top of the dome over the grave, and which was said to weigh sixty mans.²²¹ The carpets fringed with gold, the golden lamps, and every thing valuable, were plundered by these necessitous and rapacious princes. Nasrulla Mírzá, who had been compelled to fly, sought the aid of Kárim Khán; but that prudent prince having declined giving him support, he returned to Khurásán, where he soon afterwards died. This event left Nádir Mírzá without a competitor within the walls of the city; but he was attacked by the chief of a neighbouring province, Mamish Khán of Chinnárán, who took Mashad,²²² and held it for eleven years; after which Sháh Rukh was restored to nominal authority by the arms of Táimúr Sháh, king of the Afgháns, the son of Aẓmad Sháh.

We are told that Mashad had, at this time, not more than 3,000 inhabited dwellings; in the time of Nádir, it had 60,000. The inhabitants of Mashad were reduced at this period to less than 20,000; and its revenues had suffered a still greater decrease; for the Uzbags (who now made constant inroads) plundered the fields close to its walls, and often led those, who ventured to till them, into captivity.²²³ To render the wretchedness of the degraded descendant of Nádir complete, he was obliged to give a great proportion of the small revenue he received, to purchase of neighbouring

²¹⁸ Lit. "The wise policy of Shah 'Abbás the Great, and the sword of Nádir Sháh, were a check to the inroads of this tribe, and a bar against the dashing of this wave (of plunderers.)"

²¹⁹ Lit. "But, after the death of Nádir, this country became, more than ever, exposed to all sorts of calamities, and the indent of the river of misfortune."

Farzwa is the indent of a river where they draw water, or a bight where ships ride at anchor, a harbour, dock—mouth of a river. The first is, I think, the proper meaning here.

²²⁰ The word Turki is always used to describe the inhabitants of Turkistan, or Tartary, or those who derive their origin from that country, and continue to speak its language.

²²¹ The Tabrizi man, equal to 7 lbs, is here meant.

²²² Lit. "But Mamish Khán of Chinnaran did not give him longer rest, than the night takes to turn into dawn, and attacked and wrenched Mashad from his grasp."

²²³ Lit. "For the Uzbags continually made inroads, close to its walls, and plundered the grain, cattle, and whatever fell into their hands, and carried off the villagers and peasants into captivity."

chiefs an exemption from their attacks. Sháh Rukh still possessed many of the jewels, which Nádir had brought from India, and we are told, that of the knowledge of this fact had already excited the cupidity of Aká Muhammad Khán, who looked to the termination of his contest with the Zand dynasty with an increased impatience, when he heard of any war in Khurásán. He considered them to belong to the crown of Persia; and he thought, till he was at liberty to reclaim them, they could not be in better custody, than that of the weak ruler of Mashad.

The town and district of Nishápúr, which are situated about 60 milos to the south-west of Mashad, had, on the death of Nádir Sháh, been seized by 'Abbás Kulí Khán, a chief of the Turkí tribe of Biyát. His usurpation was supported by 10,000 families of his tribe, who were settled near that city. The powerful tribe of Biyát came originally from Tartary with Changiz Khán. They were long settled in Asia Minor, and a number of them fought in the army of Báyzid against Taimúr. After the defeat of Báyzid, many of the families of this tribe were sent by the conqueror to the province of Diyúbakr; but, having quarrelled with the ruler of the province, they went to the territories of Baghdád, where they lived till the time of Sháh Tahmásb, who brought them into Persia; one half was settled at Saújbálágh, a district of Tihraín, and the remainder at Ashraf in Mázandarán. They remained on these lands, till 'Abbás the Second transplanted a number of them to Khurásán. The Biyáts are still more numerous in Turkey than in Persia; but, in the latter country, they were, in the reign of the Súffavian monarchs, registered at 40,000 families. 'Abbás Kulí Khán remained in undisturbed possession of Nishápúr until attacked by Ahmad Sháh, Abdálí, who took it, and carried its lord a prisoner to Kábul; but the good qualities and good fortune of 'Abbás Kulí combined to render this misfortune, the means of his advancement. He became a favourite of his conqueror, who married his sister; and the daughter of the Afghan monarch was bestowed upon the eldest son of his captive, and he was allowed to return to Nishápúr.

The chief of the Biyáts, strong in the friendship and alliance of the royal house of Abdálí, returned to Nishápúr, and the remainder of his life was devoted to the improvement of that town, and the districts dependent upon it; but, though there is reason to believe that he was a moderate and just ruler, we must smile when we are told by his flatterers that, under him, Nishápúr approached its ancient splendour. 'Abbás Kulí Khán, who has the character of a mild and humane man, nevertheless, obtained power over the branch of Biyáts by the murder of his relation, Ahmad Khán, who was the legitimate chief. The town of Nishápúr, now doomed to become a fastness for a petty Turkí chief, whose subjects lived amidst its ruins, once vied with the proudest cities in Persia. It is said to have been founded by prince Tahmúráth of the Peshdádian dynasty, and to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great. We know that it was rebuilt by Shápúr the 1st, who gave it the name it now bears. The term Ní (reed), which denotes the produce of the plain in which it stands, was given to distinguish it from the city of Shápúr in Fárs, which was also founded by Shápúr the 1st. The statue of that monarch was, according to Kinnier, overturned and broken by the Arabs, when they first took and plundered this royal city. It had, afterwards, been inhabited by Sultán Mahmúd, Ghaznaví, by the first princes of the Seljookian dynasty; but Nishápúr had been, subsequently, twice completely destroyed by the hordes²²¹ of Tartary. Nothing could have enabled this city to recover the degree of prosperity it had again attained, except its fine soil and delightful climate; the fruits of Nishápúr are uncommonly fine, particularly melons; its mountains are cultivated to the very summit, in these mountains the firoza, or turquoise stone, is found. But, after all, we can only discover the shadow of its former greatness; for those limits, which could formerly boast a population of more than 200,000 persons, were inhabited by less than a twentieth part of that number; and many of the fields, by which it was surrounded, that were now waste, were intersected by the dry channels of innumerable canals,²²² which showed the labour that had once contributed to their verdure and fertility.

²²¹ Malcolm says that this word is evidently derived from úrdú; which signifies a camp, composed of many tribes.

²²² In its more prosperous days, there are said to have been 12,000 water-courses in this small, but fine, district. The name of Hoshang is perpetuated in Persia as the first who constructed aqueducts, or water-courses. These aqueducts are made by a succession of small wells, at the distance of a few yards from each other, and of such depth, as the level and soil require; they are connected with each other at the bottom by a channel, large enough for a man to pass to clear it. These wells commence at a spring, and not only convey its waters, but that of such other springs, as are found in the course of the canal; they are common through all Persia; the water they convey is applied to irrigation.—(Malcolm.)

An account of the town and district of Nishápúr.

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'Abbás Kuli had eight sons. The manuscript, the author writes from, states that the eldest, Muhammad Hussain Khán, had no talents for rule. It then proceeds to describe the contests between the two next, and the other five are never noticed. At the death of 'Abbás Kuli, the second son, 'Alí Kuli, seized upon the government. His claims, however, were disputed by the next brother (Ja'far Khán), who, after a short struggle, prevailed, and had the cruelty to deprive his brother of his eye-sight. The other acts of this chief were all of the same nature.

An account of
the district and
rulers of Tabbas.

Amongst the most powerful of the chiefs of Khurásán was Mir Hussain Khán, of Tabbas, who has been before mentioned as having offered an asylum and given aid to the unfortunate Lutf 'Alí Khán. The possessions of this chief, which were situated in the southern part of the province, were so surrounded with deserts, as to be almost inaccessible to a numerous army. Mir Hussain Khán was the chief of the Arabian tribe of Baní Shaibán, which had been settled at Rai, when Persia was under the rule of the Caliphs of Baghdád; they were transplanted to the soil, that they now inhabited, by one of the kings of the Sáfavian dynasty. Favoured by situation, by the valour and attachment of their tribe, and by the unsettled condition of the empire, the chiefs of this race had, for centuries, maintained themselves in the possession they now enjoyed; and their rule had, at different periods, extended over several other districts, of Khurásán. They had usually acknowledged the king of Persia as their paramount sovereign; and, when the empire was in a settled state, had neither withheld their tribute, nor the service of a quota of their troops; and the most powerful monarchs of Persia had preferred the benefit, they derived from this qualified submission, to the hazard of an effort to subdue them.

- (85) The immediate predecessors of the ruler of Tabbas had been remarkable for their courage and enterprise. 'Alí Mardán Khán, the father of the present chief, had not hesitated, with an army of six or seven thousand men, to advance to Gunáhábád, the frontier of his possessions, and engage an Afghán force of nearly treble his numbers, which Ahmad Sháh had sent to attack him. He completely defeated them; and was equally successful in an action, which he fought against still superior numbers, sent by the same sovereign to revenge the former disgrace. But the gallant chief continued his pursuit of the latter force with an imprudent ardour; he fell into an ambush, and was slain with all who accompanied him.²²⁶ But the enemy were ignorant of the importance of the victory,²²⁷ till a dying soldier, whom they were stripping, exclaimed, "why do you waste your time on me, when the body of the noble 'Alí Mardán Khán lies near that wall?" They hastened to inform the Afghán general of this event, who collected his fugitive army; and the troops of Tabbas, dispirited by the loss of their chief, fled before those whom they had so lately conquered. Mir Muhammad Khán, the eldest son of the deceased chief, succeeded to his authority; and, after Ahmad Sháh left Khurásán, he formed the project, not only of subduing that province, but of carrying his arms into the territories of the Afgháns. He took Mashad, and several other towns in Khurásán. But his ambition was checked by the occurrence of divisions in his own family; and, after he had settled these, his life terminated in a manner, not dissimilar to that of his father. He had defeated the troops of a neighbouring chief, 'Alí Yár Khán of Sabzavár. When pursuing his enemies, his horse fell, and he was killed upon the spot. He was succeeded by his brother, Mir Hussain Khán, who was deemed a sensible and moderate man, solely intent upon preserving his family possessions, and cherishing no schemes of attacking those of others. His territories were about 150 miles in length, and nearly as much in breadth; but great part of them was barren waste. The town of Tabbas, which was rudely fortified, owed its principal strength to being surrounded, for more than thirty miles in every direction, by a desert. Mir Hussain Khán maintained an army of 2,000 horse and 6,000 foot; and his followers were surpassed by none, in valour or attachment to their chief. The whole population of the country is not estimated at more than 30,000 families; but many of these are affluent, and almost all of them possessed of property. The country is celebrated for producing the best tobacco in Persia. From the chief to the lowest of his subjects, they traffic in sheep and camels, but mostly in the latter, which they breed in great numbers. These they either sell or let; and the chief of Tabbas has generally more than a thousand camels, hired out to the merchants of his own country, or to others who dwell in its vicinity.

²²⁶ Malcolm says that not one of the party, who accompanied him, either fled or surrendered; they all fell near the body of their chief.

²²⁷ Lit. "But while yet the Afgháns were unaware that 'Alí Mardán Khán had been killed, they set to plundering the effects of the slain."

The Arab tribe of Baní Shaibán have now dwelt in this country, for nearly two centuries, under the family of their present chief. The author of a memoir on the actual state of Khurásán observes, "that they have never been expelled from their homes (even for a day)," "nor do they live" he adds "in fear of any such calamity." The means of their rulers, though limited for the purpose of ambition, are ample for those of defence.²²⁹ One of its principal dependent districts is Tún, which lies at a distance of about sixty miles, and is defended by a very strong ark, or citadel.

The town and district of Káín, which lie to the south east of Tabbas, were under the rule of an Arabian family²³⁰ of high rank, whose ancestor, Mir Isma'íl Khán, received a grant of it from the last of the Sáfavian monarchs. This chief served with distinction in the army of Nádir Sháh, and his grandson now inherited this sterile possession.²³¹ A part of the district of Káín borders on the desert of Sistán, while it is bounded in another quarter by the territories of the Afgháns. The desert of Sistán, which borders on Káín, is called by the Muhammadan historian, whom the author follows, "The Desert of Lot." He asserts in the same passage, "that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, whom God destroyed, and heaped the ruins upon the heads of their guilty inhabitants, were situated in this part of Persia." Numbers of camels²³² are reared in the plains of Káín; and its mountains are covered with sheep, from the wool of which carpets of different textures are made of a quality equal to any produced in Persia. The revenue of Káín was estimated, under the Sáfavian princes, at 12,000 túmáns in specie, and as many kharwárs, or ass loads, of grain. But the military service of their followers has always been an object more desired by their paramount lord, than the revenue of the lands they inhabit; for the Arabs of Káín have long enjoyed the reputation of being the hardest. And the bravest, of the infantry of Khurásán. The Arabs of Káín are computed at about 20,000 families. The usual force, which their chief maintains, is between two and three thousand infantry, and a few horse. Their present chief, Mir 'Alí Khán, had granted his aid to the unfortunate Lutf 'Alí Khán; but the nature and situation of his country left him little to fear from the resentment of Áká Muhammad, whose wisdom would, he knew, at all times, prefer his proffered allegiance to the hazard, to which his troops must be exposed, in an unprofitable expedition amid barren deserts, and rugged mountains.

The district of Tarshíz, which lies immediately north of Tabbas, is in possession of another tribe of Arabs, called Meshmast or "the wanton sheep;" a name, they are said to have derived, from having entered into a war about a sheep. They belonged, before that event, to the tribe of Jamálí. Their chief ('Abdul 'Alí) was a soldier of reputation, and much esteemed by Nádir, and had been governor both of Kirmánsbáh and of Hirát; but was forced, after the death of Nádir Sháh, to leave Irak with his tribe. He was invited by his brother, Khalíl Khán, to settle at Tarshíz, of which the latter had made himself master. Like other rulers of similar condition, the chiefs of this place were often engaged in petty wars²³² with their neighbours, and in internal disputes; but the authority of Mustafá Kulí Khán, son of 'Abdul 'Alí Khán, was, at this period, acknowledged by the whole tribe. The district of Tarshíz is very productive. Its revenue is estimated at 30,000 túmáns (about £60,000) per annum. This is the net produce to the ruler, besides all payment of collection,²³³ and the lands made over for the maintenance of the tribe. It abounds in grain, and in fruits of all descriptions; the grapes, figs and pomegranates of Tarshíz are deemed equal, if not superior, to any in Persia. But the Uzbaks had, for several years past, annually laid waste its fields, and plundered its villages.

At a distance of about 60 miles to the north-east of Tarshíz, a chief, called Ishák Khán, had established an influence and power, which was, perhaps, inferior to that of none of the petty rulers of Khurásán, and

²²⁹ And the inhabitants of Tabbas, and its dependent districts (Malcolm adds) may hear, without a sigh, the travellers, who pass over their barren mountains and sandy deserts, tell of all those fruitful fields, and delightful streams, which belong to countries, that are, at one moment, the abode of plenty and enjoyment, and, at another, a scene of rapine and of desolation.

²³⁰ They were Sayyids of the tribe of Khazína.—(Malcolm.)

²³¹ Lit. "At the present time, his grandson was, by order of succession, lord of the government, and a traveller of the road of greatness and excellence."

²³² In the Persian, sher is a misprint for shutar; the dots having been placed below, instead of over, the medial letter.

²³³ Lit. "They swaggered or shook their heads."

²³⁴ Lit. "Pay of collectors, and wages of agents." Kúllaḵ is a Turkish word meaning "servantship—a guard-house."

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which was rendered more remarkable, from having been entirely created by his personal exertions.²³⁴ His father, who was the servant of a chief of the branch of the tribe of *Kará Tátár*, (Black Tartars) had shown himself above the duties of a shepherd, which was his first employ, and had
 (87) latterly been trusted with the command of a hundred men. This tribe had come from Tartary with *Taimúr*. He had settled part of them in Turkey, and part in *Khurásán*. After his death they had dispersed.²³⁵ *Nádir Sháh* had desired to reassemble them; and seven or eight thousand families had been brought together under *Najaf Kulí Khán*, the chief, in whose service *Ishák* and his father were employed. The young *Ishák*, who derived claims from the character of his father, was appointed one of the macebearers to his chief,²³⁶ whom he persuaded to depute him to *Turbat-i-Haidarí*²³⁷ to rebuild a caravan sarai for the use of travellers. Having obtained a considerable sum of money for this purpose, he commenced the execution of his task. But his plans, which had been long laid, now approached to maturity. He gradually converted the caravan sarai, he was directed to build, into a square fort; and his intrigues, to foment divisions in the tribe to which he was attached, were so successful,²³⁸ that, by the time his work was completed, the chief, that had employed him, was slain by some of his own officers, and his sons were compelled to fly the country. These events produced feuds in the tribe of *Kará Tátárs*, which added to the power of *Ishák Khán*, with whom all the discontented found refuge; and, strengthened by these adherents, and by that wisdom, which enabled him to turn every occurrence to advantage, the shepherd's son soon became one of the most powerful nobles of *Khurásán*. He had been, in the early part of his career, greatly aided by the monarch of the *Afgháns*, whose army he had joined, and whose court he had visited; but when his power increased, he ventured to throw off his allegiance;²³⁹ and the troubled state of the dominions of *Kábul* left him without apprehension from that quarter.

A writer, who was in *Khurásán* the year before that province was invaded by *Áká Muhammad Khán*, states, "that the possessions of *Ishák Khán* extend on the north to the gates of *Mashad*, a distance of more than a hundred miles; and they stretch almost as far south in the direction of *Kháf*. His revenue is very considerable; and he maintains a force of 6,000 men; but he trusts more to policy, than to arms, for his future security. This extraordinary man," he remarks, "has hitherto never failed in conciliating, when it was necessary, the good opinion and confidence of his superiors. He is dreaded and hated by those who deem themselves his equals, who have seen, with envy and astonishment, the success of all his measures; but no ruler was ever more beloved by his subjects, and none," continues his biographer, "ever more merited to be so; for, to them, he devotes himself. He manages all his own affairs, and, in his most remote districts, there are no great renters or deputies, who have the power to oppress his people. His mind is incessantly occupied, and he was never known to spend an idle moment. No one," this writer observes, "is entrusted with the secrets of this inscrutable man; but experience has led all to repose with confidence in his wisdom. He is the first merchant in his country, and derives, from this source, half as much revenue as he takes from his subjects. His whole revenue is computed at 1,00,000 *túnáns* (£200,000); 30,000 of which is stated to be from his own estates, almost all of which he has purchased; 40,000 from his subjects, and 20,000, profits of his merchandise. He is said to have 3,000 camels continually on hire with the caravans between *India* and *Persia*. He exports all the dried and
 (88) other produce of his own estates, and imports the produce of other countries, which he sells. The integrity and regularity of his dealing is so remarkable, that his bills are current not only in *Khurásán*, but all over

²³⁴ Amid the sameness of scenes of usurpation, the attention is forcibly arrested by the contemplation of a man, who had overcome every prejudice, and every obstacle, that could combine to prevent his either aspiring to, or attaining, authority. *Ishák Khán* had not even the rank, which belongs to the lowest individual of a military tribe. He was born a *Tájik* and was, according to prejudice, by birth, unwarlike. The word *Tájik* has been before explained. It is always applied to unwarlike peasants and citizens.—(Malcolm.)

²³⁵ *Lit.* "After his death, their body had dispersed, and they had all been scattered, and the thread of their union and concord had been broken."

²³⁶ *Lit.* "The father of *Ishák Khán* was in the service of this *Najaf Kulí Khán*, and *Ishák Khán*, too, in his youth, having manifested signs of discretion and rectitude, had been appointed to a befitting post in personal attendance on the chief."

²³⁷ Then an inconsiderable place.—(Malcolm.)

²³⁸ *Lit.* "And he also secretly endeavoured, by attaching the hearts and winning the affections of the tribes, to create divisions amongst them in such a way."

²³⁹ *Lit.* "And this state of affairs, conjointly with the good policy of *Ishák Khán*, gradually advanced matters to such a point, that the son of the shepherd became one of the most powerful nobles of *Khurásán*. In the early part of his career, he had made a manifestation of obedience and attachment to the *Afghan* monarch, and obtained the greatest help from him; he went with his army to *Kábul*, but after that the foundation of his rule obtained firmness, and the pillars of his power were strengthened, his attachment was turned into opposition, and his obedience, to contumacy."

Kábul and Persia. "This chief," the same author adds, "reads a good deal, and is esteemed a good Arabian and Persian scholar. He is thoroughly versed both in the history of his country, and in that of neighbouring nations, and he appears careful to give his sons the best possible education, particularly those by the daughter of the chief of the Kará Tátárs, whom he married soon after the death of that noble (Najaf Kulí Khán). His politic preference for this part of his family, and his declaration, that the eldest son of this high born lady shall be his heir, has reconciled many of her tribe to his authority."

Turbat-i-Haidari, which he had raised from an inconsiderable village into a town of consequence, was a place of great resort to pilgrims, merchants and travellers. Its Miltmán Khána, or hall of entertainment, which could contain nearly 500 guests, was always open.²⁴⁰ The author of the History of the chiefs of Khurásán, before quoted, remarks "that his hospitality and charity are so boundless, that even the Hindús, who applied here, are supplied with money, that they might purchase, and eat apart that meal, which their religion forbade them to enjoy in the society of others." There are a number of Hindús settled in Khurásán, and many pass through that province on their way to other parts of Persia. He always dines with his guests; and his attentions are said to be so divided, that, to use the words of a Persian author, "Princes and beggars are equally pleased." It is, in these hours of relaxation, that he displays his great knowledge of men and books, and adds, by the information he receives, to his vast stock of knowledge. We cannot be surprised, that those who have, for days, weeks and months, listened to his conversation, and partaken of his hospitality, should spread his name in every direction. This reputation was, of itself, a safe-guard, for the most absolute sovereigns of Asia are themselves the slaves of public opinion, and the monarch, who, without an adequate pretext, should even diminish means so justly accumulated, and so nobly used, would be exposed to reproach from all who had either enjoyed or heard of the bounty of this extraordinary man. This account of Ishák Khán is taken from the pen of one who knew and admired that chief, but it is confirmed by the information of more impartial observers.²⁴¹

The town and district of Sabzawár, which lie between that of Turbat-i-Haidari and 'Irák, has, since the death of Nádir Sháh, been in the possession of 'Alí Yár Khán, the chief of the Kalíja tribe, a branch of the Taghtamash, the first of the tribes of Kabchák. The revenue of this province has been estimated at 12,000 túnáns (£24,000), 24,000 kharwárs of grain, 1,000 of cotton, and 300 of silk. 'Alí Wirdí Khán has endeavoured, by fortifying some strongholds, to render himself independent, but he possesses little power, and has often been in danger from the attacks of the petty rulers in his vicinity. To the north of Mashad, along the more mountainous part of Khurásán (which borders on the country of the Turkamáns, who now inhabit the lands of the ancient kingdom of Khwarazm) two Kurdish chiefs, high in the favour and employ of Nádir and his successors, established their rule. These chiefs were both dead, but their sons had inherited their possessions. Amír Gúnah Khán, Za'faránú, was the ruler of Khabúshán, and Mamish Khán of Chinnárán. There is nothing in the history of these two nobles, which merits notice. They had fortified the towns, in which they resided, sufficiently to resist the attack of an army, unprovided with artillery; but their fields were continually exposed to the inroads of the Turkamán tribes, in one quarter, and the ruler of the Uzbags, in the other. The former they were able to oppose; but they were compelled to purchase an exemption from the violence of the latter, by a present, or rather tribute, which was repeated every time, that he made or threatened an incursion into their territories. Though the tract of country, over which their authority was established, was not large, it was very productive. Some part of their revenue, particularly that of Mamish Khán was derived from his superior stud of horses; these were descended from the fine Arabians, brought by Nádir Sháh to this quarter; and the progeny from being crossed with the stronger breeds of the country and nourished with rich pasture, attained to considerable size and strength, as

State of the district of Sabzawár.

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²⁴⁰ The greatest relaxation, which Ishák Khán permitted himself to enjoy, viz., to entertain strangers, and enter into converse with them, was, perhaps, of a nature more calculated to give stability to his power, as it advanced his reputation, than all the labour he underwent. The Persians boast, (not without some reason) that they excel all other nations in the virtue of hospitality. It is natural, therefore, that they should dwell, with exaltation, on this part of the character of Ishák Khán, for none, however low, or of whatever persuasion, were excluded from his Miltmán Khána.—(Malcolm.)

²⁴¹ Mirzá 'Alí Nalí, a very sensible Persian, who had travelled a great deal, and was several weeks at Turbat-i-Haidari, was still more enthusiastic in his praises of the extraordinary talents, and the hospitality of Ishák Khán, than the author of the history of that chief, which has been followed.—(Malcolm.)

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well as beauty:²¹² and so great was their value, that the monarchs, whose paramount power he was compelled to acknowledge, had always made it a condition, that part of the tribute of Mamish Khán should be some of his highest bred colts.

State of the city
of Marw.

To the east of the possessions of these chiefs stands the once celebrated city of Marw.²¹³ This city was founded by Alexander the Great, and became the residence of one of his successors, Antiochus (Nicator) who called it Antiocha. In more modern times, it was deemed one of the four royal cities of Khurásán, the other three being Taus (Mashad), Nishápúr, and Hirát. When the Súffavían kings fixed their capital at Isfahán, Marw, which became the frontier city on the most exposed quarter of the empire, was always committed to the charge of a military leader of the highest rank. In the reign of Tahmásb I, the Azdánlú, a branch of the Kájár tribe, had been sent to Marw; and their chiefs had, with some vicissitudes of fortune, ever since remained governors of that city. Subsequent to the death of Nádir Sháh, Bairám 'Alí Khán maintained it for a long period against the annual attacks of the Uzbags: but the contest was unequal; and the gallant chief, after a noble struggle, was defeated and slain, in an action which was fought near the banks of the Oxus. His son, Muẓammad Hussain Khán, who was every way worthy of his father,²¹⁴ maintained for a short period the possession of the walls of the city of Marw, which were his only inheritance; for the Uzbags had rendered the country round it a barren waste. Though denied aid by the chiefs of Khurásán, and very inefficiently supported by the Afghán monarch, Taimúr Sháh, he continued, while a ray of hope remained, to strive against adversity;²¹⁵ but the inhabitants of Marw, who began to experience all the miseries of famine, at last compelled him to surrender. Muẓammad Hussain Khán was carried a prisoner to Bukhárá, and for some time after his arrival at that city he was treated with honour and distinction; but he soon became an object of jealousy to his conqueror, and was obliged to save his life by sudden flight. After wandering for several years as an exile, and suffering all the vicissitudes of fortune, he reached the court of Persia, where he was received in the warmest manner; and he, at this moment, enjoys the friendship of the king, who honours him with peculiar regard. But even royal favours cannot banish from the memory of this able and respectable nobleman the traces of his misfortunes; for he has not only been deprived of his inheritance, but he has survived the destruction of his tribe, and the death of all his family, most of whom were, after his flight, massacred by the chief of Bukhárá.

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A.D. 1795, con-
dition of the Páshá
of Baghdád.

The court of Constantinople was, at this period, too deeply involved in the result of those changes, which distracted Europe, to be able to take any concern in the affairs of Persia. It left the management of these to the rulers of its eastern provinces, the principal of whom was Sulaimán Áká, who had, for many years, been Páshá of Baghdád. This chief has been already mentioned as the brave defender of Bassara, when he was attacked by the troops of Karím Khán. He had subsequently attained his present high position, in which he had used every means to strengthen himself, that he might escape the usual fate of Turkish governors.²¹⁶ He had been completely successful, and was considered to be firmly established in his páshálik. His mild virtues²¹⁷ had contributed, as much as his wisdom and courage, to the fulfilment of this object. He was beloved by the inhabitants of Baghdád and of the cities under his immediate rule. The tributaries of his govern-

²¹² *Lit.* "A part of their revenue, especially that of Mamish Khán, was derived from horses; the horses of these parts are all of Arab descent; Nádir Sháh brought some Arab horses, and crossed them with the Khurásáni mares; and the progeny of the Arab, when mixed with the Khurásáni, attained quite a distinct character, for they had all the beauty of the Arab, with the size, strength, and power, of the Khurásáni."

²¹³ The capital of the ancient Margiána.—(Malcolm.)

²¹⁴ *Lit.* "The truth of (the proverb) 'The young whelp, in spirit, was like the old male lion' was applicable to him." Malcolm states, that Bairám 'Alí Khán, in a life of him which is given at some length in a Persian manuscript in his possession, was said, by his valour and conduct, to have gained frequent and great advantages over the Uzbags.

²¹⁵ *Lit.* "He met the arrows of the showers of calamity with the shield of firmness and stability."

²¹⁶ *Lit.* "That he might not become the buffoonery of the Turkish government." Note the word, *dast khunash*, buffoonery.

²¹⁷ I visited the court of Sulaimán Páshá in A.D. 1800, and was equally struck by the simplicity and manliness of his character. This chief, like most of those who enjoy high station in the Turkish territories, had been a slave; but no unpleasant feelings seemed associated with the recollection of his former condition. After he had introduced me to some of his chief officers, he called up a person and said; "This, Captain Malcolm, is the son of my first master. He treated me with the greatest kindness. I try to repay the obligation by considering his son as my own child."—(Malcolm.)

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ment, which included the Arab tribes,²⁴⁹ (who feed their flocks on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, between his capital and Bassara,) and the different chiefs of Kurdistan, who acknowledged themselves subjects of the Turkish government; viewed Sulaimán Páshá with respect, and granted him a willing obedience; while the court of Constantinople, after discovering that his authority was too strongly established to be easily subverted, declared itself satisfied with his rule. His moderation and good sense led him to preserve the most amicable relations with all his neighbours, and, since the death of Karím Khán, no circumstance had occurred to disturb the good understanding, which subsisted between Persia and Turkey.

The rise of Ahmad Sháh, Abdáli, to the sovereignty of Kábul and Kandahár, has been before noticed. That prince had greatly added to the wealth and fame of his own family, and his kingdom, by six successive invasions of India, in all of which he was successful; but in one he obtained the greatest renown among Muhammadans, by the memorable defeat that he gave to the Marhattá army, which he encountered upon the plains of Pánipat, a few miles to the northward of Delhi. It was a contest between the Muhammadans and Hindús for the sovereignty of India. The Muhammadan army amounted to 60,000 men, of whom not more than one half were Afgháns, but his own troops were those upon which Ahmad Sháh most depended. The Marhattás were computed between 70 and 80 thousand. They were defeated with great slaughter. This victory was the first effectual check to the power of that great Hindú nation, whose conquests extended from the most southern regions of the peninsular of India, to the banks of the Indus; and by reason of this victory, which Ahmad Sháh obtained, and his other conquests in India, Afghánistán reached a high state of renown, and its inhabitants became very rich and wealthy.

An account of
Ahmad Sháh,
Abdáli, and his
successors.

January A.D.
1761.

Ahmad Sháh, as has been already mentioned, subdued the greater part of Khurásán; and he was acknowledged, as their paramount sovereign, by almost all the chiefs of that quarter. This prince was continually occupied in foreign wars. He had, in fact, no other means of subsisting his army, or of preserving the obedience of his turbulent vassals. He received but a small revenue from his extensive territories; for the countries of Kábul and Kandahár had almost all been made over to different military tribes, who, in return for the lands²⁵⁰ that supported them, gave their military service. Ahmad was too able and too considerate to hazard his power by an attempt to subdue his rude subjects into a submission, that was incompatible with their usages. He was grateful for their attachment, and patient of their disobedience; and endeavoured, by every means he could, to improve the advantage, which he derived from belonging to the venerated family of Sadozáí. By accommodating his rule to the character and prejudices of his subjects, he became a powerful monarch. (91) But his authority had never any other foundation, than his popularity with the warlike tribes of his nation; and as these were devoted to their respective chiefs, and distracted by internal feuds, we can hardly conceive a more uncertain or dangerous inheritance than that, which this sovereign bequeathed, at his death (when he was only 50 years of age), to his son, Taimúr Sháh. Taimúr had to overcome some opposition before he obtained the crown; the wazír of Ahmad Sháh having, when that sovereign died, attempted to raise his younger brother to the throne. Taimúr, who seemed only desirous of repose, removed the seat of government from Kandahár to Kábul, because he preferred the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants of the latter city, to the turbulence of those of the former. He maintained hardly any troops, except a body of guards, formed chiefly of men, not belonging to the Afghán tribes; and, so far from attempting foreign conquests, he allowed the great feudatories of the empire to withhold their tribute and some even to throw off their allegiance, without an effort to subdue them. Notwithstanding his weakness and inaction, Taimúr Sháh, aided by the impression of his father's character,²⁵⁰ occupied the throne, which he had inherited, twenty years. But the repose, which marked his reign, terminated with his life, and his son, Zamán Sháh, was assailed by the open or secret attacks of all his brothers, who found ready adherents

²⁴⁹ The rule of the Turkish government over these tribes is very lenient; and they have been rescued, by submission to it, from a condition of continual war with each other. They are sensible of this benefit; and I heard a chief of one of them say, "That if there was no Páshá of Baghdád, he would put a Turk's cap upon a stick, and not only offer it allegiance, but recommend all the tribes in his neighbourhood to do the same."—(Malcolm.)

²⁵⁰ Siárgulá are lands given in fief in return for military service.

²⁵⁰ One author states, that he was greatly indebted to the full treasury he possessed for the tranquillity his territories enjoyed. This might have had that effect, as it placed him above the necessity of acts of violence and oppression.—(Malcolm.)

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among martial tribes, who hated that tranquillity, which condemned them to inaction.²⁵¹

State of Sind.

Several of the southern provinces of the Afghán kingdom had thrown off their dependence on the monarchs of Kábul. The government of Sind had been usurped by a race of chiefs, whose ancestors were converted from the Hindu faith; and that fine province was, at this period, under the rule of three brothers of this family.²⁵² Sind, which may be described as forming a delta, where the mouths of the Indus fall into the ocean; and which, bounded by the sea to the south, and by deserts, that divide it from the provinces of India to the east, is separated to the northward and westward by lofty ranges of mountains from the countries of Bilúchistán and Afghánistán. The countries of Sístán, of Bilúchistán and of Makrán had, since the death of Ahmad Sháh, granted no more than a nominal obedience. The chief of one of the principal tribes of the former province, though he only enjoys a revenue of a few thousand rupees, and his whole force hardly amounts to more than 500 men, styles himself the descendant of the ancient kings of Persia, and adds to his name the proud title of "Kaiání." He inhabits a small town, called Jallálábád, situated amongst the vast ruins of the ancient city of Sístán (or Dushák); and among those that obey him are the tribe of Naushírwán, who feed their flocks in the valley of Sahráb. The late Captain Christie, who travelled through Sístán in 1810, describes Sahráb as a fine valley, extending north and south about 50 miles, and about 12 in breadth. He lodged in a village of the same name as the valley. The existence of these names, and the immense ruins, which are to be found here, afford the strongest evidence, that there is a foundation in truth for the ancient history of Rustam and his family. The ruins of Dushák cover as much ground as the site of Isfahán. The houses appear to have been built of sun-dried bricks, with arched and dome roofs, and were, in general, two stories high. The modern town of Jallálábád contains about 2,000 inhabitants.

Sístán, Bilúchistán and Makrán.

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Bilúchistán and great part of Makrán were, at this period, under the rule of Násir Khán, whose ancestors had enjoyed considerable power over these barren countries for nearly two centuries. The conciliating policy of Ahmad Sháh had induced this chief to become his vassal; but a regular treaty was drawn up between the sovereign and his powerful dependent; and one condition stipulated, that neither Násir Khán nor his successors should ever be called upon to interfere, or to aid, in the settlement of any of the internal disputes of the Afgháns. That chief had, since the death of Ahmad, withdrawn himself from the court of Kábul. The kings of Kábul still retained a very small part of Khurásán; and their principal possession in that province was the city of Hirát, which had been committed to the care of Zamán Sháh, a son of the reigning monarch.

An account of the Tartar tribes who inhabit the countries between the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

This chapter would be incomplete without a view of the actual condition of that part of Tartary, which is situated between Khurásán and the Jaxartes. The inhabitants of this region had, from the most early ages, made constant inroads upon the frontier provinces of Persia; and they had several times overrun and subjugated the whole of that kingdom. Four centuries had elapsed, since the sword of Taimúr had laid waste its fields and destroyed its cities;²⁵³ but the traces of desolation still remained to remind its inhabitants of what their ancestors had suffered; and they watched, with the most anxious alarm, every appearance, which indicated the gathering of clouds in that quarter, whence those storms had burst, which had overwhelmed their country in ruin.²⁵⁴

Those provinces, which lie immediately north of Khurásán between the Oxus and the Caspian, and which formed part of the kingdom of Khirázam, are possessed by a number of tribes, which trace their descent from some men of a Mughul family. An European writer, on the authority of Mir Akhúnd, states, that they were of the tribe of Aghúz Khán, who was the third prince of the Mughul dynasty, being the grandson of Mughol Khán, its founder. They are represented to have emigrated, at a very early period, from the northern parts of Tartary to the provinces they now inhabit. They married, according to this account, the women of the country where they settled, and, though their descendants were not deemed worthy of being ranked in the tribe of their father, they were, as a robust and warlike race, denominated Turkamán (an abbreviated compound of Turkmanind) which signifies "like, or resembling, to Turkí."

²⁵¹ Lit. "Adventuresome, fond of a row."

²⁵² They had established an authority, which was more rude and barbarous than that which they had subverted.—(Malcolm.)

²⁵³ Lit. "Spring habitations."

²⁵⁴ Lit. "And if any small cloud arose from the horizon of these quarters, it denoted a storm, it became the cause of alarm."

We have, in former parts of the history (Vol. I.), made frequent mention of these tribes. They had enjoyed large possessions in Asia Minor, in the plains of which many of them still dwell. Their chiefs had, at one time, attained sovereign power in Persia, and two families of Turkamán princes, the *At* *Azymah* and *Kara Aymak*, the leaders of the white and black sheep, or, in numbers, among the dynasties, who have possessed that empire. The tribes, which subsist among the pasture lands on the eastern shore of the Caspian, were to dismount¹ to attempt conquest, or to pretend to power; but they were, at the same time, too bold and restless to remain at peace; and, during the whole period, that intervened from the death of Nasir Sháh to the establishment of the power of *Yusuf Mulk*, *Khan*, they had made almost annual predatory incursions into Persia; nor were their enterprises confined to the provinces in their vicinity; they were extended into *Thur*. We are, several, from authorities on great credit, that parties ventured within sight of the city of *Istihán*. The youth of both sexes were armed, and not on foot, as (which the Turkamán do) with them for the purpose of carrying their light and hurried away with a speed, which generally baffles pursuers.² The Turkamán horse is a fine animal, between *Musti* and *Musti* breeds. He is bred from the Arabian, but the cross of the horse of these countries, and the fine pasture, have given him great size and strength. The animal is accustomed, after the manner of examination of the fact, that the country of Turkamán, who ventured several hundred miles into Persia, and is that culture and retreat, at the average of nearly 100 miles a day. They train their horses for these expeditious, and should for the expression they use, to describe a horse in motion for a "step off" (which may be translated, a *foray*), is that "his horse is a *musti*."

(83)

Though the hostility of the Turkamán was a serious evil to the districts, which they visited, they had no collective strength, that could render them a formidable enemy to Persia; but the constitution of the tribes, which dwelt beyond the *Oxus*, as far as the lake of *Arálm* or *Arálm*, and the districts near them, was very different. The chief of them, called either by the name of the powerful prince, called *Bedi Ján*, who dwelt in the fertile plain of *Arálm*, and *Arálm*, at one time, and from superintending them, their families, had established his authority over the kingdom of *Máwará-n-Nahr*, or *Transoxania*.³

A great tribe, or rather a horde, who dwelt upon the plains of *Kabul* &c., adopted the name of the great *Uzbeg Khan*, prince of the race of *Chingis*. The appellation of *Uzbeg*, afterwards, became that of a considerable nation, which boasted among its people some of the most valuable tribes of *Tartary*. The defeat of this nation by *Tamár* has been already stated, as well as their subsequent success against his descendant, the celebrated *Bábur* (Vol. I.). The *Uzbeg* chief, who had overthrown that prince, was, in his turn, overthrown and slain by the gallant *Sháh Ismá'il*, the first monarch of the *Sáfiavian* race. But his descendants continued, for three centuries, to reign over the territories of *Bukhárá*. Their power had, for some years before *Nádir Sháh* invaded that country, been up in the decline, and that event, by degrading their authority, may be said to have terminated their rule. The few princes, who were subsequently elevated to the throne, were merely puppets in the hands of powerful chiefs. In *Mir Yúsf 'Alí's* memoirs we are informed, that *Rahím Bég*, who had commanded the 10,000 *Uzbegs* sent with *Nádir*, usurped, after the death of that monarch, the chief power at *Bukhárá*. He slew *Abul Fázil Khán*, and elevated his infant son *'Abdul Múmin*

¹ *At*, *Kar*, and *Azymak*, Turkish words, signifying, respectively, white, black, and sheep. They were so called from their carrying the names of the animals in their respective standards. (*Makám*.)

² *Lat.* "At the present time, their folds and habitations are on the eastern shore of the Caspian, but so great are their internal disputes and quarrels that they are unable to." *Awmal* is a Turkish word signifying, a hole dug out. These tribes reside in holes dug out in the hills and rocks.

³ *Lat.* "And as their arrival of the army of *Nádir Sháh* in those parts increased the degradation of their authority, it may be said, that this event actually became the cause of putting-to-the-blush the rule, and terminating the power of this family; the few persons, who, after this event, succeeded to the throne, enjoyed nothing more than the name; for more powerful chiefs were adorned with the necklace of (the control of) public affairs."

⁴ *Lat.* "Strong-legged and good looking."

⁵ *Lat.* "The other tribes, who dwell beyond the *Oxus* (*Jihán*) as far as the lake of *Arálm* in one direction, and the *Jaxartes* (*Shán*) in another, had attained great strength under the government of *Bedi Ján*, who, having, in the garb of a mendicant and pauper, joined together the fear and dread of the sword and of religious superstition, had established his authority over the kingdom of *Máwará-n-Nahr* or *Transoxania*."

⁶ *Lat.* "And as the arrival of the army of *Nádir Sháh* in those parts increased the degradation of their authority, it may be said, that this event actually became the cause of putting-to-the-blush the rule, and terminating the power of this family; the few persons, who, after this event, succeeded to the throne, enjoyed nothing more than the name; for more powerful chiefs were adorned with the necklace of (the control of) public affairs."

The meaning "putting-to-the-blush," which I have given to *iltishám*, will be found in Richardson under *hushm*, the Arabic triliteral root of *iltishám*.

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Khán, but, on hearing some years afterwards, that the young prince, when practising archery, had, on aiming at a water-melon, in which he saw a fancied resemblance to Rakhim Beg, said, "now for the head of Áká Bárá (or father tutor,") the name he gave to Rakhim Beg, that chief conceived he cherished designs of revenging his father, and directed his death in a manner, that should make it appear accidental. This was effected by one of his comrades running against him, when standing on the brink of a well. He was the last of the male descendants of Changíz. We are informed that, when the male line of the race of Changíz became extinct,²⁶¹ a son of a pious Sayyid (who was said to be descended of a female branch of the royal family) was raised to the throne, and to him the tribes granted their allegiance. The prince so elevated is called Khwájazáda, or son of a Khwája. The title of Khwája, or Shaikh, is in Tartary only given to the (94) descendants of the prophet, or of the three first Caliphs (Abú Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmán); but it is the habit of the kings of Tartary, as it had been for those of Persia, to marry their daughters to pious Sayyids. The internal discord, however, which this state of affairs occasioned, had reduced the government of the Uzbags to the lowest state of weakness. It was restored to efficiency and power by the extraordinary efforts of one of the most uncommon characters that any age or country has produced. The name of this extraordinary man was Amír Ma'súm; his title was Sháh Murád, which signifies, the desired king; but he is best known by his more familiar appellation of Begí Ján.²⁶²

History of Begí Ján.

Begí Ján was the son of the Amír Dániyál, who had, by possessing himself of the person of the nominal prince, 'Abdul Ghází Khán, exercised an almost absolute authority over those tribes of the Uzbags, which inhabit the territories immediately dependent upon Bukhárá. Mír Yúsuf 'Alí states, that 'Adul Ghází Khán was the son of a Sayyid, or Khwája, called 'Abdur Rakhim, Chákbúti (or old clothes); alluding to a usage, this pious man had, of picking up old clothes, washing them, and making them up again, in order to bestow upon the poor, or to use as garments for himself. He also adds that the youngest son, Sayyid 'Abdur Rakhim, had been chosen by Rakhim Beg, when he conquered the tribes of Khwárazm, to be their king; when, however, Rakhim Beg died, his subjects put the pageant, he had placed upon the throne, to death. When Amír Dániyál died, he divided his great wealth among his numerous family, but declared Begí Ján his heir. Muhammad 'Alí, Ganjawi states, that Begí Ján had led a retired life for many years before his father's death; but Mír Yúsuf 'Alí asserts, that he was in his youth very licentious, that he did not retire from the world until he was 35 years of age,²⁶³ and that his father died about a year afterwards.²⁶⁴ Begí Ján after the death of his father, refused to take a part in the contests for power, and shutting himself up in a mosque, forbade any person to disturb his religious meditation. He also refused to accept the share, which had been left to him of his father's wealth. "Take it," said he, to those who brought it to him, "to the managers of the public charities. Bid them reimburse with it, as far as they can, those from whom it was extorted. I can never consent to stain my hands with money, that has been obtained by violence." It is also asserted by Muhammad 'Alí, Ganjawi, that he attired himself in the coarse dress, worn by those who supplicate for mercy, and having hung a sword round his neck,²⁶⁵ he proceeded to every quarter of the city of Bukhárá, imploring, with tears in his eyes, the forgiveness and blessings of the inhabitants for his deceased father, and offering his own life as an expiatory sacrifice for any sin or crimes, which the Amír Dániyál might have committed. The character of

²⁶¹ Lit. "When, on this side, the hearth of the family of Changíz was extinguished." Ojáq is a Turkish word signifying "a fire place, hearth; a chimney; a family; a dynasty; a corps; a colony"; a common Turkish expression is "Ojákimiz sünmassın" "or may our hearth (family or corps) never be extinguished."—Its use with düdmán is very neat, as düdmán, family, is derived from dád, "smoke," and mán, "lord."

²⁶² This is the name used by all his countrymen, when speaking of this favourite prince.—(Malcolm.)

²⁶³ Lit. "That he was, in his youth, addicted to all sorts of iniquity and debauchery; and that he spent his time in various kinds of wanton pastimes prohibited, and actions forbidden, by the Muhammadan law, till he was 35 years of age, when, repentant for the past, and with the purpose of amending bye-gones, he turned away (drew up his skirt) from the world."

Malíhi is a technical word in the Muhammadan law for sports and pastimes, which although not actually forbidden, are considered wrong; Manáhi is the word for sin, or things actually forbidden.

²⁶⁴ Malcolm adds: "If we can grant credit to his account, Begí Ján (like Henry V) had been severely reprobated by the chief judge of his father's capital; but, unlike our generous prince, Begí Ján, the moment he had the power, put the venerable wazir of Bukhárá, who had censured his conduct, to death."

²⁶⁵ This mode of begging clemency is the most humble, and consequently deemed, by proud and barbarous men, the most disgraceful. It signifies "I approach you as a criminal deserving of death, and bring myself the weapon you may use."—(Malcolm.)

Begī Jān already stood high among the learned and religious, for he was deeply versed in theology and had written many valuable tracts. The people, at once astonished and delighted at seeing such proof of humility and sanctity in a person of his rank, crowded around him, and all joined with him in prayers for blessings upon his parent. One man, alone, refused to join in the prayers for Amīr Dāniyāl. "That noble," he said, "extorted money from me, and I cannot render the act lawful by forgiving him." The sum was large; but Begī Jān was instantly enabled to pay it, by the voluntary contributions²⁷² of his enthusiastic followers. After having, by this proceeding, evinced his feelings of revenge, which the violence of his father's rule had excited, he retired to the taking of a vow of the city, where he gave himself up, for twelve months, to devotion and mental abstraction. No one was allowed to approach him during the period, (25) except some of his favourite disciples. One of the writers of his life states, that he remained twelve months in the state of detachment, and composed during this period, the best of his work, the "*Amul Hekmat*," or "the eye of science."

Begī Jān, when he first assumed the holy robes, had adopted the tenets of a Sūfī. He now openly professed himself to be one of those visionary devotees who, from having their souls so entirely taken on the contemplation of the Divine Essence, expect to attain a state of mental beatitude, which leads them to despise all the pleasures of this world, and, above all, earthly power²⁷³. Considering, in private, that he felt he possessed this doctrine, he did not easily comply with the extraordinary and ridiculous tenets of Bakhārā, who, vexed with the internal troubles caused by the rudeness of his relations, earnestly solicited him to renounce the government. The populace, who were entirely devoted to him, assembled daily at the mosque where he resided, and attended him in every respect. The first instance in which he used the great influence and authority, that he had acquired, was to destroy all the shrines, and worshiping places in Bakhārā. These are stated to have amounted to several thousands, and we are assured, that a extraordinary was the excitement for thousands of this holy prince, that even those, who were struck by the pest, sided in its necessary destruction.

One of the brothers of Begī Jān had been slain, and the danger, in which his family were placed from an increasing party of revolt among their own followers, led the rest, at last, to give to the general report, that he would assume the government; but all were averse, till the occurrence of a serious commotion in the capital, in which not only several citizens lost their lives, excited his compassion. Upon this occasion the noxious king, 'Abdūl Ghāzi Khān, and all the nobles, assembled, and, having come to the mosque where he dwelt, they compelled him to attend them to the tomb of his father, Amīr Dāniyāl, and, at that sacred spot, he was solemnly invoked to support a falling state. Apparently overcome by their entreaties, he promised to give his counsel and aid in the management of public affairs; but we are informed that he withheld from active interference, till Niyāz 'Alī, a chief, who had rebelled during the lifetime of his father and seized upon the city of Shīhrāz-Sabz, ventured to make an incursion upon the territories of Bakhārā. This act roused his indignation so much, that he accepted the title of regent; and marched, at the head of a large army, to attack the invader, whom he not only forced to retreat from the territories of Bakhārā, but to abandon some of those countries, of which he had, for some time, been in possession. Begī Jān may, from this date, be deemed the actual ruler of the Uzbegs; for, though he never assumed any title, but that of regent, and continued to pay a nominal obedience to 'Abdūl Ghāzi Khān, he exercised, during the remainder of his life, an absolute and undisputed authority over his nation. No prince was ever more unanimously chosen to fill the seat of power; and his first care, after he assumed the government, was the establishment of some salutary regulations for the administration of justice, the collection of the revenue, and the payment of the army.

²⁷² Tawzī' means "dividing, distributing among several"; hence contributions.

²⁷³ Lit. "And now, even from the first, he had adopted the maxims and tenets of Sūfīsm, he now, immediately after the termination of his period of retirement, openly avowed himself one of the anuliya, (saints, or friends of God), who, by enduring severe austerities, are made acquainted with certain worlds of truth, and are thereby freed from the desire of all worldly pleasures generally, and of rank and position more especially, and, with minds undistracted by the distractions of mundane attachments, have passed from earthly delusions to a clear knowledge of the Divine Essence divested of all attributes."

The words *bizār*, *bizārī*, *rang*, and *bī-rangī*, are well worth notice. The first *bizār*, (with affliction) means "a market, wage, beauty, glitter, splendour." The second, *bizārī* (the being without affliction), "freedom, absolution, relief. Rang (colour), signifies earthly delusions, or fancies." *Bī-rangī* (the being without colour), "The Divine Essence, divested of attributes."

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(96) The policy of Begí Ján made him studiously reject all those claims to respect and obedience which he had inherited from his father, the Amír Dániyál. His artful son knew too well the jealousies and the resentments, with which such claims were associated, to desire that they should appear in any shape as the foundation of his authority; and he desired always to be considered as a religious recluse, that had been compelled by his countrymen to exercise regal power; but who was resolved, as far as the discharge of his duties would permit him, to maintain, amid all the temptations with which he was surrounded, the same life of rigid austerity and self-denial, as he should have passed if he had never been called from a cell to a throne.²⁶⁸

Verses—(MÍRZÁ KHUSRÚ.)

A mendicant, and beggar, am I, but I hold
My woollen cap as worth a thousand crowns of gold.

The splendid court, at which the nobles of Bukhárá had been accustomed to attend, was abolished; and, in its place, he established what may be termed a hall of justice, at which he sat as president, aided by forty mullás, or learned men, who were supported by a daily stipend, paid from the fund for public charity.²⁶⁹ One manuscript states, that these courts were only held on Mondays and Fridays. It also asserts, that each of these Mullás held in his hand a volume of Begí Ján's works. All who had complaints to make came to this hall; but the prosecutor was never allowed to speak, unless the accused was present. No person, however high his rank, dared to refuse a summons to attend this court.²⁷⁰ A slave could cite his master before it. Begí Ján, we are informed, listened with great patience to the statements of both parties; and, in all cases not criminal, he sent them away with an advice to come to an amicable adjustment of their difference. If they did so, the cause terminated; if not, he took notes, at their re-appearance, of the evidence produced; and these were given, with his opinion, to the mullás, who were directed to prepare a fatwá, or decision according to the Holy Law. The parties, even after this proceeding, had a week allowed them to accommodate their dispute; but, if that period elapsed without their having done so, the sentence was passed and became irrevocable.

Criminal justice was administered according to the Kurán. Robbers were punished with death; thieves, by the loss of their (right) hands;²⁷¹ drunkards were publicly²⁷² whipped; and the smoking of tobacco was forbidden under severe penalties. (The learned and religious among the Muhammdans are divided in their opinion, regarding the legality of smoking tobacco, drinking coffee, &c. The more severe maintain, that, as these have an inebriating quality, they are virtually prohibited). The most

²⁶⁸ *Lit.* "He therefore resolved, as far as possible, to be considered a religious recluse, who had been compelled to exercise power; but, at the same time, amid all the temptations, with which he was surrounded, was free from their snares, and who lived, even in this wretched world, happy in the very midst of evil."

²⁶⁹ This fund, on account of its more sacred character, was made the general treasury of the empire.—(Malcolm.)

²⁷⁰ *Lit.* "And none, high or low, rich or poor, noble or plebeian, if summoned to attend that court, had the power to disobey."

Malcolm says; "This is the case in all patriarchal governments, particularly among the Arabs. The Imám of Muskat, a powerful prince, is compelled by the usage of his country, to appear before the *Kází*, or judge, of his own capital, if summoned, by any one of his subjects who deems himself aggrieved."

²⁷¹ In the Persian, it is only "hand" and not "right hand." It is customary, for the first offence to take off the right hand; for the second, the left; then the right foot, and after that, the left, when the criminal is supposed to be rendered quite incapable of committing further thefts."

²⁷² *Hadd* is the infliction of public chastisement, up to eighty lashes, by sentence of a judge. The following extract is taken from Hughes's "Notes on Muhammadanism."

"Punishment is divided into three classes. *Hadd*, *ta'zir*, and *kisás*

(1) *Hadd* is the punishment, which is said to have been ordained of God in the Kurán, and the *Hadith*, and which must be inflicted. The following belong to this class: *Adultery*, for which the adulterer is stoned. *Fornication*, for which 100 stripes are inflicted. *Drunkenness*, for which there are 80 stripes. *The slander of a married person*, i.e., bringing a false charge of adultery against a married person, for which the person must receive 80 lashes. This punishment is said to have been instituted by God, when 'Ayisha, the favourite wife of the prophet, was falsely charged with adultery. *Apostacy*, for which the martyr, or apostate, is killed, unless he repents of his error within three days. When an apostate from Islám has been killed according to the law, or has left the country, his property goes to those of his heirs who still remain Musalmáns.

(2) *Ta'zir* is that punishment, which is said to have been ordained of God, but of which there are no special injunctions, the exact punishment being left to the discretion of the *Kází* or judge.

(3) *Kisás* (*Lit.* retaliation) is that punishment, which can be remitted by the person offended against, upon the payment of a fine or compensation. The punishment for murder is of this class. The next akin to the murdered person can either take the life of his kinsman's murderer, or accept a money compensation (*diyat*); there is also retaliation in case of wounds. *Kisás* is the *lex talionis* of Moses. But, in allowing a money-compensation for murder, Muhammad departed from the Jewish code.

strict performance of their religious duties was enjoined to all classes; the police officers of the city of Bukhara, were told, were continually employed driving the inhabitants to the mosque, to hear the stated prayers; and they were authorized to use their whips to awaken the devotion of the negligent. We are also informed, that each of these officers had a small book, which aided him in his interrogations of those he met, regarding their knowledge of the proper prayers; and, if he found any one ignorant, he had a right to punish him. Any person, desirous of improving himself in religious knowledge, was admitted to the colleges of the city, and received daily subsistence. The number of these religious students increased, at one period, to have exceeded thirty thousand.

Regi-dân abolished all duties, except those upon foreign goods. No monopolies were suffered, and revenue was only collected from crown lands. But the *dirghah*, or regulated tax upon land, was regularly exacted; a tax of thirty per cent. upon their property was levied from Jews, Christians, and Hindus, and the *Zakat*, or established charity, was levied upon all others, except the soldiers of the army. The money that was collected from the tax upon property was supplied by the Khan, or high part of the province, when from the treasury for the expense of his government. ⁽¹⁷⁾ *Abd-ul-karim Khan* and his family were supported by the produce of the royal estates. His household consisted of paying chiefs for their military service, and that of their domestics, and had been established since the *Urkhan* and the *Isma'ili* or *Shi'ite* dynasty families passed through the city, and had military stations for their wives and followers on particular tracts of country. The servants were intended to provide for their subsistence; but *Regi-dân* seemed to live by giving them, not taking their money, a reward for their services, as an average five thousand, or about 250 pounds sterling, per annum from the public treasury. He was a man of a simple and exacting of the most extreme frugality, and deriving from the sale of his land the support of his children, his wife, and *Abd-ul-karim*, or *Abd-ul-karim Khan*, his servants, and his retainers, one hundred each, being the amount of stipend allowed to the poorest student. These *Reza* of *Regi-dân*, who composed the royal family, was only allowed three talents. The purchase of a fortune of her own, that placed her above the necessity of receiving the stipend, which, however, she took daily to place her husband, who often told her, that she was too much, and when she never started, he was wont to say, "I have, truly, been content with little, that thy God may be content with thee." But the joy which he felt at the birth of a son, (the present monarch, *Abd-ul-Karim*) he had received through the right of her own of his domestic regulations. A sum of more than five pieces of gold were allotted for the daily subsistence of the mother and her infant; the mother's name was *Yakub Begum*. She is termed in the manuscript, the daughter of *Abd-ul-Ghaz Khan*. An equal amount was given for the support of two other sons the moment they were born. *Regi-dân*, by this and other acts, showed that he had determined to educate his children in the enjoyment of these luxuries, which he affected to despise; for he allowed his family to reside in a palace, while he himself dwelt in a small unfurnished room, or cell, into which persons of all classes were admitted at all hours. He was generally clad in a coarse garment, and had the appearance of a common mendicant. This vestment was seldom changed,

¹⁷ They are sold two times a day.—(Malcolm.)

¹⁸ Lit. "After a taxation, and before a price, upon their property."

¹⁹ The term *Zakat* means literally "purification." It is metaphorically applied to the sacred tax, as its payment is considered to purify, and render holy, the property on which it is paid. Its amount is 2½ per cent. on personal property; but the rate of collecting it on different kinds of property varies, and no one is liable to be called upon, who has not possessed the property, on which it is assessed, nearly twelve months.—(Malcolm.)

Zakat (lit. purification), the legal alms, or poor rate, is the fourth of the five foundations of practice. *Zakat* should be given annually of five descriptions of property, provided they have been in possession a whole year; viz. money, cattle, grain, fruit, and merchandize. Wool and pearls are exempt, and also clothing, but not jewels.

The following are the classes of persons, on whom it is lawful to bestow the *Zakat*:—

(1) Such pilgrims to Mecca, as have not the means of defraying the expenses of their journey. (2) Religious mendicants. (3) Debtors, who cannot discharge their debts. (4) Beggars. (5) Poor travellers. (6) Proselytes to Muhammadanism.

The Muhammadan *Zakat* differs very materially from the Jewish tithe; for the latter was given to the Levites of the temple, and employed by them for their own support, and for that of the priests, as well as for festival purposes. The Muhammadan priesthood are supported by grants of land (*wakf*), and offerings at the time of harvest, and are not permitted to take any of the *Zakat* (Huphe's Notes on Muhammadanism.)

²⁰ This holy ruler claimed this share for the expenses of his government, in imitation of Muhammad.—(Malcolm.)

²¹ Lit. "The old custom, by which each of the military chiefs had a province (*mulk*), or tract of land, which was either his own, or granted to him, as a private estate in reward for good service (*jâgîr*), or held in fief for the support of his followers (*tiyâr*), or in return for military service (*siyârhâl*), and from which they derived their subsistence, still existed."

²² When he obliged his soldiers to pay the tax of charity.—(Malcolm.)

²³ A coin, about the value of fivepence.—(Malcolm.)

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but when he went to see his family, and then the skin of a deer was thrown loose over his shoulders.²⁹⁷ A thousand anecdotes of this ruler prove that he was not above seeking fame; we neither can, nor ought to, condemn a conduct, which was so successful in enabling the extraordinary man, by whom it was adopted, to give union and strength to the distracted and hostile tribes of his nation. No sentiment short of that feeling of reverence, with which the Uzbags regarded Begí Ján, could have enabled him to accomplish the great objects he had in view, and all his knowledge, his firmness, and his justice would have availed him nothing, but for the life of privation, which he led, and the most rigid austerities, which he practised. Ignorance and superstition are ever united; and the Tartars, who followed the standard of Begí Ján, were easily persuaded, that a leader, who contemned the worldly pleasures which they prized, and who preferred the patched mantle, and crooked staff, of a mendicant priest to a royal robe, and sceptre, must act under the immediate direction of the Divine Being. Nor were their habits of such a nature, that made it easy for them to understand how any man, placed in such a situation, could, from any other motive, be content to resign those enjoyments, which, in their minds, constituted the very essence and charm of regal power.

The impression, which the Uzbags entertained of the sacred character of Begí Ján, gave him a strength, which soon enabled him to subdue almost the whole of the country²⁹¹ between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The army of this ruler was chiefly composed of horse; and the plan of war, that he invariably adopted, was successive predatory invasions of the country attacked. After he had reduced almost all the tribes of his own nation to obedience, he was engaged in a war with Taimúr Sháh, king of the Afgháns, over whom he obtained some advantages; more, however, by his policy than by his arms.

The reduction of Marw by Begí Ján has been already noticed. This conquest enabled him to invade Khurásán; and, in the first year after it was accomplished, he advanced to Mashád; but, finding it difficult to make himself master of that city, he informed its inhabitants and his own army, that the holy Imám Razzá had appeared to him in a dream,²⁹² and commanded him not only to spare the holy city, but its dependencies and suburbs. In obedience to his pretended mandate, he refrained even from plundering the open suburbs and neighbouring villages;²⁹³ but he not only laid waste all those districts, which were not deemed under the protection of the sacred city, but carried their inhabitants into bondage. Before he returned to Bukhárá, he wrote circular letters to Sháh Rukh Mirzá, and to the other chiefs of Khurásán, informing them of his intention to revisit that province next season. He advised them to consult their own safety, and that of their subjects, by early submission, and by the adoption of the creed of the Sunís. "Your conversion," he stated in these letters, "will prove a blessing to you, and its occurrence will add to the number of miracles, that I have already performed." Begí Ján, from this period till that of his death, made annual inroads into Khurásán. The heavy baggage, with a part of the army, were left several marches in the rear; while the advance, consisting wholly of cavalry, spread over the country. Every man of this corps carried seven days' provision for himself and horse; and their object was, by a sudden attack, either to surprise the forts, or walled villages, or to make prisoners of all the inhabitants, that were travelling, or labouring in the fields. These, if not ransomed, they carried into bondage; and the spoil, in general, consisted equally of men, women, cattle, sheep and grain. The leader of the Uzbags usually, succeeded in extorting a considerable sum of money from those towns, which he could not reduce; for, as the invasion always took place before the harvest, a refusal to comply with this demand was followed by the instant destruction of every field within the reach of his followers. The plunder, obtained on these occasions, was, we are told, fairly divided. A fifth part of all that was taken belonged to their ruler, and constituted, as has been before stated, a considerable part of his revenue. Begí Ján always led his own troops. He generally rode at the head of the army, dressed like a religious man of the poorest class, and mounted upon a small pony. He maintained, we are informed, a strict discipline in his camp; but this means no more than that there was a good police, and that his soldiers yielded a prompt and implicit obedience to his orders. Attention

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A.D. 1794, A.H.
1209.

²⁹¹ The class of slaves, called by Begí Ján himself, *prís* themselves, not only to the master of the house, but of the whole country. (Mak. 291)

²⁹² The city of Mashád, formerly called Kes, became in the first year of the war, the seat of the Uzbags, and its government, Nizám 'Abd. Rukh, was given to one of the Uzbags. (Mak. 291)

²⁹³ It is stated that Begí Ján, at the death of the holy Imám Razzá, was the first to be distinguished by the name of *Imám*, and that he was the first to be called *Imám* by the people. (Mak. 291)

²⁹⁴ See "Fath-al-Bihar" at *Isfahan* and *Isfahan*.

to the duties of religion was, even amidst these scenes of violence, rigidly enforced; and a number of mullahs, or priests, marched with every division. These holy men were sent, when occasion required, as envoys to negotiate with the chiefs, whose territories were attacked.⁷¹ The policy of Begi Jân, while it led him to condemn himself to every privation, made him desire to be surrounded with splendour; and nothing could surpass the display of wealth and magnificence made by his nobles and his principal officers.⁷² The writer of one of those tracts, from which we have taken his history, was in the employ of Mamish Khân, chief of Chinnârân, when Begi Jân invaded Khurâsân. He informs us, that he was deputed to the camp of the invaders; and has given, in the form of a journal, a very curious account of his mission.

Mamish Khân, it appears from this memoir, was in correspondence with Ishân Natîb, a noble of high rank among the Uzbeks, and a great favourite of their ruler. Ishân Natîb-sub-Ashraf⁷³ was the son of Ishân Mahdûm, who had married the daughter of Amir Dînîk. Ishân Natîb was consequently the nephew of Begi Jân, with whom he was a great favourite. To this chief, Mamish Khân gave his envoy a letter, with charge of two gifts; the one, to be presented to his friend, the other, to Begi Jân. The particulars of this mission are told by him as follows:

A.D. 1731, A.H. 1175.

"I was intrusted," he observes, "to Ishân Natîb, who was seated at the further end of a magnificent tent. He was a man of large appearance, uncommonly fair," but had a thin beard.⁷⁴ He asked after my health, and then after that of Mamish Khân, adding 'why has he not come himself?' On my making some excuse, he added 'I understood; had I been alone, he would have paid me a visit; but he is afraid of Begi Jân.' After these observations, he rose and retired to another tent, desiring me to repose myself, where I was. A rich sleeping dress was brought me, and every possession went away; but I had hardly laid down, when I was sent for to attend Ishân Natîb, who very graciously invited me to my dining with him. The repast was luxurious; an hour after dinner, tea was brought, and the favourite drink laid in a cup of pure gold, ornamented with jewels. The cup, given to me was of silver, inlaid with gold. These gifts, after noon, he carried me to a large tent with five poles,⁷⁵ where a number of persons were saying their prayers; we did the same; and afterwards returned to his tent, which we had hardly entered when a servant in a strict uniformed Athûr Sûfi. This religious personage, from the moment he entered, occupied all the attention of Ishân Natîb, who appeared to treat him with the profoundest respect; and when tea and coffee were served, he held the cup while Athûr Sûfi drank. We had not sat long, before an officer came into the tent, and told Ishân Natîb that Begi Jân desired that he would wait upon him, and bring his guest. The moment this intimation was made, we were mounted our horses, and proceeded with him. After riding a short distance, we came to a one pole tent, which I judged, from its size and tattered appearance, to belong to some cooks or water-carriers. An old man was seated on the grass, so near it as to be protected from the sun by its shade. Here all dismounted, and advanced towards the old man, who was clothed in green, but very dirty. When near him, they stood with their hands crossed, in a respectful position, and made their salutations. He returned that of each person, and desired us to sit down opposite to him. He appeared to show great kindness to Ishân Natîb, but chiefly⁷⁶ addressed his conversation to Athûr Sûfi.⁷⁷

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After some time, the subject of my mission was introduced. I gave my letter to Ishân Natîb; he presented it to the old man in green, who, I now discovered, was Begi Jân. That ruler opened it, read it, and put it in his pocket. After a short pause, he said, 'No doubt Mamish Khân has

⁷¹ They were fitted for this employ from their superior education; and they were protected, by their sacred character, from those insults and dangers, to which persons of any other class would have been exposed.—(Malcolm.)

⁷² Lit. "Although Begi Jân himself lived in the most miserable state, still the nobles of his kingdom and the chiefs of his army maintained a display of the greatest splendour and indecipherable pomp."

⁷³ Or, the exalted.

⁷⁴ Lit. "White skin."

⁷⁵ This Tartar feature is deemed, by the Persians, a great deformity; the beard cannot, according to their idea of manly beauty, be too long and bushy.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁶ This meaning of tafakkûd is not given in Richardson, but will be found in Ghiyâth-ul-lughât.

⁷⁷ Dîrâk is a Turkish word signifying a "post, pillar, column, or mast."

⁷⁸ The idioms "Ghâlib-rûy, chiefly" and "rûy ham rafta, on an average, generally" which are frequently used by Mirzâ Hâfîz, should be noted.

⁷⁹ The author says, that Begi Jân spoke to the Sûfi at times, like a very young, and at others, like a very old, man; by which he means, that there was a mixture of the grave and the gay in his conversation.—(Malcolm.)

ing, but imposing, garb. This artful ruler fully succeeded in the great object of his life. At his death, which happened a few years after the events that have been recorded, his eldest son, *Zaidar Turan*, ascended the throne of Bukhara, and became its absolute ruler.

The army of *Begi Jân* is said to have amounted to 60,000 horses; but, in his invasions of Khurāsān, he was seldom attended by more than half that number. Though occasionally severe, his administration was, upon the whole, lenient and just. He never assumed the title of king. On his seal, his name "*Amir Ma'zûn, the son of the Amir Dânyâl*," was engraven in the centre; and round it, was inscribed the following sentence, "Power and dignity, when founded on justice, are from God; when not, from the devil."

The union of the various tribes of the Persians under *Begi Jân*, and the exaggerated reports of the character and success of that ruler, had spread such alarm over every province of Persia that, with a few exceptions, rejoiced in that termination of internal wars, which had raged for a while and warlike march to the throne, and placed their country in a condition to resist invasion. There can be no doubt, that the happy and most glorious era of Persian history was, when that country was governed by the first monarchs of the Sâdjâvid dynasty of Tartar princes, and, though Persia had attained its greatest happiness and splendour under one of their descendants, the recollection of the glory of the best of those conquerors, who had issued from the plains of Tartary, was associated with scenes of rapine and of death; and men, who had the prospect of being swept away by the mighty torrent, could find little consolation in the hope, that it might, when its destructive waves had subsided, tend to improve and fructify the soil, over which it had passed.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

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to seek gratification from other sources.²⁹⁸ As Ākā Muḥammad was deprived of these pleasures, his exclusive attention, from his most early years, appears to have been directed to views of ambition and aggrandizement, which he pursued through life with a callous perseverance, and an unrelenting severity, that, at once, marked the insensibility of his nature, and the deep impression made upon his mind by a recollection of early wrongs.

Ākā Muḥammad, after the death of 'Ādil Shāh, had obtained his release and joined his father, whom he accompanied, while yet a youth, through all the vicissitudes of his fortune. When his father was defeated and slain, he fell into the power of Karīm Khān, by whom he was latterly treated with great kindness and indulgence. The whole of that time, which he passed as a prisoner at Shīrāz, was employed in preparing himself, by the study of men and books, for the great scene, in which he was destined to act;²⁹⁹ and his mind was so matured before Karīm Khān's death, that that ruler used often to consult him in affairs of state, and used always to call him, "Pīrān Waisa."³⁰⁰ Ākā Muḥammad did not withhold his counsel, although he cherished the most implacable hatred to the whole of the Zand family. Dāji Ibrāhīm, who was for many years the sole minister of Ākā Muḥammad Khān, related the following anecdote to me, which Ākā Muḥammad himself used often to tell: "I had no power," he said "of declaring openly that spirit of revenge, which I always harboured against the murderers of my father and the despoilers of my inheritance; but while I sat with Karīm Khān in his public hall of assembly, I often employed myself in cutting his fine carpets with a penknife, which I had with me; but now that the carpets have become my own, I am sorry for what I did; it was foolish and showed a want of foresight."

Obtains his release and joins his father.

Falls into the hands of Karīm Khān.

During the very period³⁰¹ that he cherished sentiments of the most intolerable resentment against Karīm Khān and all his family, he had so won upon the confidence of that ruler, that he not only gave him a liberal allowance to live upon, the freedom of going wherever he chose in the city, and the use of his best horses, with liberty to hunt over the neighbouring country, but proposed to employ him in quelling a rebellion, that his brother, Hussain Kulī Khān had excited in the province of Mázindarān. Mīrzā Ja'far, the minister of Karīm Khān, prevented the execution of this design; and Ākā Muḥammad had the generosity, when sovereign of Persia, to mark, by his kindness to the relations of the minister, his gratitude for his conduct. "Mīrzā Ja'far," he observed, "acted from no feeling, but that of attachment to his master; he nevertheless saved my life; for had I been sent to Mázindarān, I should have been placed under circumstances, that would have compelled me to rebel; and the power of Karīm Khān was so great, that I must have been destroyed."

The manner, in which Ākā Muḥammad Khān made his escape from Shīrāz on the occurrence of Karīm Khān's death, has been already noticed; he fled with almost incredible speed to Mázindarān; he reached the city of Isfahān on the third day of his flight. The distance is about 251 miles. He immediately declared himself independent. He was, at this period, 36 years of age. Though his frame was slender, he was, from his frugal diet, and from his habits of exercise, capable of suffering any fatigue or hardship. He might be said to live on horseback; for every moment, that he could spare from other occupations, was given to the chase, which was, in fact, his only amusement. His heart is said to have been as hardened as his body; but the natural severity of his temper was, during the whole of his progress to that sovereign power, which he attained after a struggle of 18 years, checked by his prudence, which led him not only to conciliate his friends by kindness, but to forget his wrongs, and even to forgive some of the most inveterate of his personal enemies. We cannot praise too highly the wisdom, which induced this ruler, when he had the power of revenge, to pardon those chiefs of the hostile branch of the Kājárs, the Yūkhārī bāsh who had not only been concerned in the murder of his father and other relatives, but who had delivered him over, when a helpless infant,

A.D. 1779, A.H. 1193. His escape from Shīrāz.

²⁹⁸ Lit. "This act of barbarity was intended to destroy every hope of this tribe ever obtaining power, or even pretending thereto; for to deprive the heir of a great family of the means of generation was tantamount to destroying the family itself. But the truth of (Sale's Kurān, Vol. IV, page 430), Verily the infidels are laying a plot to frustrate my designs, but I will lay a plot for their ruin" was manifested; and the very way, used to destroy them, became the cause of their obtaining greater strength and union; and it ultimately promoted that very end, which they dreaded; for the power of partaking of sensual enjoyments, in eastern countries, too often enervates both the mind and body of those, who have, from their rank and condition, the means of unbounded indulgence."

²⁹⁹ Lit. "To bear the burdens of government."

³⁰⁰ Pīrān Waisa, the Nestor of the Turks, was the celebrated minister of Afrāsīyāb; and the highest encomium, that can be passed on the political wisdom of an individual, is to call him by this name.—(Malcolm.)

³⁰¹ The misfortunes of the early life of Ākā Muḥammad Khān had not only taught him patience, but rendered him a profound adept in the art of dissimulation.—(Malcolm.)

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to those cruel hands, that had deprived him of his title to the name of man.³⁰² This generous policy, which terminated the blood feud that had so long subsisted among the Kájárs, gave the throne of Persia to the chiefs of that tribe; and Áká Muhammad continued too sensible of the importance of the union which he had established, ever to disturb it by the recollection of past injuries. He obtained attachment by bestowing confidence; and among those, who were most honoured in his government, were persons from whom he had received the greatest insults in his hours of adversity.

When Áká Muhammad fled from Shíráz, he was only attended by 17 followers. He refused to halt at Isfahán; but he rested one night near Tíhrán, and was kindly treated by the governor of that city.³⁰³ On his way from Tíhrán, he was so fortunate as to intercept a part of the revenue of Mázin-darán, which was being taken to Shíráz. The moment he entered the province of Mázin-darán, he was joined by a number of his tribe, who acknowledged him as their chief. Some of his brothers, however, declared against him; and one of them, Murtazwá Kulí, who had assembled a body of troops, proclaimed himself king. Áká Muhammad had five brothers. Their names were Murtazwá Kulí Khán, Razwá Kulí Khán, Mustafá Kulí Khán, Ja'far Kulí Khán and Mahdí Kulí Khán. These were only half brothers, being by a different mother. His own brother Hussain Kulí Khán had been put to death by the Turkamáns, when he fled from Zakí Khán. Hussain Kulí Khán had left two sons, of whom, Fath 'Alí Sháh was the eldest. A petty war was carried on between the brothers for four years with various fortune. In Nullá Muhammad's History of the Kájárs, it is stated that Áká Muhammad, though at first successful, was surprised, and made captive at Bárfarosh, through the treachery of his brother, Razwá Kulí, who loaded him with chains, and deliberated, whether he should deprive him of sight, or put him to death. His prisoner had, however, secret friends among those employed to guard him; and their exertions, combined with the efforts of his two brothers, Ja'far Kulí and Mustafá Kulí, who remained faithful to his interests, restored him to liberty and power. His brother Razwá Kulí, who was compelled to fly, retired to Mashad, where he died. Murtazwá Kulí soon afterwards took refuge in Russia under the Empress Catherine.

It has been before stated, that the moment Áká Muhammad received intelligence of the death of 'Alí Murád Khán, he collected all the troops he could, and entered 'Irák. His army increased as he advanced; and the flight of Ja'far Khán enabled him to make himself master of Isfahán without a battle; for the skirmish he had at Káshán does not deserve that name. When compelled to retreat by the defection of part of his army, instead of retiring to Mázin-darán, he occupied himself in repairing the fortifications³⁰⁴ of Tíhrán; which city he appears, at this period, to have resolved to make his capital; a measure to which he was induced, from its vicinity to Mázin-darán, and its central situation amid the pasture lands of the Turkí tribes.

Several of the most powerful chiefs of Ázarbáiján, Kurdistán and 'Irák had joined the standard of Áká Muhammad Khán; some still wavered in their allegiance between him and Ja'far Khán; while others, presuming on the numbers of their followers, cherished hopes, that the struggle between the Kájár and Zand tribes might yet produce events favourable to their own ends of ambition. In his conduct towards these nobles, whom he intended destroying, Áká Muhammad always tried every expedient, that art could suggest, for the accomplishment of his purpose, before he had recourse to violence. Of their number, 'Alí Khán, a chief of the Afshár tribe, had shewn a disposition to aspire to the throne, and had assembled a number of followers in Ázarbáiján. Áká Muhammad, instead of treating him as an enemy, addressed a letter to him as an equal, in which he invited him to a meeting, and called upon him, by their affinity as chiefs of Turkí tribes, to combine for the destruction of the princes of the Zand family. 'Alí Khán, a sensible and brave man, dreaded his designing character; and preferring a state of open hostility to so dangerous a friendship, he declined complying with his request, saying he would meet him in battle on the plains of Sultániya. Áká Muhammad marched towards him, apparently with an intention of giving him battle; but, when their armies

³⁰² Lit. "But, during the eighteen years, in which he struggled for the sovereign power, his prudence checked his natural severity, and led him to treat his friends with kindness and his enemies with lenity, and even to forgive, when he had the power of revenge, the nobles of the Yúkhárá bísh who had delivered him over, when a helpless infant, to those cruel enemies, who had deprived him of the title to the name of man, and of enjoying the pleasures of life."

³⁰³ Mírzá 'Alí Nakí.

³⁰⁴ Lit. "Fort and citadel and other fortifications." The citadels of Persian walled towns are called by the name of ark. They are generally square, with very high walls, which are flanked by lofty turrets.—(Malcolm).

Enters Mázin-darán, and is joined by a number of his own tribe. Some of his brothers declare against him.

A.D. 1781, A.H. 1196. He is surprised and made captive.

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Is liberated.

Collects troops and enters 'Irák. A.D. 1786. Becomes master of Isfahán.

Makes Tíhrán his capital.

A.D. 1788. Is joined by several powerful chiefs.

Invites 'Alí Khán, Afshár, to join him.

Who refuses.

Áká Muhammad advances against him.

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His message to 'Alí Khán.

'Alí Khán joins the standard of Ákâ Muhammad.

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Is treacherously seized, and his eyes put out.

Ákâ Muhammad Khán's contests with Ja'far Khán and Lutf 'Alí.

The massacre of the inhabitants of Kirmán. A.D. 1794, A.H. 1203.

Conduct pursued by Ákâ

met, he sent one of his brothers, accompanied only by two horsemen, to the camp of 'Alí Khán, to whom he delivered the following artful message, in the hearing of all his officers and attendants; "I am desired," said he, "by Ákâ Muhammad Khán, to ask why two brave Turkí tribes should give delight to their enemies, by shedding each other's blood. Let the Afshárs enjoy their present lands; their chief, his government,³⁰⁵ and continue united with the Kájárs in bonds of friendship, which must tend to their mutual advancement, and the destruction of all their enemies." This overture made some impression upon the chief to whom it was addressed, and more upon his followers. It led to further negotiations, in which Ákâ Muhammad prevailed; and 'Alí Khán consented to be the first noble of his court. The army he had assembled was retained; and he was himself treated with such extraordinary regard, and even confidence, that all his alarms vanished. When completely lulled into a fatal security, he was invited to a convivial entertainment, given by one of the principal persons of the court: and late at night, when inebriated with wine, he received a message from Ákâ Muhammad, intimating that he desired to consult with him, immediately, on a subject of some importance. He hastened to obey the summons; and as it was urgent, he did not even wait to put on his arms. The unguarded chief was seized the moment he entered the palace, and had his eyes put out, without any of his adherents knowing what had happened. Part of his troops were, next morning, disbanded, and part taken into the service of Ákâ Muhammad, and there can be no doubt that a great impression of terror was produced thereby.³⁰⁶

The events, that occurred in the war, which Ákâ Muhammad Khán carried on against Ja'far Khán and his son, Lutf 'Alí, have been related. The massacre of the inhabitants of Kirmán was one of the most dreadful of all his acts. The slaughter and pillage of that town continued nearly three days, but, as it was stopped the moment that intelligence was received of Lutf 'Alí having been made prisoner, we must conclude that Ákâ Muhammad, in this, as in almost all, instances, acted less from passion than policy; he believed that his enemy had escaped, and meant, by a terrible example, to prevent any of the other cities or provinces of Persia granting him their support.

The flatterers,³⁰⁷ who have praised his justice, have admitted that he had no mercy. Punishment, these argue, was never wantonly inflicted; but

³⁰⁵ The Klumsa or five districts, of which Zanján is the capital.—(Malcolm.)

³⁰⁶ The whole of this transaction was conducted in a manner, that prevented the loss of a life, or the slightest disturbance. The deep treachery, which had deceived and destroyed a gallant rival, was dignified, by flatterers, with the name of justifiable policy; and there can be no doubt, that the impression of terror, which was made on a number of ambitious nobles by the fate of 'Alí Khán, greatly promoted the success of his artful and cruel enemy.—(Malcolm.)

³⁰⁷ The following passage in Malcolm's history has not been translated into the Persian by Mirzá Hairat:—

In surveying the life of a monarch, like Ákâ Muhammad Khán, we should guard ourselves against those impressions, which the particular view of many of his actions is so calculated to make upon the mind. Accustomed to live under a government, protected by laws, we associate cruelty and oppression with every act of a despot. His executions are murders; and the destruction of helpless citizens (who, in an assault, too generally share the fate of the soldiers, by whom their walls have been defended), is deemed a horrid massacre; but we must not assume that justice is always violated, because the form of administering it is repugnant to our feelings; and we should recollect that, even among civilized nations, the inhabitants of towns, which are taken by storm, are exposed to pillage and slaughter, without any charge of barbarity being made against those, by whom they are plundered, or put to the sword. The punishment of bodies of men, to deter others of similar condition from equal guilt, is, perhaps, the only mode, by which uncivilized nations can be preserved in peace. When martial clans, united in name, in feeling, and in action, are so devoted to the family of their leaders, that neither imprudence nor crime can absolve their allegiance, it becomes impossible to take away power from their chief, without depriving his devoted followers of the means of opposition or revenge; and it is only by making examples of whole classes of his rebellious subjects, that an absolute monarch, who rules over a warlike and turbulent people, can expect to strike that terror, which is indispensable to preserve himself upon the throne, and to establish the internal tranquillity of his dominions.

The extraordinary rise of Nádir Sháh, and of Karím Khán, had destroyed that sacred regard for the royal family, which had so powerfully protected the weakest of the Sáffavian monarchs. Every leader, who had followers, at the accession of Ákâ Muhammad Khán, thought, that chance might give him the crown. The usurpation of the

name of king was so common, that the title was no longer held in respect; and men, amid the continual change of rulers, had lost their habits of obedience to the only paramount authority, that was recognized by the usages of the country. This is no overcharged picture; and it may be affirmed, that when the success of Ákâ Muhammad Khán obtained him the rule of Persia, that kingdom was in a state of complete anarchy. The chiefs of the principal tribes cherished plans of inordinate ambition. Their followers, accustomed to scenes of revolt and of plunder, were adverse to any power, which deprived them of their harvest of spoil. The towns and villages had been pillaged so often, that many of their inhabitants, compelled to abandon their homes, sought relief in the practice of that violence, by which they had been ruined; while others became voluntary exiles from their country. Commerce had greatly declined; for, independent of the hazards which merchants incurred from the upstart rulers of the day, the public roads were infested by plunderers, who seized upon all property, that they found unguarded.

There was never a character, so formed to remedy the evils which have been described, as Ákâ Muhammad Khán.

Chapter XXI.

Muhammad Khán
to establish his
power.

the guilty were never spared. His object was to restore Persia to a state of tranquillity ; and, to effect that, he resolved to destroy all whom he deemed in any way likely to disturb the peace of the kingdom. He had, as has been shown, forgiven some of the most inveterate of his enemies ; but, when policy did not require him to renounce his *resentments*, he seemed prone to the most implacable and extravagant revenge. This disposition of his mind was particularly shown after his triumph over *Lut 'Ali Khán*. Not satisfied with putting to death, or depriving of sight, all the relations of that prince, he had the savage barbarity to dig up the bones of the virtuous *Karím Khán*, and to direct their removal to *Tíhrán*, where they were, with those of *Nádír Sháh*, (which were subsequently brought from *Khurásán*) deposited at the entrance of the palace, that he might enjoy the gratification of every day trampling upon the graves of two of the principal foes of his family.

Every action of *Áká Muhammad*, was calculated to inspire dread among the higher ranks of his subjects, but, though severe to all who exercised power, he was kind and indulgent to his soldiers, and to the mass of the population. This prince showed on every occasion a perfect knowledge of the characters of those by whom he was surrounded. When he was encamped in *Kirmán*, and *Hájí Ibráhím* was proceeding to join him, one of the royal guards, who met the latter on the road, behaved to him with great insolence. The *Hájí* directed some of his followers to seize the man, and chastise him ; and it was in vain, that those, who were with him, begged that he would refrain from an act which, they conceived, would inevitably produce his ruin. "If *Áká Muhammad Khán*" said he sternly, "is capable of countenancing, by his protection, the insolence of a fellow like this to a man of my rank, the sooner I am destroyed, the better." When he arrived in camp, he found that the monarch had been informed of the transaction ; at their first meeting, he exclaimed "So you have punished one of my servants, *Hájí* ! I am grateful to you for having done so ; you are exactly the person I require to keep these rascals in order." No act proved his knowledge of character, more than his appointment of *Hájí Ibráhím* as prime minister ; and no measure of his reign contributed more to his success, than the employment of this extraordinary man, whose genius was suited to the high office to which he was raised, and who continued, while *Áká Muhammad* lived, to merit and enjoy the unbounded favour and confidence of that sovereign.

(106)
His conduct to-
wards his brother
Ja'far Kuli Khán.

Three of *Áká Muhammad Khán's* brothers, who were competitors for the throne, had fled from Persia. Another, *Mustafá Kuli Khán*, whom he suspected of designs against his person, was deprived of sight. There remained only *Ja'far Kuli Khán*.³⁶⁸ This prince had always preserved his allegiance, and had been, on several occasions, the successful mediator of peace between *Áká Muhammad* and other parts of his family. Though he was known to be ambitious, there never was any cause to believe that he cherished designs against his elder brother ; but it was not expected that he would grant equal submission to his nephew, *Bábá Khán*, whom that monarch had publicly declared heir to the throne. *Ja'far Kuli* had asked his brother to give him the government of *Isfahán* ; but his request had been refused ; and he was, subsequently, appointed to the rule of a district in *Mázindarán*. Irritated at this treatment, which he suspected to proceed from a doubt of his fidelity, he tried by excuses to evade a summons to attend at court. *Áká Muhammad* was greatly alarmed at this symptom of disaffection ; he dreaded the valour of *Ja'far Kuli*, and feared an open rupture with a chief, who was the idol of the soldiers of his own tribe, and towards whom any suspicion or harshness on his part must appear as the blackest ingratitude. Actuated by these considerations, he had recourse to art, and prevailed upon his mother to go to *Mázindarán* to try and appease her son ; he desired her to promise him the government of *Isfahán*, or any thing, that would restore him to confidence and friendship. All he required, he said, was that the brother he loved would come to *Tíhrán* on his way to *Isfahán*, and assure him of his forgiveness. He at last consented ; but not before he had received the most solemn assurances of safety, and a promise, that he was only to stay one night at *Tíhrán*, before he proceeded to his government. When he reached *Tíhrán*, he was welcomed with every appearance of cordiality ; and the night passed in peace. Next day, *Áká Muhammad Khán*, after giving him some instructions respecting his conduct at *Isfahán*, observed : "You have not, I believe, looked at my new palace ; walk there with *Bábá Khán*, and, after you have seen it, return to me." He went to look at it ; and, at the moment he had

Who is prevail-
ed on to come to
court.

³⁶⁸ To show the course and conduct of *Áká Muhammad*, in the early part of his reign—(Mafáher).

the portico, some assassins, who had been stationed there, fell upon him, and slew him. In one account of this horrid transaction, it is stated that Bába Khán (the present king, who was then a boy of 14) was informed of what was intended, and directed to complain of slight indisposition, and remain in the rear, when his uncle reached the part, where the assassins were stationed. The body was carried to Aká Muhammad Khán, who mourned over it with an appearance of the most frantic grief. He desired Bába Khán (the name by which he always called Fath 'Alí Sháh), to approach. When near, he bade him observe the corpse of the bravest of men, and the best of brothers. Then, loading the young prince with abuse, he exclaimed: "It is for you I have done this! The gallant spirit, that lately animated that body, would never have permitted my crown to rest upon your head. Persia would have been distracted with internal wars. To avoid these circumstances, I have acted with shameful ingratitude and have sinned deeply against God and man." These sentiments might have been sincere; the public expression of them had the effect of mitigating the universal horror at this murder, and men either believed or affected to believe, that a desire of promoting the general weal was paramount to all other feelings in the breast of their sovereign.³⁰⁹

The Turkamán tribes, who inhabit the plains near Astarábád, have been described. They had been friendly to the father of Aká Muhammad Khán, who always found a refuge among them when in distress. They gladly welcomed a fugitive of rank, whose name and followers aided them in plundering the neighbouring countries; but they had slain his brother Hussain Kulí, when pursued by Zakí Khán, and had recently committed the most cruel excesses upon the inhabitants of Astarábád. These acts of oppression and violence Aká Muhammad resolved to revenge; and, having marched into their country, he retaliated with a severity that even filled their savage minds with terror. He brought away a number of their wives and children, some of whom were made slaves, and the rest kept as hostages for the future good conduct of the families to which they belonged. We are informed by the historian of Aká Muhammad Khán, that many of the high-minded women of these tribes perished by their own hands, to escape the captivity, which, they thought, might subject them to insult or dishonour.

The actual condition of the province of Georgia, when Aká Muhammad Khán had, by the subjugation of Fárs and Kirmán, become the sovereign of Persia, has been already noticed. The hereditary prince of that country, the aged Heraclius, taking advantage of the distracted situation of Persia, had, by a formal act, transferred his allegiance, from the kings of that country, (whose paramount authority his ancestors had acknowledged for centuries) to the sovereigns of Russia. His motive for this measure was declared to be a desire to release his Christian subjects from the violence and oppression of Muhammadan superiors, and to place them under the protection of a great nation of their own religion. It was not to be expected that any monarch of Persia, whenever that country was restored to union and peace, would submit to have one of the finest provinces of the kingdom alienated by such a transfer; and Aká Muhammad Khán, the moment he had subdued his rivals, resolved to compel Heraclius to return to the path of obedience. But, before an account is given of the measures, which he adopted to re-establish his power over Georgia, it will be necessary to refer to the progress of the connexion, which the prince of that country had formed with Russia, as that must be deemed the immediate cause, which provoked the vengeance of the Persian sovereign.

Peter the Great had, in concert with the court of Constantinople, formed plans for the partition of the north-western parts of Persia. These projects had been defeated by the genius of Nádir; but the distracted state, into which that kingdom had fallen after his death, led the ambitious Catherine to revive in part the schemes of her predecessor. She accepted the overtures of Heraclius, to place his country under her protection; and a formal treaty³¹⁰ was concluded, by which that prince, in his own name, and

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And treacherously murdered.

His conduct toward the Turkamán tribes near Astarábád.
(107)

Conduct of the Prince of Georgia.

Transfers his allegiance to the sovereigns of Russia.

³⁰⁹ Lit. "And, as it was publicly expressed, it had the effect intended, and men thought that the object of the king in the perpetration of such deeds was the peace of the nation and the removal of harm."

³¹⁰ The following is the substance of this treaty, as given in Malcolm:—

Article 1st.—Heraclius, the prince of Georgia, renounces his dependence upon Persia, and places himself, his heirs, and successors, under the protection of the Empress Catherine, her heirs and successors.

2nd.—The Empress Catherine grants her protection, and not only guarantees his actual possessions to the Prince of Georgia, but also all those, which may become his in future partitions.

3rd.—The Prince of Georgia agrees that his heirs shall solicit and receive their investiture from the empress, her heirs, &c., and that they shall swear to be faithful to the monarchs of Russia.

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that of his heirs, transferred his allegiance from the kings of Persia to her and her successors, while she, on the part of herself and heirs, engaged to protect him and his people; and, by a specific article, she not only guaranteed to this prince all his actual possessions, but promised to extend the same protection to "other territories, that might hereafter fall to his share." The expression³¹¹ of this article, and an attempt, which was made the same year in which this treaty was concluded, to form a settlement near the city of Ashraf, in Mázindarán, gives reason to conjecture, that Catherine cherished plans beyond an alliance with Heraclius.

(108) The historian of the Kájár family states that, in the year 1783, a Russian nobleman, attended with some armed boats, arrived near Ashraf, and requested leave to establish a commercial factory in that quarter; but those, who accompanied him, bought so dear, and sold so cheap, that it was apparent, pecuniary profit could not be their object. Áká Muhammad consequently suspected them of some sinister design, and directed them to be imprisoned. The same writer adds, that they were invited to a feast, and, having drank freely of the liquor that was purposely given them, they were seized; but, when sent to the king, he listened to their excuses, and not only released them, but gave them dresses of honour. He warned them, however, against evil designs. But, if Catherine had indeed such plans, circumstances must have occurred, which prevented their prosecution, as the settlement in Mázindarán was abandoned, and the corps, which had been sent to aid the foreign prince, was, after it had remained four years, suddenly recalled, when employed at the siege of Ganja, which was raised in consequence of its departure.

A.D. 1795, A.H.
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Áká Muhammad Khán, when he resolved upon the attack of Georgia, determined, by the celerity of his movements, to prevent Heraclius receiving support from Russia. The chiefs of his army had been directed, when he returned from the conquest of Kirmán, to assemble, with all their followers, very early in the spring of the ensuing year; the author of the History of the Kájárs informs us, that the forces, which met near Tíhrán, were nearly 60,000 men;³¹² and that Áká Muhammad Khán marched from Tíhrán fifty-three days after the feast of Nauroz (14th May). The object of their destination was unknown till the moment of their march, when they moved in three directions. The right column took the route of Mughán, Shírwán and Dághistán; the left moved towards Írwán, the capital of the province of Armenia; and the centre, at the head of which, Áká Muhammad Khán placed himself, proceeded to Shúshá, the principal fortress in the Karábágh, a fine district, which stretches for many miles along the left bank of the Araxes. He passed the river on a bridge, that had been con-

4th.—The Prince of Georgia agrees that he will have no communication with neighbouring states, except with the advice and knowledge of the Russian General commanding the forces, or the ambassador residing in his country.

5th.—The ambassador, whom the Prince of Georgia keeps at the empress' court, is to have suitable rank.

6th.—Her majesty the empress promises, for herself and successors; First, that she will regard the enemies of Georgia as her enemies; and that, in consequence, the people of that country will be included in any peace, concluded with the Ottoman Porte, or any other State. Secondly, that she will maintain the Prince Heraclius, and his heirs and posterity, on the throne of Georgia; and thirdly, that she will leave, wholly or entirely, to the prince of Georgia, the internal administration of his country, and the imposition of taxes.

7th.—The Prince of Georgia promises, for himself and heirs; First, to be always ready with his army to serve the Empress of Russia. Secondly, to act in all, that relates to her service, with the advice of her commanders; to comply with their requisitions; and to guarantee her subjects against all injustice and oppression. Thirdly, to consider chiefly, in the promotion of officers in his service, those who have deserved well of Russia, because, on that empire, the safety and prosperity of Georgia depends.

8th.—Her Majesty the Empress of Russia consents, that the first Archbishop of Georgia shall rank with the Metropolitans of the eighth class, taking precedence after the Metropolitan of Tobolsk; and the empress is to give him the title of a member of "the Most Holy Synod."

9th.—The nobles of Georgia shall, in every part of the Russian Empire, enjoy the same prerogatives and advantages, as the nobles of Russia.

10th.—The inhabitants of Georgia to be at liberty to settle in Russia, or to return to their own country. The Georgian prisoners, who are released either by arms or capitulation, to return to their homes, on paying what has been disbursed for their ransom, or their expenses. The prince of Georgia promises to act in the same manner towards the Russians, who have been made captives by neighbouring states.

11th.—Georgian merchants to pass and repass into Russia at pleasure, and to enjoy equal privileges with Russian merchants, and the prince of Georgia promises to exert all measures with the Russian generals to give more facility to the commerce extended by Russians in his territories.

12th.—The present convention or treaty to be for ever.

13th.—The archbishop of the treaty to be ratified in six months, or sooner if possible. Executed in the Fortress of Georgia, the 21st of July 1783.

(Signed.) Paul Potemkin, Prince Ivan Potemkin,
Prince Gagarin—Secretaries of the treaty.

³¹¹ It has been asserted, that this merely alluded to Georgia, and parts of its territory which Heraclius claimed. (Makelán.)

³¹² Other states them to have amounted to eighty thousand.—(Makelán.)

structed by Sulaimán Khán, whom he had sent in advance for that purpose. The column, which moved on the right through the countries near the Caspian, met with no resistance. Every chief submitted or fled;³¹³ but the Kháns of Irwán and Shúshá were encouraged by Heraclius to oppose the Persian monarch; and the aged Wálí himself, when summoned to appear at court, returned for answer, "that he acknowledged no paramount sovereign, but the Empress Catherine of Russia."

The army of Áká Muhammad Khán was almost entirely composed of horse, and he could not hope to subdue either Irwán or Shúshá; he resolved, therefore, to rest satisfied with the nominal submission of their governors, and to leave strong corps to watch, or rather blockade, them, while he marched to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia. He had before directed the centre and left columns to unite; and they were joined at Ganja by the right division. With this army, which, though reduced by the corps he had detached, still amounted to nearly 40,000 men, he advanced against Heraclius. That prince, though deprived, by the rapidity of the operations of Áká Muhammad Khán, of the support of the Russians, nevertheless, determined to meet the Persians in the field. He advanced with his whole forces, which did not amount to a quarter of that of his enemy, to a position at the distance of fifteen miles from his capital. An action ensued, in which, we are told, the Georgians fought with great valour; but they were overpowered by numbers. Their prince, with part of his family, and some followers, found refuge in the neighbouring mountains; while the conquerors entered Tiflis, where a scene of carnage and rapine ensued.³¹⁴ The Muhammadan historian of the life of Áká Muhammad Khán, after describing the barbarous and horrid excesses which were committed, observes that "on this glorious occasion, the valiant warriors of Persia gave the unbelievers of Georgia, a specimen of what they were to expect on the day of judgment." It is not easy to calculate the number of those who perished in the massacre of Tiflis. Bigotry inflamed the brutal rage of the soldiers. The churches were levelled with the ground; and every priest, that could be found, was put to death. The author of the Life of Áká Muhammad Khán states, that the priests were bound hand and foot and thrown into the river, which flows past the town. Youth and beauty³¹⁵ were alone spared to become the slaves of their conquerors. Fifteen, (some say, twenty-five) thousand captives were led into bondage.³¹⁶

Áká Muhammad Khán, after having sacked Tiflis, marched towards Ganja; and, being resolved to complete the subjugation of the provinces in that quarter, he remained, during the winter, encamped³¹⁷ on the plain of Mughán, near where the Cyrus, one of the finest streams of Georgia, unites with the Araxes. The Persian monarch had appointed one of the principal chiefs of his tribe, Mustafá Khán, Dawánlú to the government of Shirwán; but, on receiving complaints of his violence and extortions, he recalled him.

The governors of Irwán and Shúshá submit to Áká Muhammad Khán. A.D. 1795, A.H. 1209.

Who marches to Tiflis.

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Áká Muhammad Khán marches towards Ganja. A.D. 1795, A.H. 1209.

Winters in the plain of Mughán.

³¹³ Lit. "Became either the drawers of the cord of union, or the gallopers of the steeds of flight."

³¹⁴ Malcolm here adds "That was pleasing to their sovereign, who desired to make this city, an example to those who dared to condemn his authority."

Áká Muhammad Khán, a Persian historian states, during this action, commanded a person to recite some verses from the Sháhname of Firdausi to encourage the soldiers to heroic actions. This is a very common practice in Persian armies.—(Malcolm.)

³¹⁵ Lit. "Handsome youths and graceful maidens."

³¹⁶ Mullá Muhammad Yár, in his History of the Kájár family, states, that the number of captives was only 15,000. The accounts, which I have received from the best informed Georgians and Armenians, make their number amount to 25,000; and some of these appeared to have fair data for their estimate. It is probable that 15,000 were taken at Tiflis, and the remainder from the towns and villages in Georgia.—(Malcolm.)

The following paragraph in Malcolm has been omitted by Mirzá Hairat:—

The army marched back laden with spoil. The condition of the unfortunate inhabitants, who had fled to escape death, and returned to mourn over their ruined houses and their desolate fields, was almost as severe as that of those who were made prisoners. The latter were less entitled to exclusive compassion, as slavery was the state, to which many of them were doomed from their birth; and, if we except the great misfortune, to which the younger captives were exposed, of being educated in a different religion from that of their parents, their lot was not unhappy. Numbers of those captives, who had attained the age of maturity, preserved their own religion, and, among them were many females. I was acquainted with an affluent merchant who told me, that he had offered marriage to a beautiful Georgian, whom he had purchased from a soldier, if she would become Muhammadan, but in vain; and "she prays so prettily" he added smiling "to her little images, that I have been half-tempted myself to become idolater."

The females, from their superior beauty, became, in general, the favourites of the harems, to which they were destined; and some of them were married to their masters; while the males, according to the usage of the country, were, in general, treated with kindness and partiality. They almost invariably obtained their liberty, when they embraced the religion of their conquerors, and were, as they grew up, either enrolled as soldiers, or retained as domestics. In the former case, they frequently rose to high command and station, and, in the latter, they were always favoured and confidential servants; and their children were, from being Khánazád or born in the house, considered in a light, hardly less respectable than the relations of the family.

³¹⁷ Lit. "Made the place of the pitching of his tents, and of the alighting of his baggage and troops."

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The inhabitants of the country he had oppressed, encouraged by his disgrace, rose in a body, and put this noble to death. We are informed, that the occurrence of this event greatly affected Ākā Muhammad, and it was expected, that he would make a terrible example of those, by whom the murder had been perpetrated; but this ruler seldom gave loose to his indignation, unless when policy dictated; and, on the former governor of Shīrwān, who had before fled, coming to the royal camp to solicit mercy for himself and people, he freely forgave him; and his clemency was repaid by the complete submission of that province to his authority. The chief of Īrwān, Mustafā Khān, also propitiated his favour, by obeying a summons to appear in his presence;³¹⁸ but Ibrāhīm Khālīl Khān, the governor of Shūshā, still resisted; and as the Persian troops were unable, from the want of artillery, to take his fortress, their commander was compelled to rest satisfied with directing all the country in its vicinity to be laid waste and plundered.³¹⁹

Is solicited to accept the crown. A.D. 1796, A.H. 1210.

His speech to the assembly on his consenting to wear it.

(110)

Ākā Muhammad Khān, though he had long enjoyed sovereign power, had not yet been invested with the royal tiara. He used to observe, that he had no title to the name, even, of king, till he was obeyed throughout the whole of the ancient limits of the empire of Persia. After he had subdued Georgia, his courtiers pressed him to go through the ceremony of a coronation. He consented with apparent reluctance, and, having assembled all his military chiefs, he pointed to a crown, that had been prepared, and asked them, if they desired he should put it on. "Recollect," said he, "that, if I do, your toils are only commencing; for I cannot consent to wear the Persian crown without as much power, as I have been enjoyed by the greatest sovereigns of that country." The leaders of his army, the ministers of his court, and the princes of his family, all joined in their entreaties, that he would place it upon his head, and promised that their lives should be devoted to the promotion of his glory. He complied with their request; but he only put the Kulla Kaiāni³²⁰ on his head, and a necklace of pearls round his neck; but he consented to gird on the royal sabre, which was consecrated at the tomb³²¹ of Shāh Sūfi, Ardabīlī, the holy founder of the Sūfiyān family. The custom is to leave the weapon one night on the tomb; and, during that time, the saint is invoked to be propitious to the sovereign, who is to wear it. Next day, when it is girded on, the nobles are feasted, and large sums distributed in charity to the poor. He became, by that act, pledged to employ the sacred weapon in the defence and support of the Shī'a faith, which, as has been before stated, had, from the commencement of that dynasty, become the national religion of Persia. These events occurred in 1210 A.H.

Collects an army and proceeds to subdue Khurāsān. A.D. 1796, A.H. 1210.

Receives the submission of several petty chiefs.

Ākā Muhammad Khān collected a still more numerous force, than that with which he had conquered Georgia, to subdue Khurāsān. He proceeded to that province by the route of Astarābād, that he might punish the Turkamān tribes in its vicinity, who had recommenced their plundering inroads. His march was directed to Mashad; and as he advanced, he received the submission of all the petty chiefs³²² on his route; none of whom dared to oppose so numerous an army. Among those who proffered their allegiance was Ishāk Khān, of Turbat-i-Haidari. The enemies of this chief had endeavoured to prejudice Ākā Muhammad Khān against him by representing him as of low birth, and his usurpation of power as of dangerous example. The wise sovereign, however, disregarded these representations, and distinguished him by his peculiar favour and protection. Ishāk Khān, alone of all the chiefs who joined him, was not required to give hostages for his fidelity; and his attachment repaid the generous confidence, that was reposed in his character.

The condition of the city of Mashad has been before described. The weakness and distraction of its rulers had reduced its inhabitants to a state of wretchedness, that it appeared hardly possible to aggravate; but the late

³¹⁸ Lit. "Having obtained favour by presenting himself before the king, became comprehended in his favours and benefits."

³¹⁹ Lit. "Ākā Muhammad Khān gave orders to make all the country in its vicinity the object of plunder and devastation, and to render it waterless and grassless, like the level plain of a barren mountain side."

Safsaf means plain, level ground, or the side of a mountain. Kā, plain level ground or flat level country.

³²⁰ This was a small circular diadem, ornamented with pearls. He refused to wear the gorgeous crown of Nādir Shāh, the rich plumes of which denoted the kingdoms, that had been subdued by that conqueror. Nādir wore four plumes in his crown, which were meant to denote his power, as the paramount ruler of Afghānistān, India, Tartary, and Persia.—(Malcolm.)

³²¹ The tomb is at Ardabīl, where the monarch must go to put on the sacred sword.

³²² The first of these that submitted was Amīr Gūnah Khān, of Chinnārān; to whom Ākā Muhammad Khān sent a Kurān, containing an oath, to which the royal seal was affixed, promising him safety and protection.—(Malcolm.)

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inroads of the Uzbags had added to their misery ; and they, in consequence, looked forward, with more hope than alarm, to the approach of Ākā Muhammad Khán, who professed, that his only design was to pay his devotions at the tomb of the holy Imám Razwá ; to restore the city, where the remains of that sacred person were interred, to prosperity ; and to punish those, who had sacrilegiously dared to plunder of its wealth, the mausoleum of the holy descendant of the prophet. The real motives for this invasion were to establish his power over Khurásán ; to check the inroads of the Uzbags and Turkamáns ; and to possess himself of the wealth that still appertained to the miserable descendants of Nádír, and which he believed to be in the possession of Sháh Rukh ; it was believed by many, that he cherished a spirit of revenge against the family on account of the murder of his grandfather, and the cruel wrongs, which he himself had sustained from 'Adil Sháh, the immediate successor of that conqueror.

His motives for proceeding to Mashad.

Nádír Mirzá who was, at this period, the actual ruler of Mashad, fled, on Ākā Muhammad's advance, into the Afghán territories, leaving his blind parent, the unfortunate Sháh Rukh, to the mercy of a violent enemy. When the Persian army advanced near the walls, Sháh Rukh went out to meet its leader, who, after he had received his submission, walked on foot, attended by all his nobles, to the tomb of Imám Razwá, where he knelt and kissed the ground, in token of his devotion.

Nádír Mirzá flies from Mashad.

A.D. 1796, A.H. 1210. Ākā Muhammad Khán enters Mashad.

The passion of avarice was almost as strongly implanted in the mind of Ākā Muhammad Khán as the love of power ; and he appeared especially desirous of possessing jewels. He had, on the death of Luff 'Alí Khán, obtained some of the richest of those, which had been brought from India by Nádír Sháh ; and, since his arrival in Khurásán, he had recovered several of inferior value from the chiefs of that province, who had shared in the spoil of Nádír's successors, and who now surrendered a species of wealth, that it was dangerous to keep ; for Ākā Muhammad treated, as the most guilty of criminals, all who retained what he deemed the property of the sovereign. The blind Sháh Rukh was yet believed to possess many precious stones of great value, which he had concealed even from his sons. These were demanded by Ākā Muhammad Khán ; but he denied the possession of them, and took the most solemn oaths to persuade that monarch to credit his assertion ; but in vain. Torture, in all its forms, was applied, and we almost cease to pity this degraded and miserable prince,³²³ when informed, that his discoveries kept pace with the pains which were inflicted upon him. Treasures and jewels were produced, which had been sunk in wells and built up in walls ; and, at last, when a circle of paste was put upon his head, and boiling lead poured into it, he, in his agony, discovered a ruby of extraordinary size and lustre, which had once decorated the crown of Aurangzeb, and was the chief object of the search of Ākā Muhammad. That monarch, we are informed, the moment he heard that this jewel was found, expressed the greatest joy ; he directed the torments of Sháh Rukh to cease, and accused that prince, not altogether without justice, of being the author of the great miseries, which he had suffered. He, however, most inhumanly directed that he should be immediately conveyed with his family to Mázindarán, and the wretched grandson of Nádír terminated his life, a few days after he left Mashad. Sháh Rukh died at Dámaghán. His death was the consequence of the tortures, that had been inflicted upon him. He was 63 years of age.³²⁴ Ākā Muhammad Khán had despatched a mission to Bukhára, with a letter, addressed to 'Abdul Gházi Khán, stating : "That he had heard of the usurpation of the royal power by a son of the Amír Dániyál ; that, in consequence, many evils had arisen ; and among the greatest, true believers, who were made prisoners in Persia, were sold like cattle at the market place of Bukhára." He called on 'Abdul Gházi Khán to restore immediately all captives that had been taken, and to beware, in future, how he provoked his vengeance. Begí Ján, who received this letter, affected to treat the Persian king with equal, if not greater, contempt. "I have heard," said the old priest, in a circular letter, which he addressed to the chiefs of Khurásán, "that my lord eunuch is come among you ; seize him if you can ; if not, inform me, and I shall proceed to your quarter, and

His avarice in possessing jewels.

(111) Demands from Sháh Rukh the jewels he is supposed to have concealed.

He denies having possession of them.

Suffers torture, and discovers them.

A.D. 1796, A.H. 1210. Death of Sháh Rukh.

Ākā Muhammad Khán's letter to the ruler of Bukhára.

³²³ Olivier, on what authority I know not, gives this prince the highest merit for his efforts to conceal riches, which he deemed, according to this author, to be the only future dependence of his absent son. The mind is gratified at being able to feel unqualified indignation against an oppressor, and to indulge in sentiments of humanity for those who are oppressed ; but all the authorities in my possession give an opposite account of this transaction, to that of the intelligent traveller.—(Malcolm.)

³²⁴ The manuscript from which the account of Ākā Muhammad Khán's transaction at Mashad is taken, is written by an intelligent and learned man, who was at Mashad, when that city was taken by Ākā Muhammad Khán, and who appears to possess the fullest knowledge of the events of that period.—(Malcolm.)

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punish him." Begí Ján constantly called Aká Muhammad Khán, "Akhta Khán" (my lord eunuch). These able rulers never encountered each other; if they had lived to do so, it is difficult to pronounce which would have triumphed.

Invites the king of Kábul to join him.

Áká Muhammad Khán had sent an ambassador, Muhammad Hussain Khán, Karáguzalú, to Zamán Sháh, king of Kábul, to explain to that prince the motives, which had induced him to invade Khurásán, and to propose an union of their forces for the conquest of Bukhárá. If we could grant our belief to the Persian historian, who records the events of this period, he obtained a cession of Balkh to facilitate his intended operations against Begí Ján.³²⁵ The Afghán monarch had agreed to the alliance; and every thing was prepared for an expedition into Tartary, when the attention of Áká Muhammad was called to the protection of his own dominions, which were invaded by a formidable army of Russians.³²⁶

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Reasons which prevented the Russians helping Heraclius.

The Empress, Catherine II, had learnt with sentiments of horror the dreadful punishment, which the king of Persia had inflicted upon a prince and people, whose crime was having sought her protection, and who were tempted to provoke their fate by the expectation which they had entertained of her support.³²⁷ Various conjectures have been formed of the reasons, which prevented that support being given at an earlier period. An inhabitant of Georgia, who has given an account of this invasion, states, that general Goodavitch was within six marches of Tiflis, in command of a Russian force, but that he refused to advance, though repeatedly solicited by Heraclius to come to his aid. This commander, he adds, would not believe, that the danger was so imminent, but thought that the account of Áká Muhammad Khán's force was exaggerated; and, at all events, that monarch would never attack the capital of Georgia, before he had made himself master of the fortresses of Shúshá and Irwán. But the fact is,³²⁸ that the Russian commander, who was himself at Georgievsk, and whose corps was scattered on the line of the Caucasus, could not possibly have assembled his troops, and have reached Tiflis in less than three or four weeks; and it is probable that the cautious Heraclius, deeming the presence of a Russian force within his territories as no slight evil, delayed calling for aid till it was too late, in the expectation that some circumstance might occur to detain, if not altogether to prevent, the advance of Áká Muhammad Khán.

The Empress' designs in invading Persia.

The impression, which this event made upon the mind of the Empress Catherine, is fully proved by the measures that she adopted. These were of a nature, which showed her designs went far beyond the restoring of her influence in Georgia, and the future preservation of that province;³²⁹ she, no doubt, contemplated the subversion of the power of Áká Muhammad Khán. But whether her ultimate design was to place his brother (who had fled to Russia, and entreated her aid,) upon the throne, or to have rendered the north-western part of Persia, a province of the empire, is unknown except to those intrusted with the secrets of her council. Goodavitch, the moment that the account of the defeat and flight of Heraclius reached Petersburg, was directed to advance into Georgia with 8,000 men. A Russian general had proceeded with a small corps to Dirband, and passed the winter under the walls of that city, where he was joined in the ensuing spring by an army of 35,000 men, commanded by Valerian Zuboff. That general, instantly, commenced the most active operations. The forts of Dirband, Bákú, Tálsh, Shamákhí and Ganja, either surrendered, or acknowledged the authority of the invaders. Before winter, the Russians were

A.D. 1796, A. H. 1210.

Successes of the Russians.

³²⁵ This is not probable; and, if the king of the Afgháns ever entered into such an engagement, he had probably no intention of fulfilling it.—(Malcolm.)

³²⁶ Lit. "When news arrived that a formidable army of Russians had crossed the Persian frontier, and had raised the standard of conflict and combat, Áká Muhammad Khán had to give up his intention of punishing the Uzbags, and turned his steps from Tans, in order to oppose the Russians."

³²⁷ Lit. "Briefly and succinctly, when the particulars of the massacre and dreadful punishment of the inhabitants of Georgia, and of the laying waste of the borders of that country, reached the ears of Catherine the Second, the fury of her rage flamed up, and a determination to take revenge was aroused in her mind; for that nation had placed itself under Russian protection, and this had been the very cause why they had been exposed to those calamities, and had brought down on themselves the vengeance of the king of Persia; she therefore gave orders for a large force to move towards Persia."

³²⁸ I make this assertion upon the most authentic information of the facts stated. The Russian traveller, Klaproth, who gives a short narrative of the events of this period, makes no mention of the causes, that prevented the Russians protecting Georgia. This writer exaggerates the force of Áká Muhammad Khán in a most extraordinary degree. He says, that monarch assembled for this campaign, two hundred thousand men.—(Malcolm.)

³²⁹ The whole of the sentence "the restoring of her influence in Georgia, and the future preservation of that province is rendered in Persian by the two words." Musáhabat-i-Gurjistán. "This signification of Musáhabat is not given in the dictionaries; but under Mu-ahib, the meaning "gentle and tractable, after having been stubborn and refractory" will be found; and this is evidently the sense, in which Mirzá Hairat has used it to express the whole.



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The Russian army is recalled. Áká Muhammad determines to move towards Georgia, A.D. 1797, A.H. 1211.

The inhabitants of Shúshá invite him to take possession of that place.

Proceeds towards it.

Enters Shúshá, A.D. 1797, A.H. 1211.

A dispute between two of his servants involves him in danger.

He is massacred, A.D. 1797, A.H. 1211.

When Áká Muhammad Khán learnt that the Russians had retreated, he determined to move towards Georgia. Heraclius had died soon after the loss of his capital.³³⁴ He was succeeded by his eldest son, Georgeon Khán, who, on the departure of the Russian troops, dreaded the vengeance of the Persian king so much, that he had recourse to the dangerous expedient of taking into his service a large corps of Lazakis. An intelligent native of Tiflis states the number of Lazakis, that entered Georgia, at 15,000; he adds "These friends were more to be dreaded, than any enemies."

The Persian army left Tibrán early in the spring of 1211 A.H. When advanced within about 60 miles of the Araxes, Áká Muhammad Khán received intelligence from the principal inhabitants of Shúshá, that they had endeavoured to seize their governor, Ibráhim Khalíl Khán, but that he had fled to the mountains of Daghístán; and they requested that the monarch would hasten to take possession of the fortress, which they were ready to deliver over to him. The moment this intelligence was received, Áká Muhammad Khán left all his heavy baggage and a party of his army to guard it, and proceeded with a light corps to occupy the important fortress, which had so long baffled all his attempts. He found the Araxes full, but commanded his troops to cross. The boats were insufficient to carry them over; but so great was the dread of disobeying his orders, that those who could not get boats, threw themselves into the river. Many were drowned, as the stream was both deep and rapid, but the object was gained.³³⁵ The monarch entered Shúshá before the friends of Ibráhim Khalíl could make an effort for its recovery; and this fortunate commencement led all to anticipate a glorious campaign, but as the army of Áká Muhammad Khán were indulging in anticipated victories, one of those events occurred, which are the chief cause of the sudden and great changes, with which nations subject to despotic rule are continually afflicted.³³⁶

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Three days after Áká Muhammad Khán entered Shúshá, a dispute occurred between Sádik Khán, a Georgian slave, who was a personal attendant of the monarch, and another servant, Khudádád, a farrásh,³³⁷ respecting some money that was missing. (One manuscript states, that Sádik had, some days before, enraged the king by spilling some water on the royal masnad).³³⁸ The king was enraged at the noise they made, and directed that both should be instantly put to death. Sádik Khán, Shakáki, a nobleman of high rank, solicited their pardon. This the king refused; but said, as it was the night of Friday, and sacred to prayer, he would not take their lives till next morning. It almost reconciles us to the belief of the reports, which were spread at this period of the derangement of the mind of Áká Muhammad Khán; (one of the ministers of Áká Muhammad assured the author, that the mind of that monarch was, at this period, in a state approaching to insanity); when we are informed, that these attendants, whom he had sentenced to death, and who well knew from his character that the sentence was irrevocable, were yet permitted to perform, during the night they had to live, their usual vocations about his person. Despair gave them courage; and when the monarch was asleep, they entered his tent, accompanied by a man, named Abbás, whom they had associated in their design, and put an end, with their poniards, to the existence of one of the most able monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of Persia. It was conjectured that these menials were encouraged to the murder of their prince by Sádik Khán, Shakáki; and subsequent events gave to the suspicion every appearance of truth; for this ambitious nobleman not only afforded them protection, and accepted of the crown jewels, which they brought him, but, having assembled his tribe, endeavoured to seat himself upon the throne of Persia.

³³⁴ Lit. "Heraclius, soon after the defeat that he received, was freed from the troubles and cares of this life, and joined those, who had been liberated from the terrors and torments of existence."

³³⁵ Lit. "When he reached the Araxes, it was then in flood; he ordered his troopers to cross; but as there were not sufficient boats, many were compelled to throw themselves into the river; and a large number were drowned in its calamitous waves; the bride of his desire was, however, embraced by him."

³³⁶ Lit. "The whole army regarded this easy victory, which he gained at the commencement, as a good omen; and they placed the cauldron of hope on the air (or they built castles in the air); but they had hardly drunk of the wine of their fancies, when they began to feel headache from its effects."

Placing the cauldron of hope on the air, implies building false hopes; if they had been true hopes, "on the air" would not have been used, but "on the fire."

³³⁷ The farrásh is a person, employed in pitching, and taking care of, the royal tents.—(Malcolm)

³³⁸ Mirzá Házrat in his translation has got "masnad" or royal reclining cushion. Malcolm has "on the carpet on which he was praying." The former, I have no doubt, is correct, as water would hardly have been given to him, whilst he was praying; whereas giving him water to drink, while reclining on his masnad, would be a very natural duty of a personal attendant.

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tranquillity of his country, were completely successful.³¹⁶ To illustrate this effect, it will be necessary to say a few words on the conduct which this sovereign observed towards every class of his subjects.

His conduct to his own family.

To his own family, *Áká Muhammad* was, after his power was established, cruel and severe in the extreme, except to his nephews, *Fath Ali Sháh* and *Hussain Kuli Khán*, the sons of his full brother, *Hussain Kuli Khán*. He had always employed the former in the administration of public affairs; and this young prince, for some years before his uncle's death, held the high position of governor of *Fárs*. It does not appear that the delicate relations between the monarch and his successor were ever disturbed either by suspicion or alarm.³¹⁷

And to the religious men of his kingdom.

To the religious men of his kingdom, *Áká Muhammad* was attentive, and sometimes generous. He appeared pious; and was not only regular in observing the forms of prayer at the stated hours, but arose at mid-night, whatever had been the fatigues of the day, to perform his devotions. One author, who gives some remarkable anecdotes of this monarch, informs us, that after he had slain the gallant *Ja'far Kuli Khán*, he directed the corpse to be immediately removed from *Tihrán*, that he might not break the solemn vow, which he had taken on the *Kurán*, not to detain his brother beyond one night in that city. It is difficult to believe, that the human mind can either cheat itself, or expect to impose upon others, by such sacrilegious mockery.

His administration of justice.

Áká Muhammad Khán was rigid in the administration of justice.³¹⁸ The first noble in the land, who aspired beyond his station, the soldier, who disobeyed his orders, and the thief, who plundered on the road, met the same fate.³¹⁹ His conduct to his ministers and the chiefs of his court was often harsh and abrupt, and sometimes cruel. *Hájí Ibrahim* was an exception; and, to him, he gave his entire confidence.³²⁰ During the latter years of his life, the king would hardly allow any communication, however trifling, to be made through any other channel.³²¹

His conduct to his ministers and the officers of his court.

The ministers of *Áká Muhammad Khán* were not exempt from the attacks, which avarice and policy led him occasionally to make upon his nobles and principal officers. As a mode of levying fines,³²² he was in the habit of selling those whom he meant to plunder, and the purchaser, in order to enable him to raise the sum required, was vested with power over everything except the life of the person³²³ he bought. The king, we are told, desired to obtain a sum of money from *Mirzá Shafi'*, who had been his principal minister before the elevation of *Hájí Ibrahim*, and actually sold him to his rival for a specific amount. Another manuscript, which notices the occurrence, asserts that *Áká Muhammad* first offered to sell *Hájí Ibrahim* to *Mirzá Shafi'*; but the latter dreaded the established influence of his rival too much, to venture on the purchase. The transaction of the sale of *Mirzá Shafi'* took place in public court; and a servant of *Hájí Ibrahim* advanced, and, having ungirded the band from his waist, threw it over *Mirzá Shafi'*,

His mode of selling his nobles and others to raise money.

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in the ceremony of introduction, "that an ambassador from the king of the Afgháns was come to the earth at the feet of the slaves of his exalted majesty." He is said to have been in such a rage upon this occasion, that he could hardly be induced to spare the life of this officer. "Did you hear what the villain uttered?" exclaimed the monarch to those who interceded for him, "that an ambassador from one, he styled king, was come to the earth at my feet! How dared he use the sacred name of majesty, to expose it to such degradation!"³⁶¹

His treatment of his soldiers.

Áká Muhammad treated his soldiers with more liberality and indulgence than any other class of his subjects. The issue of their pay and allowances was, in general, regular; and though he enforced the strictest obedience to his orders, and allowed none to plunder, except when he authorized them, that permission was frequently granted, and what they obtained amid scenes of violence and rapine, was guarded to them as legal property³⁶² by the policy of their monarch. Several women and children of the first families of Kirmán were brought away by the troops, when that city was sacked. Soon after the event, some of the principal inhabitants were encouraged by the promised intercession of one of the most revered priests of Persia to go to the capital, to solicit the restoration of their wives and children. The pontiff, Shaikh Muhammad, Laḥsáí, presented their petition, and enforced its prayer with all his eloquence. He was held in the highest veneration by Áká Muhammad Khán; and a request from him was hardly ever refused; but, on this occasion, though he had the boldness to repeat his entreaties, the monarch was not to be moved; and, at last, said to him, with some sternness: "I cannot grant your wish. I will never consent to irritate my soldiers, by desiring them to restore what they took under my sanction. I have, however, no objection to the inhabitants of Kirmán ransoming their wives and children; nor to those in whose possession they are, restoring them in any manner they choose; but I desire you to urge me no more upon this subject, as I am resolved not to use compulsion." The great body of his army were naturally attached to a leader, who treated them with such consideration;³⁶³ for the meanest soldier could always complain to Áká Muhammad, who might be said to live with his troops. When not employed in the field against his enemies, he was constantly engaged in hunting excursions, to which he proceeded with a great number of attendants.³⁶⁴

His contempt of luxury.

Unless on occasions of ceremony, Áká Muhammad Khán was always dressed in the plainest manner. His contempt of luxury was shown on all occasions; after a march, or when fatigued with hunting, he was accustomed to seat himself on the ground, and to share with his principal officers in any repast that was brought. It happened one day, as he was eating some hard black bread and sour milk, that one of his principal ministers, who was seated near him, began to eat of the same food. The monarch instantly commanded him to desist: "Eat as much as you like of your rich palāos and fine sweatmeats," said he, "but never again let me see a fellow of a secretary (Mirzá), like you, touch the food of my soldiers."³⁶⁵

His conduct to the merchants.

The merchants in Persia were efficiently protected by Áká Muhammad Khán; and, during the latter years of his reign, commerce revived in every quarter. This was not more the consequence of his justice, than of the general security which his rule inspired, and the extinction, through the severity of his punishments, of those bands of robbers, with which the country had been before infested.³⁶⁶ To the farmers and cultivators, he gave no further protection than what they derived from the terror of his name; but that was considerable, for, from the collector of a district to the governor of a province, all dreaded to have a complaint made

To the farmers and cultivators.

³⁶¹ The nobleman, who committed this error, meant excessive flattery to his own monarch. Perhaps the policy of Áká Muhammad, while he pretended only to vindicate the name of king from injury, took this mode of repairing an insult, which the ignorance of his servant had cast upon a powerful sovereign. — (Malcolm).

³⁶² Lit. "Absolute property or property free from any fetters of the law."

³⁶³ They knew that if they yielded a prompt obedience to his orders, they had nothing to apprehend from others. — (Malcolm).

³⁶⁴ Not merely with the view of enjoying a favourite amusement, but to inure himself and followers to continual action. — (Malcolm).

³⁶⁵ This anecdote was first told me by Hájí Ibráhím, and I find it mentioned in a manuscript "Life of Áká Muhammad Khán." The term, secretary, has been used to translate the Persian word, Mirzá, which implies a man, whose occupation is to write, and whose habits of life are civil. The minister, with an inward smile, heard himself condemned to eat none but good and delicate viands; while the military chiefs and soldiers, that sat around, felt it as a distinction to live upon a coarse diet, which their sovereign shared, and, from the very taste of which, he had just debarred one of the first civil officers of the realm. — (Malcolm).

³⁶⁶ Lit. "The inhabitants of the country in consequence of his justice, and robbers, from fear of his punishments, pursued the right path of good conduct, and the high road of rectitude."

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Sádik Khán opposes him, but is defeated.

Is opposed by two other chiefs, who are both subdued.

Fath 'Alí Khán's power in Khurásán.

Sádik Khán made a weak effort³⁷¹ to oppose him, but was defeated. This example of rebellion was afterwards followed by the king's brother, Hussain Kuli Khán, and a prince, Muhammad Khán, of the Zand family; but these attempts were subdued without an action. Muhammad Khán was the son of Zakí Khán; and had, for some time, been residing at Bassara. He advanced to Isfahán with only 20 or 30 attendants, but they were enough to alarm its inhabitants into submission. Muhammad Khán only kept possession of the city one or two days; his followers dispersed, and he was obliged to fly. He was successful in reaching the Turkish territories.³⁷² The internal tranquillity of the empire has never since been disturbed. Fath 'Alí Sháh has been successful in a series of campaigns, in establishing his power over the greatest part of Khurásán; and the chiefs in that country, whom he has not actually subdued, yield a nominal obedience, and occasionally send him tribute to propitiate his favour and protection.³⁷³ The Afgháns have, for some years past, been in too distracted a state, from their internal divisions, to support those rights; which their monarchs pretend to inherit from Ahmad Sháh, upon this province; and its peace is not now annually disturbed by the invasions of the Uzbags, over whom Begí Ján no longer reigns. He died soon after Aká Muhammad; and his son, Haidar Túrah, who succeeded to the sovereignty, has, as yet, performed no deeds, which can lead to a belief that he either inherits the talents, or the power, of his extraordinary parent and predecessor.

Georgia is alienated from his kingdom.

The Persian monarch has not been so successful in maintaining the north-western frontier of his kingdom. Georgia, after a warfare continued with various fortune for many years, has, at last, become a province of Russia; and the garrisons of that nation now extend³⁷⁴ to the banks of the Araxes, and along the southern shores of the Caspian.

His court is visited by ambassadors from European nations.

A.D. 1800, A.H. 1215.

The court of Persia has, within the last 15 years, been again visited by the ambassadors of European nations. The power, which the sovereign of that country possessed, to check the Afgháns, who threatened to invade India, and his ability to aid in repelling the ambitious views of France, if ever directed to that quarter, led the Governor-General of the British possessions in the East to form an alliance with Fath 'Alí Sháh. This policy had the temporary success, which was desired, of diverting the Afgháns from their meditated invasion of India; and an impression was made of the power of the English nation, both on the mind of the king of Persia and his subjects, favourable to the performance of the engagements, into which that monarch had entered, to oppose, if ever required by circumstances to do so, the European enemies of Great Britain. The establishment of this alliance was attended with the further advantage of promoting the intercourse, and increasing the commerce, between India and Persia.

The ambition of Buonaparte gave an eager attention to every plan, which offered the most distant prospect, of augmenting his means of injuring the principal power, that impeded his progress to universal dominion;³⁷⁵ and, however visionary his plans may appear to those acquainted with the vast difficulties he had to encounter, he certainly cherished the prospect of invading the dominions of the British nation in India. The friendship of the king of Persia was courted, as necessary to enable him to make this attempt; and the nature of the relations between France and Russia, at this period, afforded him every advantage in the prosecution of that object. The Court of London took considerable alarm at these proceedings; and the efforts, that were deemed necessary to counteract them, have led to a more direct intercourse with the government of Persia, which has, within the space of five years, been honoured with two embassies from the king of England.

The reigning king of Persia had listened to the overtures of Buonaparte, in the hope, that the mediation, or power, of that country would enable him to recover the province of Georgia; but, when changes in the condition

³⁷¹ See note 97 page 31.

³⁷² Lit. "Hussain Kuli Khán, the brother of Fath 'Alí Sháh, also raised his head in rebellion, but he was put down without an action or struggle. Muhammad Khán, the son of Zakí Khán, Zand, who had for some time been residing at Bassara, also advanced to Isfahán with 20 or 30 followers; the inhabitants of Isfahán were overpowered by fear, and opened the gates of the city, which he held possession of for one or two days only; but his followers dispersed, and he was himself again obliged to fly to Turkish territory."

³⁷³ Lit. "There have been a number of campaigns in Khurásán, in which Fath 'Alí Sháh has generally been successful; and most of its districts have accepted his rule, and occasionally send tribute."

³⁷⁴ Lit. "And at present, the troops and soldiers of that nation are employed in garrisoning the forts and towns."

³⁷⁵ Lit. "Buonaparte hoped to conquer the whole world; the English nation was the greatest obstacle in his way; and he used every means, however remote, that he imagined, could injure that people."

CHAPTER XXII.

An account of the religion of the inhabitants of Persia.

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The history of a nation would be incomplete without some account of the belief of its inhabitants. The sacred character of religion, under whatever shape it assumes, has always given it a supreme³⁷⁷ influence over the human mind, but its effects are most remarkable,³⁷⁸ when they influence the fate of nations. The feelings, which it inspires in the breasts of individuals, gather strength as they spread. The attachment, entertained for peculiar dogmas, is heightened by the force of example, and the desire of pre-eminence; and a creed, when adopted by a large community, becomes the strongest of all ties, by which a people can be united.³⁷⁹ But this condition, which ought to be the bond of peace, has too frequently been used, by designing and ambitious men, as a torch to kindle the flames of war. Religion has been marshalled against religion; schism against schism; kingdoms have become powerful, not from the inhabitants cherishing a spirit of patriotism, or of love to each other, but from a congenial feeling of irreconcilable hatred to their neighbours, on account of some slight difference in the mode or substance of their paying their adoration to the Great Creator of the Universe.

These observations, which unfortunately describe the general condition of human society in every part of the globe, apply, with peculiar force, to those nations which have adopted the belief of the prophet of Arabia, who expressly commanded his followers to kill all infidels, as in the verse, "Strike off their heads," (Sale's Kurán, Vol. II., p. 364); and told them, that though God had the power to avenge Himself of His own enemies, He had chosen them to fight His battles; "Verily if God pleased, He could take vengeance on them, without your assistance, but He commandeth you to fight His battles." (Sale's Kurán, Vol. II., p. 365.) Though some of the commentators upon that volume have tried to limit the meaning of this passage to a particular war against the Badar tribe, all agree in proclaiming that, according both to the principles of this religion, and the example of its first teacher, the sword is a legitimate and hallowed instrument of conversion.³⁸⁰

In describing the religion of the present inhabitants of Persia, it is not intended to dwell upon the forms of the Muhammadan faith, nor to enter into any minute account of the tenets of the leading, or subordinate, sects of that country. The object is, by a general account of their religious belief, to illustrate their past history, and to enable the reader to judge of the future events that may be expected from the operation of causes connected with this powerful motive of human action.

After a short view of the Muhammadan faith, it will be necessary to describe the tenets of the Shi'a sect, which, from the establishment of the Sáfavian dynasty, may be termed the national religion of Persia. The doctrines, or rather principles, of the Súfis (or philosophical devotees) which have lately spread very widely in Persia, will also merit a portion of our attention.

(121) The precepts of the religion of Muhammad are contained in the Kurán. The principal doctrine, which that prophet taught, was the Unity of God; and he proclaimed that the chief object of his mission was to bring men

³⁷⁷ Lit. "Excessive and infinite."

³⁷⁸ Lit. "Are manifest like the sun in the midst of the heavens."

³⁷⁹ Lit. "And when a people or nation acts in their dogmas, the bond of attachment for those dogmas becomes stronger amongst them, than any other bond."

³⁸⁰ Muhammad did not prohibit the doctrine of the legality of force, till the 10th year of his mission. He declared, indeed, in several of the chapters published by Matthei, that he had no right to use any other means, than those of persuasion, for the propagation of his faith. The law, laid down respecting the slaughter of infidels in the 47th chapter, is believed by the followers of the sect of Harís, to relate particularly to the war of Badar, in which he was then engaged, but this acceptance of its meaning is not general among the Mohammedans (Makelán).

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The Muhammadan faith also teaches that the devil was once an angel, but was banished from heaven, because he refused to pay homage to Adam. They also believe in the existence of a number of good and evil spirits, called jin, or genii, who are made of fire, eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death, and liable, like men, to future reward and punishment.

The doctrine of the angels, and of the jin or genii, in the Kurán is taken from the Jews and from the ancient Persians; and was probably introduced by Muhammad to flatter the belief, and meet the prejudices of those whom he sought to convert.³⁵³

The belief of
scripture.

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With regard to the belief of scripture, Muhammad taught that God had, in various ages of the world, sent these sacred books through the medium of His prophets. The number of these sacred volumes was, according to the prophet of Arabia, one hundred and four; of which, ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Idrís or Enoch, ten to Abraham; and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel and the Kurán, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus and Muhammad; which last being the seal of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these Divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now entirely lost and their contents unknown, though the Sábians have several books, which they attribute to some of the ante-diluvian prophets; and of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that, though there may possibly be some part of the true word of God therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians.³⁵⁴ The Muhammadans believe that the number of the prophets according to one tradition are 224,000; another author states them at only 124,000; but of this army of heavenly missionaries, only 313 were appointed apostles; and six alone of the latter number brought laws and revelations; these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.³⁵⁵

Belief in the
resurrection.

The Muhammadans believe in the resurrection and the day of judgment; they affirm that when a corpse is laid in the grave, he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two examiners, which are two black livid angels of a terrible appearance, named Munkar and Nakir.

These order the dead person to sit upright and examine him concerning his faith, as to the Unity of God, and the mission of Muhammad; if he answer rightly, they suffer the body to rest in peace, and it is refreshed by the air of Paradise;³⁵⁶ but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguish so loud, that he is heard from east to west by all except men and genii. They then press the earth on the corpse, which is gnawed and stung till the resurrection by 99 dragons with seven heads each; or as others say, their sins will become venomous beasts, the grievous ones stinging like dragons, the smaller like serpents, and the others like serpents. He will thus continue till he receives his final doom at the day of judgment.

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remain, whose good and evil deeds are equally balanced. There is another bridge called *Us Sarât*, which passes over the centre of hell, and which is described as finer than a hair, and sharper than a sword; over it all mankind must pass; the virtuous and good will proceed with ease and with the swiftness of lightning, but the wicked, in their attempt to follow them, will fall into the bottomless pit.

Description of paradise.

The Muhammadan prophet, taking his opinion of the form of the heavens from the astronomical system of Ptolemy, (the author of the *Almagestum*) places his paradise in the seventh heaven. The works of this celebrated astronomer, who is conjectured to have been born about 70 A.D. were translated into Arabic, and have continued for seventeen centuries to be deemed the true system of the heavenly bodies by the greatest part of the Asiatic world. At the entrance of paradise is placed a delicious fountain, called the pond of Muhammad; one cup of the waters of which allay the thirst of the drinker for ever. The soil of paradise is said to be musk and saffron; its stones, pearls and jacinths; the walls of its palaces are enriched with gold and silver, and the trunks of all its trees are of gold. Among these, the chief is that called *Tûhâ*, or the tree of happiness, which stands in the palace of Muhammad, and a branch of which, bearing delicious fruit, reaches to the dwelling of every believer. This tree is laden with pomegranates, grapes, dates and other fruits, of surpassing bigness and of tastes unknown to mortals. If a man desire to eat of any particular fruit, it will be immediately presented to him. If he prefer flesh, roasted birds will appear on its branches, and its boughs will spontaneously bend to meet his extended hand. This tree will also furnish the faithful with fine horses, richly accoutred, to ride upon, which will burst forth from its fruit. From the root of this extraordinary tree, the shade of which is said to extend further than the swiftest horse could gallop in a 100 years, flow rivers³⁹³ of milk, of wine, and of honey, as described in the *Kurân* (Sale, Vol. II., p. 365); "The description of paradise, which is promised unto the pious. Therein are rivers of incorruptible water; the rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not; and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink; and rivers of clarified honey; and therein, shall they have plenty of all kinds of fruits, and pardon from their Lord." And in addition to these rivers, the bowers of paradise are refreshed by numberless streams and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds; their beds, camphor and musk, and their banks, saffron. But all these glories

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Enjoyments held out to the blessed in the Paradise of Muhammad.

are eclipsed by the beautiful *Hûris*, the enjoyment of whose charms constitute the great reward promised to the faithful. Their prophet assured them that they should repose on couches covered with silk, interwoven with gold, and be surrounded with fruit gardens, refreshed with pure streams and inhabited by beauteous dark-eyed damsels, whose eyes shall never wander to any other but their husbands; as in *Kurân* (Sale Vol. II., page 399); "They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof shall be of thick silk, interwoven with gold; and the fruit of the two gardens shall be near at hand to gather. Which, therefore, of your Lord's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein shall receive them beauteous damsels, refraining their eyes from beholding any beside their spouses," and the prophet adds in the *Kurân* (Sale, Vol. II., page 401). "These are they, who shall approach near unto God; they shall dwell in gardens of delight: (there shall be many of the former religions; and few of the last) reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones: sitting opposite to one another thereon. Youths, who shall continue in their bloom for ever, shall go round about to attend them, with goblets and beakers and a cup of flowing wine; their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed; and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire. And there shall accompany them fair damsels, having large black eyes; resembling pearls hidden in their shells; as a reward for that which they shall have wrought. They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or any charge of sin; but only the salutation "Peace! Peace!"

According to the *Kurân*, the meanest among the faithful will have 72 of the *Hûris* of paradise, besides the wives,³⁹⁴ which he had in this world. He will inhabit a tent, formed of precious stones, and live on the most delicious viands. His garments and furniture will be proportioned to the magnificence and splendour of his condition; and to enable him to enjoy all these blessings, he will possess an eternal youth; all his desires will be

³⁹³ The most celebrated of these was *Kauthar*, or the stream of life, from the waters of which the fountain of Muhammad, at the entrance of paradise, was filled.—(Malcolm).

³⁹⁴ It is a vulgar mistake to suppose that Muhammad denied females to have souls, or excluded them from paradise; he has, however, given them no higher rank in the regions of bliss than they enjoyed in this world. They are still only esteemed, as they contribute to the pleasure and enjoyment of men.—(Malcolm).

granted the moment they are formed, and that no sense may be ungratified, his ears will be delighted by the voice of angels, and the songs of the daughters of paradise. Even the trees, that surround him, will celebrate the divine praises, with a harmony far exceeding "what man hath ever heard."

This is only a picture of the delights which await the lowest of those who rank among the blessed; for the reward of purer faith and higher virtue, the prophet of Arabia, copying the expression of scripture, has promised enjoyments, "which the eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive." (Sale's *Kurán* Vol. I, page 132, Introduction).³⁹⁵

The paradise of Muḥammad was not an invention of his own imagination; he borrowed much of it from the Jews, the Persians and the Hindús; and some from the Christians. The Jews had planted the mansion of the blessed in the seventh heaven, and had furnished it with beautiful gardens. The Magi had peopled the region of beatitude with the *Húrání* Bihisht, or the *Húrís* of Paradise, who are the black-eyed virgins of the *Kurán*. Its wonders of the Hindú abode of bliss appear almost literally copied. Its celestial Gunga, or sacred stream, its *Ápsárás*, or heavenly viands and rich vestments; all find their place in the paradise of the Arabian prophet. The mansion, that is prepared for the good, is metaphorically described in the Christian volumes (Revelation, Chapters XXI, XXII) as a glorious and magnificent city built of gold and precious stones, with twelve gates, through the streets of which runs the water of life, that flows past the tree of life, which bears various fruits and has leaves of a healing virtue. Jesus also had said, that the blessed should eat and drink at His Table (St. Luke, XXII. ver. 30); but, when Muḥammad borrowed from this description of future felicity, he rejected the doctrine which taught, that the inhabitants of this world, in the resurrection "neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven (St. Mathew XXII, ver. 30.)" A sensual paradise, in which man is to derive his chief felicity from continuing to indulge the passions of his present nature, is a fundamental principle of the religion of Muḥammad. Numerous passages in the *Kurán* place this beyond doubt; and though some of his followers have revolted at so gross a doctrine, the orthodox continue to believe, in its literal sense, all that their prophet has said regarding the future state of reward and punishment.

The Muḥammadans believe, that the whole of the brute creation will be assembled at the resurrection; and that, after the weak have been allowed to take vengeance on the strong for the injuries they have received from them, they will be reduced to dust. The genii will be judged, like men, according to their actions. The bad will be condemned to the infernal regions; and the good will have a delightful dwelling, assigned to them on the verge of paradise.

Assembly of the brute creation, at the resurrection.

The doctrine of predestination is inculcated in the *Kurán*; in which God is declared to have said (Sale's *Kurán*, Vol. II, page 94, Chapter XVII. "The night journey or the children of Israel.") "The fate of every man have we bound about his neck." The meaning of this verse has given rise to numerous disputes. It has been contended, that to receive it in its literal sense would be at variance with the justice of the Creator; and the most orthodox have concurred in deciding, that it only applies to man, considered in his spiritual state. Notwithstanding these opinions, the belief of this doctrine is very general over all Muḥammadan nations, and its effects are very visible. This blind fatality renders men alike insensible to the beauty of virtue, or the deformity of vice. They meet the vicissitudes of fortune with patience and resignation, because they deem them pre-ordained and unavoidable. They are courageous in battle from the same motive: and this doctrine was probably first taught by the warlike prophet, with a view of producing that effect upon the minds of his followers.

Doctrine of predestination.

Among the points of form or observance in the religion of Muḥammad the first is prayer, which he denominated the "pillar of faith." The stated periods of importance of this duty is often inculcated in the *Kurán* (Sale, Vol. II, Chapter Kúm, page 245) "Wherefore glorify God, when the enemy overtaketh thee, and when ye rise in the morning; and unto Him be praise in heaven and earth; and at sunset, and when ye rest at noon." This mandate appears, in its literal acceptation, only to command four periods of daily prayer; but a slight difference in the signification of the words used in the

Stated periods and forms for the observance of prayers.

³⁹⁵ This is not actually in the *Kurán*; it is a *Hadíth* or tradition.

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Women are not admitted at public prayers.

verse, has led the expounders of the sacred law to decide that five³⁹⁶ were meant; and every true believer is summoned, by the public criers, to pay his devotions that number of times each day, with his face turned towards the temple of Makka. Ablutions,³⁹⁷ which are enjoined on almost all occasions, are peculiarly necessary at the moment of prayer, when purity of body is deemed essential to address the Creator. It is also commanded that rich clothes and ornaments should be laid aside; these trappings of earthly vanity and power being deemed calculated to inspire pride and arrogance, which are inconsistent with that sense of humility with which a suppliant should address the Almighty. Women are not allowed to join in the public prayers at the mosques. They are directed to offer up their devotions at home, or, if they attend the place of public worship, it must be at a period, when the male sex are not there. This practice is calculated to confirm the inferiority and seclusion, to which the female sex are doomed by the laws of Muhammad. The learned Sale observes, on the authority of a Muhammadan doctor of eminence, that the Muslims were of opinion, that the presence of females inspired a different kind of devotion from that which was required in a place dedicated to the worship of God.

(126) In the establishment of the usage and form of prayer, Muhammad copied the Jews, even to the position of the body at the moment of adoration; but though he at first regarded Jerusalem as a sacred city, he taught his followers to believe, that a superior sanctity belonged to the temple of Makka; and one day, in the midst of his prayers, turning his face away from the former, he turned towards Makka, towards which he directed his followers hereafter to turn, when they offered up their supplications to God. In showing this reverence to Makka, Muhammad accommodated his doctrine to the superstition of the Arabians, who had long paid their devotions at the temple in that city, which became more hallowed, in the eyes of the Muhammadan world, from being the birth place of their prophet.

Usage of charity described.

Charity is a duty imposed by his religion on every Muhammadan; the Zakát, or legal alms, is one in forty or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; that which can be legally demanded is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the principal of the estate of the individual; but it can only be claimed from those who have a certain amount, and have been in possession of the property, subject to it, upwards of 11 months.³⁹⁸ It is commanded to be paid on cattle, sheep, money, corn, fruits, and on all wares that are sold. There are many different opinions among Muhammadan doctors, relative to the proportion and mode, in which this tax should be collected on property of various kinds. This legal alms, or Zakát, was rigorously exacted by the prophet, who employed it in the relief of the poor, and in the maintenance of those who served him in his wars.³⁹⁹ When the religion of Muhammad spread, this tax was found not only to be difficult to collect, but of an unequal and invidious nature.⁴⁰⁰ It has in consequence, been generally abandoned. Men are left to their consciences;⁴⁰¹ but the obligation of charity is so strongly enforced, that few strict Muhammadans evade the performance of this sacred duty; which is recommended, not only in the Kurán and traditions, but by all the writers on their law, as one of the most certain means of obtaining respect on earth, and eternal happiness in

³⁹⁶ The appointed times of prayer are:—1st, in the morning before sunrise, 2nd, when noon is past; 3rd, in the afternoon before sunset, 4th in the evening, after sunset, but while day remains; 5th when day is closed, but before the first watch of night. Sale, vol. II, page 245, in a note upon the translation of this part of the text, makes the following remarks: "Some are of opinion, that the five times of prayer are intended in this passage. The evening including the time both of the prayer of sunset, and of the evening prayer properly so called; and the word I have rendered, at sunset, marking the hour of afternoon prayer, since it may be applied also to the time a little before sunset."—(Malcolm.)

³⁹⁷ Ablutions are of two kinds—Wuzú' and Ghúsal; the former is the ablution of the face, hands, feet, &c., and this is necessary before every time of prayer. Ghúsal, the washing of the whole body, performed after certain legal defilements.—(Hughes's Notes on Muhammadanism.)

³⁹⁸ Lit. "Amongst the commands of the law of Muhammad one is, as has been previously stated, Zakát, or legal alms, that is to say, a fixed sum, which every one is bound to give out of his property. It is 1 in 40, or in other words $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with this proviso, that only when the amount reaches 40, does it become subject to Zakát being taken thereon; Zakát is only levied on principal; and provided that it has been in possession a year."

Nisáb is the technical word used by the doctors of the law for the lowest amount, that is liable to Zakát. Mirzá Hairat has used "Masra'á Sannat" for "12 months' possession;" the proper technical law term for this is "hannan-i-haul." The following are exempt from paying Zakát; dwelling houses in which one lives, in opposition to houses rented out; cattle used for private conveyance; personal clothing; books of study; and ornaments worn for personal adornment.

³⁹⁹ The Khums, or fifth part of the spoil of infidels, which was always set aside for the use of Muhammad, formed, with the Zakát, the whole of his revenue, and that of his immediate successors.—(Malcolm.)

⁴⁰⁰ Lit. "But when the religion of Muhammad spread, and the territory of their dominion became extended, it was found that the collecting of this tax, besides being difficult, was also the cause of giving umbrage in other respects."

⁴⁰¹ Lit. "Men are left to the inclination of their own hearts, and a desire to satisfy the pleasure of God."

heaven. "Prayer," says one of the Caliphs, 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz, "carries us half way to God; fasting brings us to the door of His palace, and alms procure us admission."

The Muhammadans are enjoined fasting as a sacred duty. They are taught to believe, that, in the month of Ramazán,⁴⁰² God sent the Kurán from heaven; and, during that month, every true believer must refrain, from daybreak till sunset, from eating, drinking and all sensual gratifications. None are exempt from this obligation but travellers, sick persons, women with child or those who are giving suck; and even these are required to make amends for their involuntary neglect of this ordination, by fasting at some other period, or by giving extraordinary alms to the poor.

Fasting enjoined as a sacred duty.

The pilgrimage to Makka is enjoined as a duty to all, who can perform it; on which point, however, there is a great difference of opinion. Every person, it is assumed, should perform the pilgrimage to Makka, who has a beast to ride upon, and who can supply himself with provisions for the journey. Ash-shafi' says, those who have money, if they cannot go, should perform this journey by deputy; Málik thinks, that all, who have strength sufficient, should go to Makka; but Abú Hanífa deems both money and health of body requisite, before this duty can be deemed obligatory. The sacred temple (Masjid-ul-harám), at which they pay their devotions, stands near the centre of that city; and the Ka'bah is in its midst. The Ka'bah (a square stone building) was probably built, by the idolatrous Arabians, as a house for their idols; but the Muhammadans are instructed to think, that God, in compliance with the prayer of Adam, let fall from heaven a model of the holy building; the resemblance of which, our first father had seen in paradise. Adam, according to this account, turned towards the representation of the celestial temple when he prayed; and after his death, his son, Seth, built a house, of the same form, of stone and clay. This was destroyed by the deluge; rebuilt by Abraham and his son Isma'il, who erected it on the same spot, and took care, that it should be of a similar shape as the former mansion; which he was enabled to do, from having all its dimensions explained to him by a Divine revelation.

Pilgrimage to Makka.

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The celebrated black stone (known as *Hajar-ul-aswad*) fixed in the south-east corner of the Ka'bah, is deemed by Muhammadans, one of the precious stones of paradise, that fell to the ground with Adam; and was

⁴⁰² Ramazán is the ninth month of the Muhammadan year; the word is derived from *ramaz*, to burn. The month is said to have been so called, either because it used, before the change of the calendar, to occur in the hot season, or because the month's fast is supposed to burn away the sins of men. It is observed as a strict fast from the dawn of day, to sunset, of each day in the month. The excellence of this month was much extolled by Muhammad, who said that, during Ramazán, "the gates of paradise are open, and the gates of hell are shut, and the devils are chained by the leg"; and that "only those, who observe it, will be permitted to enter by the gate of heaven, called Rayyán." Those, who keep the fast will be pardoned all their past venial sins. In the month of Ramazán, Muhammad said, the Kurán began to be revealed from heaven.

The fast does not commence, until some Musalmán is able to state, that he has seen the new moon. If the sky be overclouded, and the moon cannot be seen, the fast begins upon the completion of 30 days, from the beginning of the previous month. The Ramazán must be kept by every Musalmán, except the sick, the infirm, and pregnant women, or women who are nursing their children. Young children, who have not reached the age of puberty, are exempt, and also travellers on a journey. In the case of a sick person or traveller, the month's fast must be kept, as soon as they are able to perform it. This is called *Kazá*, or expiation. The fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying, and when the Ramazán happens to fall in the summer, and the days are long, the prohibition, even to drink a drop of water to slake the thirst, is a very great hardship. Muhammad speaks of this religious exercise as easy, (Sale's Kurán, Vol. I, Chapter II, page 32), as most probably it was, when compared with the ascetic spirit of the times.

During the month of Ramazán, twenty additional *raka'áts*, or forms of prayer, are repeated after the night prayer. These are called *taráwih*. Devout Muslims seclude themselves for some time in the mosque during this month, and abstain from all worldly conversation, and engage themselves in the reading of the Kurán. This seclusion is called *i'tikáf*. Muhammad is said to have usually observed this custom for the last ten days of Ramazán.

M. Geiger identifies the Ramazán with the fast of the *tenth* (Leviticus XXIII, 27); it is, however, far more likely, that the fast of the Tenth is identical with the *Íd'ashúrá*, (or tenth day of Muharram), not only because the Hebrew 'Asúr, ten, is retained in the title of that Muhammadan fast; but also, because there is a Jewish tradition, that creation began upon the Jewish fast of the Tenth, which coincides with the Muhammadan 'Ashúrá, being regarded as the day of creation. Moreover, the Jewish 'Asúr and the Muslim 'Ashúrá, are both fasts, and days of affliction. It is far more probable, that Muhammad got his idea of a 30 days' fast from the Christian Lent. The observance of Lent, in the Eastern Church, was exceedingly strict, both with regard to the nights, as well as the days, of that season of abstinence; but Muhammad entirely relaxed the rules with regard to the night, and, from sunset till the dawn of day, the Muslim is permitted to indulge in any lawful pleasures and to feast with his friends; consequently large evening dinner parties are usual, in the nights of the Ramazán, among the better classes. This would be what Muhammad meant, when he said "God would make the fast an ease and not a difficulty," for, notwithstanding its rigour in the day time, it must be an easier observance than the strict fast, observed during Lent by the Eastern Christians of Muhammad's day (Hughes's Notes on Muhammadanism). See also Sale's Kurán, Vol. I, pages 31-32. According to the Kurán, the night might be passed in eating, drinking, &c., till a white thread could be plainly distinguished from a black thread by the daybreak.

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preserved at the deluge by the angel Gabriel, who brought it to Abraham, when he was building the Ka'bah. It was, they say, at first white; but its surface has become black from coming in contact with those who are impure and sinful. These, and many other fables, are told of this relic⁴⁰³ of idolatrous worship. It is an object of the greatest veneration; every pilgrim kisses it.⁴⁰⁴ Another stone, deemed hardly less sacred, is shown at a spot, called the Place of Abraham, where the devout visitor of the temple is told to observe the prints of that patriarch's foot-steps, when he came to see his son;⁴⁰⁵ and his attention is particularly directed to the holy well of Zamzam which, he is informed, burst forth, at the command of God, to relieve the drooping Hagar, when she gave birth to the infant, Isma'il.

The temple of Makka has, since the death of Muhammad, been enlarged and ornamented, by the piety and munificence of Muhammadan sovereigns, and is annually crowded with persons, who come from every region to which his faith has extended, to perform their pilgrimage. It would occupy too much space to give a minute description of all the forms that attend this important ceremony; they are of a nature which the enemies of this religion have justly described as closely allied to the usages of idolatry. It is probable that Muhammad compromised with his first converts; and when he discovered that he could not withdraw them from their habitual veneration to the place of devotion of their fathers, he conciliated their consent to his faith, by the adoption of this sacred object of their affection and reverence; and was satisfied, if he could transfer their adoration from their idols to the true God, to allow them to retain a small portion of the mummerly of their former worship.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ This meaning of *tarikah* is not found in Richardson, who only gives "a legacy, bequest, an inheritance."

⁴⁰⁴ Malcolm here adds "and bears the tale of its extraordinary history, and wonderful properties."

⁴⁰⁵ *Lit.* "It is told people that, when Abraham came to see his son Isma'il, he placed one foot on that stone, and the print of his foot still remains."

Some confusion exists in the minds of English authors, with regard to the word Ka'bah. The temple or mosque, at Makka is called *Masjid-ul-haram* (the sacred mosque) or *Baitullah* (the House of God). The Ka'bah (*lit.* a cube) is the square stone building in its centre, containing the black stone. The *Hajar-ul-aswad* is the black stone itself, which Muslims say, was originally white, but became black by reason of men's sins (Hughes' Notes on Muhammadanism).

⁴⁰⁶ I hereby give the following extract from Hughes on the Hajj (or pilgrimage to Makka) which perhaps may be found interesting:—

"Hajj, or pilgrimage to Makka, is the fifth of the five foundations of practice. It is said, by Muhammad, to be of Divine institution, and has the authority of the Kur'an for its observance. Its performance is incumbent upon those men and women, who have sufficient means, to meet the expenses of the journey, and to maintain their families at home, during their absence. The ceremonies, observed on this occasion, are so ridiculous, that they do more to reveal the imposture of Muhammad, than any other part of his system. They are, even by the confession of Muhammadans themselves, the relics of the idolatrous superstitions of ancient Arabia; and they are either evidences of the dark and superstitious character of Muhammad's mind, or, what is perhaps even more probable, they show, how far the "Prophet" found it suit his purpose, to compromise with the heathen Arabians of his day. The merits of the pilgrimage are so great, that every step, taken in the direction of the Ka'bah, blots out a sin; and he, who dies on his way to Makka, is enrolled on the list of martyrs. The following is the orthodox way of performing the pilgrimage, founded upon the example of the prophet himself.

There are six final stages, called *Mikât-ul-Hajj*, situated, about 5 or 6 miles from Makka, in different directions. Upon the pilgrim's arrival at the last stage near Makka, he bathes himself, and, then divesting himself of his clothes, he assumes the pilgrim's sacred robe, which is called *ihram*. This garment consists of two seamless wrappers, one being wrapped round the waist, and the other thrown loosely over the shoulder, the head being left uncovered. Sandals may also be worn, but not shoes or boots. After he has assumed the pilgrim's garb, he must not anoint his head, shave any part of his body, pare his nails, nor wear any other garment than the *ihram*. Immediately on his arrival at Makka, he performs the legal ablutions and proceeds to the *Masjid-ul-haram*, or sacred mosque, and kisses the *Hajar-ul-aswad*, or the black stone, and then encompasses the Ka'bah seven times. This act, which is called *Tawâf*, is performed by commencing on the right, and leaving the Ka'bah on the left. The circuits are made thrice with a quick step or run, and four times, at a slow pace. He then proceeds to the *Makâm-i-Ibrâhim* (the place of Abraham) and performs two *rakât* prayers, after which he returns to the black stone, and kisses it. He then goes to the gate of the temple leading to Mount Safâ, and from it, ascends the hill, and runs from the summit of Mount Safâ, to that of Mount Marwat, seven times. On the top of the hill, he remains for a few moments, and raising his hands heavenwards, supplicates the Almighty. On the 8th day which is called *tarwîyah*, he unites with his fellow pilgrims at Minâ, in the usual services of the Muslim ritual, and stays the night. After morning prayer, he rushes to Mount 'Arafât, where, having said two *rakât* prayers with the *imâm*, and heard the *Khutbah*, or oration, he remains until sunset. He then proceeds to *Muzdalifah*, and, having said the sunset and night prayers, he stays the night at that place. The next morning, which is the *Id-ul-azhâ*, or great feast of sacrifices, he comes to three places in Minâ, marked by three pillars, called *jamrah*. At each of these pillars, he picks up seven small stones, or pebbles, and, having said some particular prayer over each pebble, and blown upon it, he throws it at a figure representing the devil. This ceremony is called *Ramy-ul-Jamar*, or the throwing of pebbles. He then proceeds to the place of sacrifice at Minâ, and performs the usual sacrifice of the *Id-ul-azhâ*; after this sacrifice, he gets himself shaved, and his nails pared, the pilgrim garb is then removed, and the pilgrimage is ended, although he should rest at Makka, the three following days, which are called the *Ayyâm-ut-tashûf*, or the days of drying up the blood of the sacrifice. These are three days of well-earned rest after the vigorous peripatetic performances of the last four days. The pilgrimage must be performed on three days of the month of Zûl-hijjah, namely from the 7th to the 10th; a visit to Makka at any other time has not

Both wine and games of chance are forbidden by the *Kurán* (Sale, Volume I, p. 37). "But their sinfulness is greater than their use." Muhammad also forbid his followers to eat of the blood of animals, of swine's flesh, or of any creature that died of itself.⁴⁵ Among the ancient Arabians, four months of the year were deemed so sacred, that all wars ceased. Muhammad commanded his followers to preserve this usage, if their enemies did the same; under all circumstances, he authorised instant retaliation of attack.⁴⁶

Friday is the day appointed by Muhammad as that on which his followers are to assemble at the mosques to attend prayer; (Sale, Vol. II, p. 25, "O, true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of the assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God"), but it is not, like the Sabbath of the Jews, considered as a day of rest; on it the people assemble in the mosques, the *Kurán* is read, and expounded by the priests, but it passes unmarked by any other observance. Various causes are assigned for Friday being fixed by Muhammad as a day of public prayer. Some say, that it was the day of his arrival at Medina. Others state, that the day received its name from one of Muhammad's ancestors, because, on it, the people assembled before him. It is also affirmed, that it was declared sacred, because God finished the creation on that day.⁴⁷

The Muhammadans have two festivals. The first of these commences on the day after the past of *Ramazán*,⁴⁸ and is, for that reason, called the "*Id-ul-fitr*," or "the festival after abstinence." The second, which begins on the 10th of *Zúl-hijjah*, is termed the "*Id-i-azhâ*," or "*Id-ul-Kurbân*," or "the feast of sacrifice," and is instituted in commemoration of Abraham offering up his son Isaac.⁴⁹

The rite of circumcision is not once mentioned in the *Kurán*. The practice was taken from the Jews; and Muhammadans are taught to believe, that it was first instituted by Abraham. It is considered as an act of imitative practice, founded on the example of the disciples, but not that of the prophet, who is said to have been born circumcised. It may, according to Muhammadans, be omitted in cases, where, from the age of the convert, or any other cause, there might be danger from the operation. It is deemed the outward mark of a true believer; and the very fear, that his corpse might, in a day of slaughter, be confounded with those of infidels, is sufficient to make every Muhammadan anxious that this ceremony should be performed.

The *Kurán*, which consists of 114 chapters, was not produced as a complete volume; and it was a wise policy. Muhammad early taught his disciples to believe, that it was sent, in a complete state, from God to the lowest heaven on the night of Alzadr by the hands of the angel Gabriel, from whence, it was communicated to him, in detached portions.⁵⁰ by the same angel. It is believed

the merit of a pilgrimage. Before he leaves Makkah, the pilgrim should once more perform the circuits round the Ka'bah, and throw stones at the sacred pillars, each seven times. He then proceeds to Medina, and makes his salutations at the shrine of Muhammad. The Wahabís do not perform the last act, as it is contrary to their principles to visit shrines. The Musalman, who has performed the pilgrimage, is called *Hâj*.

The pilgrimage cannot be performed by proxy, as some English authors have stated, although it is considered a meritorious act, to pay the expenses of one who cannot afford to perform it. But if a Muhammadan, on his death bed, bequeath a sum of money to be paid to a certain person to perform the pilgrimage, it is considered to satisfy the claims of the Muslim law. If a Muslim have the means of performing the pilgrimage, and omit to do so, its omission is equal to a *Kabírah*, or mortal sin.⁵¹

See also *Kurán* Vol. I, Chapter II, pages 33-35. Hughes is a little incorrect regarding the month during which it must be performed. The "known months" is the phrase used in the *Kurán*, and these are Shawál, *Zúlka'dah* and *Zúl-hijjah*.

⁴⁵ *Maitah* is the word used in the *Kurán* for any animal, that has died of itself, and has not been slaughtered, according to the rites of the *sharâ*.

⁴⁶ *Lit.* "But if their enemies attacked them, they were allowed to retaliate."

Malcolm: adds "It cannot be surprising, that an ordination, so difficult to observe, and so easy to evade, should have met with little attention. Obedience may often have been given to this institution, as a matter of policy, but probably never from a motive of piety."

⁴⁷ Though Friday is the day that is set apart for public worship, it is not the only one in which that is performed. The mosques of the Muhammadans are always open; and the duty of the *Peshnamáz*, or officiating priest, requires him to attend three times every day at that, to which he belongs—before the sun rises; in the afternoon; and after sunset. Those, who are very exact in the performance of their religious duties, accompany him. The priest says his prayers in the mosque, as in private, in an inaudible tone; the people, who stand behind him, also pray in silence. Once every day, the *Peshnamáz* should preach from the pulpit for half an hour, or more; but, on Friday, this duty is obligatory. He takes, for his text, a verse from the *Kurán*, or from one of the books of traditions, and expounds its meaning to the people. "If the mosque be small, there is only one *Peshnamáz* or priest; but when large, it is not uncommon to have two or three, and they all perform the religious service at the same time.—(Malcolm.)"

⁴⁸ *Lit.* "On the first day of the month Shawál."

⁴⁹ *Azihâ* is the day appointed for the slaughter of the victims for sacrifice by the pilgrims—see previous note.

Mirza Hairat has allowed Isaac to stand, but Muhammadans really hold that it was Ishmael, and not Isaac, who was to have been sacrificed.

⁵⁰ The *Kurán* was not even sent in chapters, but in small portions, several of which are often included in one chapter.—(Malcolm.)

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Both wine and games of chance forbidden.

Also the blood of animals and swine's flesh.

Friday appointed for prayers.

Two feasts ordained.

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The *Kurán* is compiled in detached portions.

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to be that between the 23rd and 24th of Ramazwán, but Muhammadan doctors are not further agreed respecting this date, than that it actually was during the month of Ramazwán; the whole of which is deemed sacred, on account of the occurrence of this auspicious event. From the first revelation to the last, occupied a period of twenty-three years; and the prophet of Arabia declared that he held, during the whole of this time, a continual intercourse with Gabriel,⁴¹³ and was wont to dictate to a writer the different chapters, as that angel brought them to him. No mode could have been better calculated to preserve and promote his power. He was, at once, the civil ruler and the military leader of his followers; and he drew at pleasure, from a source, which they deemed Divine, those laws and mandates which were to regulate their lives, and excite them to actions of virtue and of valour. In order to guard against the errors of precipitation, he inculcated as a doctrine, that the commands, he received from The Almighty, were sometimes revoked; and he also warned true believers against literally interpreting all the passages in the Kurán. Some parts of that volume, he told them, were to be understood as they were written; while others were to be taken in a figurative sense, as is exemplified in the passage (Sale's Kurán, Vol. I, p. 53, Chapter III, entitled "The Family of Imran"). "There is no God, but He, the Mighty, the Wise. It is He who hath sent down unto thee the book, wherein are some verses clear to be understood; they are the foundation of the book; and others are parabolical. But they, whose hearts are perverse, will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of low schism and a desire of the interpretation thereof; yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except God." By these precautions, he was prepared to repel every charge of inconsistency.

Muhammad was possessed of a graceful person, of a ready eloquence, of courage and of wisdom. In the state, in which he found his country, the means taken by this extraordinary man to propagate his doctrine and establish his power, could hardly fail of success; and even his enemies must admit, that he entitled himself to the gratitude of his countrymen. The great majority of the Arabians, when he first proclaimed his mission, were ignorant idolaters, whose superstition was disgraced by the grossest and most inhuman usages; the horrid practice of female infanticide was common over all Arabia. They were, as a nation, divided at home and despised abroad. By adopting his religion, they learned to pay their exclusive adoration to one true and only God; and they obtained a strength from that political union, that enabled them to become masters of the fairest portion of the globe.

(129) The purpose of the Kurán,⁴¹⁴ and the manner in which it was written, has rendered it a volume of law, as well as of religion. The intention of its author was, not only to instruct his followers in their duty towards God, but towards each other: and the precepts it contains have been acknowledged, throughout the nations, who profess the Muhammadan faith, as the sole foundation of all their jurisprudence. The different passages and chapters of the Kurán were never put into any order by the prophet, and were, at his death, a confused heap of loose sheets. The important labour of forming them into a volume devolved upon the first Caliph Abú Bakr, who arranged them without any attention to the times, at which the different revelations were made; but this was of no consequence, as each chapter is distinct, and has no necessary connection with the one, that precedes or follows it. The transcript, made from the original sheets, was committed

⁴¹³ Lit. "Gabriel was a messenger between the lowest heaven and earth."

⁴¹⁴ The following passage in Malcolm has been omitted by Mirzá Hairat in his translation:—

The Kurán is written in the finest dialect of the Arabic, and is deemed, by Muhammadans, of such surpassing beauty and eloquence of composition, that they consider it impossible, an uninspired human being could ever have composed it. It cannot be expected that others should view either the language, in which it is written, or its contents, with equal enthusiasm. It has been summarily described by an able European author, Volney, as containing a few ordinances, relative to polygamy, divorces, slavery, and the laws of succession; some emphatical declamations on the attributes of God, and a collection of puerile tales and extravagant fables. But we can hardly (in the pride of better knowledge) venture to pronounce that to be puerile or contemptible, which has so fully answered the purpose, for which it was designed, and which is still considered as the standard of truth and perfection by nearly half the universe. The Kurán of Muhammad, with many of the defects described to it, abounds with the finest passages in praise of The Almighty. Its author dwells upon the great and holy theme with an eloquence, that is exalted by the most enraptured fervour. The other parts, though less eloquent, were suited to the character, prejudices and habits of those, to whom his religion was offered, and whose ignorant and degraded condition it was meant to improve. His success was astonishing, and even those who have shuddered at the magnitude of his pre-emptuous profanation have accorded an admiration to the man, which they refused to the prophet, and have not been able to consign to that contempt, which belongs to schemes of superstitious and idolatrous worship, a religion, which, with all its errors, is grounded upon one of the most rational and sublime principles of human belief.

to the custody of one of the widows of Muhammad; but, some years afterwards, the Caliph, 'Uthmán, discovering that many spurious editions of the sacred volume were dispersed over the empire, directed, that a number of copies should be taken from the one that Abú Bakr had made, and that they should be distributed to the faithful, who were commanded to burn and destroy all the other editions as erroneous.⁴¹⁵

The spirit of division, which appeared among the followers of the prophet of Arabia, even before his death, broke out with great violence on the occurrence of that event; and the rapid strides, which his successors made to imperial power, only afforded this spirit a wider sphere of action. It would fill a volume even to name the various sects, which have sprung up in the Muhammadan world. It is only meant to describe that of the Shí'as, and to notice the doctrines of the Súfis, which have spread over the kingdom of Persia; but, before we enter upon this part of the subject, it will be necessary to say a few words upon the progress of the Suní faith, in which belief the great majority of the inhabitants of Muhammadan countries have concurred.⁴¹⁶

The *Kurán*, considered as a book of law, was only suited to the government of a rude society, shaped like that of the Arabian tribes, for whom it was first framed. When the power of the Caliphs was extended, it became impossible to govern their numerous subjects by the comparatively few rules and maxims, which this volume contained; and the difficulty was increased, by a great proportion of these rules being local, and altogether inapplicable to the condition of many of the nations, who had embraced the Muhammadan religion. The fundamental principle, however, of this faith required, that, wherever it was introduced, all former usages and laws should be abolished; for it was deemed profanation to desire knowledge on such a subject from any other than a Divine source. There appeared, therefore, no remedy, but rendering that more copious. An account of the actions, and the traditionary sayings of the prophet, who was believed never to have acted or spoken, but by the inspiration of God, and whose every act and word was, in consequence, considered as a law, were collected from the mouths of his wives and companions. This immense collection was termed *Sunnat*, and regarded by the Sunís, or those who believed in it, as of equal authority with the *Kurán*.⁴¹⁷ But the materials for the government of great empires were yet incomplete. Some part of the *Kurán* was obscure and figurative: many of the traditions were vague, and still more, contradictory of each other. To remedy the confusion and evils arising from these causes, the most learned and able of the Muhammadan divines devoted themselves to the explanation of these holy records; but it was evidently impossible, that they could limit themselves to the mere exposition of texts.⁴¹⁸ They sought to acquire fame by the propagation of their own opinions, and by the addition of their dogmas to those of the prophet and his immediate successors. Schisms were multiplied in every quarter where the Muhammadan religion was professed; but the great mass of believers settled at last in recognising the authority of four eminent doctors of law, *Hanífa*, *Málík*, *Shafí* and *Hanbal*, who were considered as holy and learned men in their lives, and, since their deaths, have been canonized as the four *Imáms* or high priests of the established orthodox religion. The sacred title of *Imám* is, by the Shí'as, given only to the immediate descendants of the prophet, which are twelve. The last of these, the 12th, *Imám Mahdí*, is supposed by them to be concealed (not dead); and the title, which belongs to him, cannot, they conceive, be given to another; but among the Sunís, it is a dogma that there must be always a visible *Imám* (or father of the church).⁴¹⁹ The four saints differed from each other in expounding parts of the *Kurán* and the (130)

An account of the Suní faith.

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traditions; but their followers have concurred in tolerating their respective differences, which relate more to forms than essentials, and have become consolidated into one belief⁴²⁰ which is termed the *Sunni*, or in other words the belief of those who assent to the *Sunnat* or oral traditions: and consequently acknowledge the first Caliphs, from whom most of these traditions were derived, as the chosen companions and legitimate successors of the prophet.⁴²¹ The four sects mentioned above have been denominated the four pillars of the *Sunni* faith; each has a separate oratory at the temple of Makka; but this, and the other distinctions they have preserved, as separate sects, have not disturbed their union.

An account of
the sect of Shi'as.

Among the principal of the schisms was that of the Shi'as.⁴²² From the hour of the death of Muhammad, the adherents of 'Ali had maintained his right of succession to the Caliphate, and had deemed those by whom that right had been set aside, as the greatest of sinners. This sect, as has been before stated, were called Shi'as. The talents, the piety, and the reputation, of the three first Caliphs, preserved the empire from the effects of this spirit of discontent, and the ultimate elevation of 'Ali satisfied, for a time, the clamour of his friends; but his death, and that of his sons, and the misfortunes of his descendants who were excluded from all temporal power,⁴²³ led numbers to cherish, in secret, the principles of the sect of Shi'a, and to mourn over the hard lot of the direct descendants of their holy prophet.

The inhabitants
of Persia unite in
proclaiming them-
selves of the
Shi'a faith.
A.D. 1499.

The kingdom of Persia was the first, whose inhabitants united in proclaiming themselves of this sect, and who vowed eternal hatred and war against those, who professed the *Sunni* doctrine. More than three centuries have elapsed, since the Shi'a faith has become the adopted religion of that country; Sháh Isma'il, the first king of the Sáfavian race, proclaimed the Shi'a faith to be the national religion of that country, and, during the whole of that period, a regard for its tenets has either been the cause, or the pretext, of almost every war, in which it has been engaged. Surrounded by nations, who profess the *Sunni* doctrine, whether the Persian has been called upon to invade the territories of the Turks, the Afgháns or the Tartars, or to repel the attacks of these nations, he has been always summoned by the same watchword; and the belief, that the Shi'a faith was in danger, has never failed to rouse him to action. Nádir Sháh, when at the summit of his power, on account of his own ambitious views, attempted to destroy this faith; but the attempt failed, and the attachment of the Persians to their faith continues as decided as ever. It appears, therefore, of importance to understand the character of those feelings, which have had, and continue to have, so powerful an influence upon a nation's conduct; and we cannot obtain that knowledge, except by a careful study of the tenets and dogmas, which are peculiar to the Shi'a sect of Muhammadans.

The difference
between the Shi'a
and the *Sunni* doc-
trine.

The great and radical difference, between the *Sunni* and Shi'a doctrine, arises⁴²⁴ from the latter maintaining the divine and indefensible right of 'Ali to have succeeded to the Caliphate, at the death of the prophet. His claims, they assert, rested on his being the first convert, and on his nearness of kindred to Muhammad;⁴²⁵ and they also affirm, that he was expressly declared his successor⁴²⁶ at Kham-i-Ghadir, on the 18th Zúlkijjah, in the year of the prophet's last pilgrimage to Makka. The same great temporal and spiritual power, which the adherents of 'Ali conceive, should have immediately descended to him, ought, in their opinion, to have been transmitted to his lineal descendants; and they, therefore, regard not only Abú Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman, but all the other Caliphs who took the title of "Lord of the Faithful," as illegal usurpers of power. The belief is hostile to the whole fabric of the establishment of the *Sunnat*, or traditions of the *Sunni* sect. The Shi'as, however, admit the legality of the *Sunnat* or traditions, except where the source, from whence they are derived, is contaminated by crime, or disobedience to God. They accuse the three first

⁴²⁰ Lit. "And as these are in branches only, a spirit of contrariety has not sprung up among their followers; rather they may all be looked on as of one religion."

⁴²¹ Lit. "And this they call *Sunni* or lawful, for all their religious and judicial laws, and temporal and spiritual actions are grounded on the traditions, and they hold the three Caliphs in great respect as being those from whom these traditions were derived, and as special companions and successors of the prophet."

⁴²² Lit. "Among the principal of the schisms which occurred in the early days of Islam was the dispute regarding the Caliphs."

⁴²³ Although admitted to the rank of Imáms, or chief priests.—(Malcolm.)

⁴²⁴ See note 50.

⁴²⁵ Of whom he was a cousin.—(Malcolm.)

⁴²⁶ Shi'a writers declare, that when the angel Gabriel informed Muhammad he must die, that sacred personage proceeded towards Makka. On the road, he came to a place, called Kham-i-Ghadir, where he declared 'Ali his heir. This event occurred on the 18th Zúlkijjah, and is celebrated by an annual festival, called the *Id-ul-Ghadir* or "the festival of Ghadir,"—(Malcolm.)

Caliphs of direct disobedience on the ground of their knowledge of 'Alī's superior right, and of the prophet's desire, that he should be his successor. Their leading principle throughout is an adherence to the relations and descendants of Muhammad; and the title, that the Shī'as love to be distinguished by, is that of the "friends of the family."

The Shī'as both disbelieve, and condemn, the dogmas of the four great Imāms, or saints, who may be termed the founders of the Sunī doctrine. These learned doctors have, they affirm, propagated many erroneous and impious opinions, both in matters of faith and practice; and they contend that the worldly policy, which has led to the monstrous compound of their contradictory tenets into one faith, must involve all those, who adopt it as a general belief, in inextricable difficulties. They argue, in support of this opinion, that as it is acknowledged there is only one path of faith, it becomes evident that, if the followers of Hanīfa, or any other of the Sunī saints, are right, those of the remaining three sects must be wrong; and after all, they ask: "Is it not better to trust to what we have received from God, and His prophet, and from those, who lived at the period of his mission, and have transmitted his sayings, than to give our minds over to these pretending doctors of divinity and of law?" The author, in his notes, gives an anecdote⁴²⁷ of an assembly held by Shāh Khudā Banda, and of Mullā Hasan bringing in his slippers under his arms, and sitting down in the assembly with them secured there, and of the conversation, which took place thereon, between him and the doctors of the Sunī faith, who were present. As the story is well known, a translation of it has not been given.

Their disbelief of the dogmas of the four Imāms.

The difference, which exists in these points between the Sunī and the Shī'a sects, is at once rancorous and irreconcilable, for it relates to no speculative or abstruse points of faith, that are difficult to be comprehended, but is interwoven with the history of their general religion. Names, which are never mentioned, but with blessings by one sect, are hourly cursed by the other. The hypocrisy, ingratitude and disobedience of the three first Caliphs are the essential dogmas of the Shī'a doctrine, while the leading principle of the Sunīs is that, next to the prophet, these rulers were, beyond all others, the most entitled to the regard and veneration of posterity. A stranger to the name of Muhammad is more acceptable to a zealous man of either of these religions, than an opposite sectary.⁴²⁸ The differences in their mode of worship and customs are slight,⁴²⁹ and have wholly arisen out of the hate they bear each other, and their dislike to have any usage in common. Innumerable volumes have been written on the subject of the disputes between the Shī'a and Sunī sects. Their effect has been similar to that of most works on religious controversy.⁴³⁰

It has been observed that the religion and laws of a Muhammadan nation always flow from the same fountain, and the consequence is that

⁴²⁷ The Orientalists have ever been fond of illustrating arguments by anecdote. They relate the following of a Shī'a doctor of laws, who was summoned to attend a meeting, in which four doctors of the orthodox sects were assembled, to decide whether Shāh Khudā Banda, the great grandson of Changiz, could be allowed to take back a wife, whom he had divorced three times, without conforming to the prescribed usage, founded on the Sunī law, of her first marrying, and cohabiting with another person. The Shī'a doctor, with a pretended clownish manner, instead of leaving his slippers at the door of the room, in which they were assembled, secured them under his arm. This action produced much mirth; and the reason of it was demanded. "We have a record in my family," said the man, "that one of our ancestors, who lived in the days of our prophet, had his slippers stolen by a follower of Hanīfa." All burst into laughter; and he was informed, that Hanīfa himself did not propagate his doctrine a century after the prophet's death. "It must have been a follower of Malik then." The mirth became louder, as the ignorant doctor was instructed of the date of Malik, who came after Hanīfa. "Then it was Shāh"; "But he was of still later date." "It must," said the Shī'a in an affected rage, "have been Hanbal." This holy man, he was informed, did not publish his works, till the 2nd century of the Hījrā. The Shī'a doctor started back with affected surprise at all this information, and said "Why, if all you say is true, these holy saints, whom you desire to make our laws, lived so long after our prophet, that they could possibly know no more than you and I, gentlemen, except as they might happen to be more, or less, learned." Saying this, he arose, and took his departure, but was soon sent for by the king, who asked him if he thought he might take back his wife, without first allowing her to be married to another. "If there is no greater authority than the opinion of these modern saints against it, I can see no sin in your doing so," was the reply. The king was rejoiced, and immediately acted on his opinion, and this circumstance is supposed to have had no slight weight in disposing Muhammad Khudā Banda to believe in the Shī'a doctrine.—(Malcolm.)

⁴²⁸ Who insults him with an hourly attack of his favourite tenets; and their disagreement has been before stated, relates to matters of faith, or rather opinion, more than of practice.—(Malcolm.)

⁴²⁹ These consist in the mode of holding the hands, of the mode of prostration, and other forms equally immaterial.—(Malcolm.)

⁴³⁰ They have oftener irritated than convinced, but it is justice to their authors to observe that these productions frequently display an union of taste and of learning. Every effort is made in them to arrest the attention of the reader. Their arguments are often shaped into a dramatic form, to render them more attractive, and the zealous writer condescends to amuse the fancy, in the hope, that his doing so may aid his object of informing the judgment.—(Malcolm.)

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they regard, with feelings of sacred veneration, all those by whom the laws are made or expounded; and an attack, upon the sanctity of their character,⁴²¹ strikes at once at the faith, and the jurisprudence, of the countries, where their authority is acknowledged. It has ever been one of the greatest disputes between the Sunis⁴²² and Shi'as, that the latter deny all respect and confidence to the four great lawgivers, on whom the whole superstructure and ordinances, if not the religion, of the former, depend. It will elucidate this subject, to state some of the objections, which they make to the dogmas of these reputed saints.

⁴²¹ As they must, generally speaking, be acknowledged as saints, before they are recognized as lawgivers.—(Malcolm).

⁴²² I here give the following extract from the Preliminary Discourse of Sale's Kurán, on the subject of the four sects of the Sunis, which perhaps may be found interesting. "The different sects of the Mahumadians may be distinguished into two sorts, those generally esteemed orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical. The former, by a general name, are called Sunis or Traditionists; because they acknowledge the authority of the Sunnat, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the Kurán, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and, in name, as well as design, answering to the Mishna of the Jews.

The Sunis are sub-divided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the Kurán, and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of Makka. The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life, and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. The first of these four orthodox sects is that of the Hanifaites, so named from their founder, Abú Hanifa. Nu'mán ibn thábit, who was born at Kúfa in the 80th year of the Híjra, and died in the 150th, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time. He ended his life in prison at Baghdád, and it is said, that he read over the Kurán in the prison, where he died, no less than 7,000 times. The Hanifaites are called by an Arabian writer, "The followers of reason" and those of the three other sects, "followers of tradition"; the former being principally guided by their own judgment on their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of Muhammad. The sect of Hanifa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irák, but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars; his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abú Yúsaf, chief justice under the Caliphs Al Hádí and Harún-ar-rashid.

The second orthodox sect is that of Málik ibn Ans, who was born at Madína, A.H. 90, 93, 94 or 95 and died there in 177, 178 or 179. This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Muhammad. In his last illness, a friend, going to visit him, found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered "How should I reason to weep than I? Would to God that, for every question my own opinion, I had received so many stripes; then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own." Al Ghazálí thinks it a sufficient proof of Málik's directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that, being once asked his opinion as to 43 questions, his answer to 32 was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one, who has any other than God's glory, to make so frank a confession of his ignorance. The doctrine of Málik is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Muhammad ibn Idrís Ash Shaff'i born either at Gaza, or Ascalon, in Palestine, A.H. 155, the same day (as some will have it) that Abú Hanifa died, and was carried to Makka, at two years of age, and there educated. He died in 204, in Egypt, whither he went about 5 years before. This doctor is celebrated for his excellence in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by Abú Hanbal, his contemporary, who used to say that he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body. Abú Hanbal, however, had so ill an opinion of Ash Shaff'i at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him; but, some time after, one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after Ash Shaff'i, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him and did it himself! To which Abú Hanbal replied "Hold thy peace, if thou hast attend his mule, thou wilt profit thereby." Ash Shaff'i is said to have been the first, who discredited jurisprudence and reduced that science into a method; one wittily saying, that the relations of the traditions of Muhammad were asleep, till Ash Shaff'i came and waked them. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines. Al Ghazálí tells us, that Ash Shaff'i used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him, that he never so much as once, swore by God, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that, being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, "I am considering first, whether it be better to speak, or hold my tongue." The following saying is also recorded of him, viz., "Whoever pretends to love the world, and its Creator, at the same time, is a liar." The followers of this doctor are from him called Shaff'ites, and were formerly spread into Máwara-un-nabir, and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of Arabia and Persia.

Almad Abú Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born A.H. 164, but, as to the place of his birth, there are two traditions; some say, he was born at Marw in Khurásán, of which city his parents were; and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdád at her breast; while others assure us that she was with child of him, when she came to Baghdád, and that he was born there. Abú Hanbal, in process of time, attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge; being so well versed in the traditions of Muhammad, in particular, that it is said, he could repeat no less than a million of them. He was very intimate with Ash Shaff'i, from whom he received most of his traditionary knowledge, being his constant attendant till his departure for Egypt. Refusing to acknowledge the Kurán to be created, he was, by order of the Caliph, severely scourged and imprisoned. Abú Hanbal died at Baghdád 241 A.H. and was followed to his grave by 800,000 men, and 60,000 women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, that on the day of his death, no less than 20,000 Christians, Jews and Magians embraced the Muhammadan faith. This sect increased so fast, and became so powerful and bold, that in 323 A.H. they raised a great commotion in Baghdád, entering peoples' houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing women they met with, and breaking their instruments; and a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to duty; but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

Abú Hanífa Nu'mán bin thábit-ul-Kaufí, was born in the 80th year of the Hijrâ, and died in the 150th.⁴³³ Ghazâlî tells us, that he ended his life in prison at Baghdád, where he was confined, because he refused to accept the office of judge, for which he thought himself unfit. When urged by his friends to take this station, to escape persecution, he replied, "I choose rather to be punished by men, than by God;" and, when asked the reason why he said he was unfit for it, he answered: "If I have spoken the truth I am unfit; if I have uttered a falsehood, a liar is not fit to be a judge." He is represented to have been a man that united great modesty and piety, with a plain solid understanding; and whose tenets are praised on account of their being founded more upon reason, than upon traditions; he is accused by the Shí'as of ignorance and presumption. They assert that, among other deviations from the true path, he departed from the obvious text of the Kúrân, in allowing his followers to drink wine, after its spirit had been a little evaporated by boiling. The author of the *Absár-ul-Mustabsirín* or "The eyes of the acute observers" accuses Hanífa of allowing his disciples to drink nabiz, a kind of wine made from dates or raisins, which, he asserts, is in direct opposition to that sacred tradition, which states that "every thing that intoxicates is unlawful;" and that he also altered a number of practices regarding prayer and purifications, which are inculcated both in that volume, and the admitted traditions. As a proof of the ignorance of this Imám, he alleges that Hanífa confessed his inability to decide, whether a hermaphrodite could be admitted into paradise, or one of the genii could become perceptible to the human vision!

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Their accusation of Hanífa.

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Imám Málík bini Ans was born between the year of the Hijrâ 90 and 95, and died A.H. 177; and if we are to believe Suní writers, he was not less remarkable than Hanífa for his modesty and piety. We are informed, that out of 48 questions which were put to him, he returned 32 with a declaration, that he could not answer them. Ghazâlî observes: "A noble and frank confession of ignorance, which could, in a man of such learning and reputation, have only proceeded from a mind, whose sole object was truth, and the glory of God." This modest and wise doctor, however, is accused by Shí'a writers of being the bold propagator of falsehood and of vice. In the *Absár-ul-Mustabsirín*, it is asserted that he taught that the flesh of all animals, except swine, and beings endowed with reason, might be eaten; and they quote from his own writings to prove, that, in certain cases, he affirmed the legality of a practice, which cannot be named; but which all other Muḥammadan writers have concurred in deeming infamous.

Of Málík.

Imám Muḥammad Ibni Idris ush Sháfi'í, was born at Ascalon in Palestine, A.H. 150, educated at Makka, and died in Egypt A.H. 204. He is said, by all Suní writers, to have been a learned and virtuous man, who laboured to arrange the traditions, so as to render them useful as a code of laws. One Muḥammadan author wittily observes, "that the relators of the traditions were asleep, till Ash Sháfi'í came and waked them." He introduced several alterations of religious forms, but advanced few doctrines that can be deemed innovations. We may judge of the injustice of his enemies from the character of their accusations; one of the principal of which is, that this Imám departed from that text of the Kúrân which prohibits gambling, by allowing his disciples to indulge in the recreation of a few games of chess; he limited them to three games at one sitting!

Of Sháfi'í.

Imám Ahmad bin Hanbal was born in A.H. 164; some authors state "that he was born at Marw in Khurásán of which city his parents were natives; and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdád at her breast;" while others assure us that "she was with child of him, when she came to Baghdád and that he was born there." He was first an opposer, and afterwards a follower, of Ash Sháfi'í, from whom he boasted to have learnt most of the traditions he knew, and we are assured that he was able to repeat two million! He allowed, the author of the *Absár-ul-Mustabsirín* asserts, his disciples to take bhang⁴³⁴ in a quantity not exceeding the size of a pistachio nut; which, another Shí'a writer remarks, was probably the learned doctor's own dose.

Of Hanbal.

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The author of the *Absár-ul-Mustabsirín* also describes the god of the sect of Hanbalí as having "curled locks; of being immaterial from the head to the breast; but consisting, from the breast downwards, of one solid soft mass;" and he asserts, that this learned doctor explained that verse in

⁴³³ His followers assert that he was designated by an Hadíth, or saying of the prophet, which expressed that Abú Hanífa was "the lamp of the faithful;" but this doubtful record was probably invented by some zealous disciple, to give him a superiority over the others.—(Malcolm).

⁴³⁴ A very intoxicating drug, much used in India.

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the *Kurán* which states, (Sale Vol. II page, 133) that "the Merciful sitteth on His throne" to mean "that the deity sat four fingers above the firmament in such a manner, that his knees reached below it." He adds, "that the followers of *Hanbal* believe that, on the day of resurrection, *Fátima* (the daughter of *Mukhammad*) shall advance to the judgment seat to petition for justice on the murderers of her sons, *Hussain* and *Hasan*; but God, they say, will show his thigh and display a cloth that covers a wound upon it; while a voice will be heard to exclaim: "That arrow, which *Nimrod*⁴³⁵ shot at heaven with intention to destroy me, wounded my thigh. I have not permitted it to heal, that I might show it you; and that you should know that if the god you adore sustained so great a wound from a being whom he created, you should not be surprised at the sufferings your sons endured from their own tribe." The followers of this doctor, the same writer observes on the authority of the *Mawáif*, a work which, he states, is held in high estimation by the *Hanbalis*, assert, "that the Almighty had one day a pain in his eyes, and that he informed the inquiring angels that it was an inflammation, brought on by the torrents of tears which he shed at the deluge;" and they also affirm, "that every Thursday night, God assumes the shape of a beautiful boy, and descends from heaven upon an Egyptian ass; and that it was very common to build a small manger on the tops of their mosques, near which they burnt incense, and deposited some fine straw and grain, which was declared to be for the refreshment of the animal on which the Almighty rode, in the event of his descending at that spot."

It is evident from this example, that the *Shi'a* writers endeavour to defame and discredit the *Imáms*, or saints, of the *Sunís* by ascribing to them, not only every doctrine that has been propagated by the most absurd or visionary of their followers, but those of other sects. The impious tenets, which are here charged upon the disciples of *Hanbal*, should properly be ascribed to those of *Iba-ul Kirán*, the celebrated founder of the schism of the *Kiránites*; a sect which, by their literal acceptance of the figurative parts of the *Kurán*, have been led into a gross heresy, that is deemed at once monstrous and blasphemous by almost all other *Mukhammadans*, who, generally speaking, entertain the purest and most sublime belief of the Divine nature and attributes of the Almighty.

The *Shi'as* also accuse the four *Suní* *Imáms* of having altered several sacred institutions, particularly that of the *Khams*, or fifth share of spoil taken in war. The *Khams* is described in the *Kurán* as the property of God, his prophet and his relations, or men of his tribe (*Bani Hásham*) who are poor and destitute. The right of the *Bani Hásham* to a share in the *Khams* is grounded upon their being excluded from any portion of the *Zakát*.⁴³⁶ The author of the *Abcár ul Mustabirín* expressly states, "that when one-fifth of the whole of the captured property had been separated, *Mukhammad* divided it into six portions, three of which the prophet took for himself, and the remaining three he divided equally among orphans, beggars, and travellers of the tribe of *Bani Hásham*, to compensate them for the religious charity (*Zakát*) in which, by the *Kurán*, it was unlawful for them to share." It is one of the most serious charges, which the *Shi'a* writers make against the three first *Caliphs*, that they altered this usage and took the whole of the *Khams* to themselves, to the exclusion of the sacred family, and the tribe of the prophet; but we find it stated in a learned work on *Mukhammadan* law, that, according to the *Sunís*, shares of the *Khams* should be given to orphans, the poor and travellers. The *Shi'as* also assert that the *Sunís* have altered forms of prayer, and made deviations on other points from what is enjoined by traditions of acknowledged authority, for the express and sole object of establishing usages⁴³⁷ opposite to those of the *Shi'as*; and on all these grounds they hold the names of *Hanífa*, *Málik*, *Sháfi'i* and *Hanbal* in complete abhorrence, and consider them as wanderers from the true path, and false guides.

It would be tedious to enter into a methodical disquisition of the innumerable points of difference between these two *Mukhammadan* sects; a short reference to some of their most popular productions will be the best mode of elucidating the character of their opposite tenets, and of showing the style of their most esteemed theological disputants.

In a letter, written by some priests of the *Suní* sect, that accompanied the army of *'Uhaiddulla*, sovereign of the *Uzbags*, and nephew of the cele-

Heresies with which the *Shi'as* are charged.

⁴³⁵ According to *Mukhammadan* legends, *Nimrod* pretended to divine power, and shot an arrow at the heavens to kill the Almighty.—(Malecolm).

⁴³⁶ Lit. "The *khams* is described in the *Kurán* as the property of God, his prophet, and the relations of the prophet, and orphans, and the poor, and travellers; commentators take the last part of this sentence to refer to the poor of the tribe of *Bani Hásham*, who were excluded from sharing in the *zakát*."

⁴³⁷ The *Sunís* are accused of making the tops of graves convex instead of flat, (the shape ordered by a tradition), for no reason but opposition to the *Shi'as* (*Abcár-ul-Mustabirín*).

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returned his sword to the son of Muljim, observing, "I shall be slain by that weapon; but justice forbids my preserving my life by the commission of a crime." He ridicules the importance, which the Suni divines have given to the term "companion," which Muhammad used to Abū Bakr, when he was concealed with him in the cave, in the verse, (Sale's Kurān, Vol. I p. 228) "when he said unto his companion; Be not grieved for God is with us." "The obvious signification of the word is," he observes, "the best refutation of such an argument. It merely means the person that is with another, and has no relation to their virtue or religion;" and to prove this, he asserts that, "the most learned commentators have declared that the prophet, on this occasion, quoted the very expression," used by Joseph, when he was imprisoned in Egypt (Sale's Kurān, Vol. II, page 39.) "O my fellow prisoners! are sundry lords better, or the only true and mighty God?" and "the companions," he adds, "who were addressed by the son of Jacob, were both idolaters."

In answer to the accusation that 'Alī, by submitting to the elevation of the other Caliphs, has acknowledged their right, he replies, "that the number of followers they had collected, and the measures which they had adopted, while 'Alī was occupied with the obsequies of the prophet, made it impossible for him to assert his right, without a civil war; which, whatever had been its issue, would have caused great bloodshed. This forbearance," he adds, "can never be adduced as an argument against his rights, for 'Alī, though brave, was certainly exceeded in courage by his uncle Muhammad; who, when surrounded by the first heroes of the faithful, fled before the infidels of the tribe of Kuraish, and, after a long period, was rejoiced to obtain a truce; yet this event never led to a conclusion that the Kuraish were right, or that the prophet, by making peace with them, admitted them to be so. But it is evident," says our author, "that God himself has often shown forbearance towards infirm mortals, who have aspired to His throne: and if the Almighty," he concludes, "clothed in all His power, has, for inscrutable causes, acted in this manner to the wicked, who shall dare to arraign the conduct of Murtazā 'Alī upon this occasion?"¹¹²

The Shī'as justify the abuse of 'Āyasha by urging, that she not only joined with Mu'awwiya in making war upon 'Alī, whom she knew to be the appointed successor¹¹³ of her husband, but departed, by appearing at the head of an army, from the law, which the prophet had laid down regarding that privacy, in which it was the duty of the female sex to live. He also asserts that it is written in one of the most authentic books of tradition that, when a blind man was sitting with the prophet, one of his wives passed unveiled through the room. The lady, on being reproved, observed that the man was blind. "But thou seest," was the answer of Muhammad; which, to those who believe in this tradition, is received as a law, which prohibits a female from gazing on the form of any man but her husband or nearest male kindred.¹¹⁴ "If you were to establish," he tells¹¹⁵ his opponents, "a necessary connection of character between a man and his wife, the conclusion would prove fatal to the good prophets, Noah and Lot; and Āsiya (the virtuous consort of Pharaoh) would become implicated in all the guilt of her wretched and impious husband." He also states that "some Suni authors have written, that the holy prophet placed 'Āyasha upon his shoulders in order that she might see him in the public street; and that, after she had looked at it for some time, he exclaimed, 'O my red checked! art thou yet satisfied with the show?' She replied, 'No.' This story, which you relate of Muhammad, would not be believed, if told of the most depraved of men."

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situation, and the qualifications of the slave. The wazír directed him to bring her. The distressed merchant did as he was commanded. When Birmakí contemplated her beauty, and heard her eloquence and wisdom, he was struck with admiration. He proceeded instantly to his master, to whom he explained all he had heard and seen. *Hasaniya* was instantly ordered to attend. She came before the Caliph veiled, and recited some verses in his praise, which quite delighted him. He desired her to unveil; and found her face was a just index of her mind. *Hárún* sent for her master, and enquired the price of his slave. He replied that it was 1,00,000 pieces of gold. *Hárún* demanded in a rage, how he could ask such a price. "I ask it;" said the man, "because I know that the assembled religious men of your dominions will be unable to contend with her in a theological argument." *Hárún* exclaimed in anger: "Will you consent, if your slave should lose the victory, that I shall strike off your head, and take her for nothing." "What will you do," said the man, "if she is not defeated?" "I will not only," said the Caliph, "give you 100,000 *dínars*, but your slave back again." The merchant hesitated. "Allow me," said he, "a little time that I may again see *Hasaniya*." *Hárún* consented; and he went and spoke to his slave, who requested him not to hesitate a moment in accepting the conditions which had been offered; adding that, through the aid of the holy prophet, she firmly hoped to triumph over her opponents. The merchant returned to *Hárún* and agreed to his terms, on which the Caliph immediately sent for *Hasaniya*, and asked her what faith she professed. "I profess the faith of the prophet and his descendants," said she. *Hárún* next asked, who she considered to be the proper successor of the prophet. *Hasaniya* replied, "O *Hárún*, assemble thy learned men, and then I shall state all I can; and if any one object to my faith, he will speak, and I shall answer him." *Hárún* understood from this that she was one of the adherents of the family;⁴⁵⁰ or in modern phrase, a *Shi'a*. He immediately called his minister, Birmakí, and said; "This slave is not of our faith; let her be put to death." The minister replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, she has undertaken a great task, and one in which she will probably fail. The moment of her discomfiture will be the proper one for her execution; but if she succeed in confuting the holy and wise men of the empire, it would be wrong to put such a person to death; on the contrary she will merit favour and notice." *Hárún* was satisfied with these observations, and ordered all the learned men⁴⁵¹ in his kingdom to be assembled. *Sháfí'i*, who is described as one of the chief of those in *Baghdád*, and whose fame appears grounded on a victory he had obtained in a public disputation over *Abú Yúsuf Rází*, was also invited. About 400 obeyed the summons; among whom, *Ibráhím Nidzám*, of *Bassara*, was declared the first in sanctity and in knowledge. He had composed many works on theology, and a hundred volumes of his writings had been dispersed over *Syria* and *Egypt*. When this distinguished personage arrived at the capital, the principal inhabitants and nobles were directed to pay their respects to him; and when the assembly met, he was placed in a golden chair. As soon as the Caliph was seated, *Hasaniya* was called. She came veiled, and after paying her respects to *Hárún ur-Rashíd*, she proceeded, without waiting to have her place pointed out, to a seat which was on a level with that of *Ibráhím Nidzám's* chair.

Hárún made a signal to *Hasaniya* to commence the disputation. She, immediately comprehending him, turned to *Ibráhím Nidzám* and said: "(198) art the man, who hast spread a hundred volumes of thy works among mankind, and who considerest thyself heir to the knowledge of the holy prophet (on whom be the blessing of God)." *Ibráhím Nidzám* replied in a rage: "Dost thou begin to treat me with contempt? But what business can I have to argue with a female slave? Indeed, it is clear that my doing so will bring ridicule upon my profession."

"Words should be attended to, not persons," said the wazír Birmakí. Encouraged by this, *Hasaniya* said, "O *Ibráhím*, by the grace of God, I shall bring thee to the ground, with disgrace, from that golden chair in which thou art now seated," and she began to put questions to him; but *Ibráhím* stopped her and said: "I have come from a distance, and have on that ground the first right of interrogation." "Very well," said *Hasaniya*, "take the advantage which you desire; question me." The learned man commenced, and received the most eloquent answers to seventy questions, that he put to *Hasaniya*. It is not necessary to say more upon these, than that she replied to them all in the most prompt and convincing manner; and that *Hárún-ur-*

⁴⁵⁰ The title of "*Ahli-Bait*" or adherents of the holy family of the prophet is one of which the *Shi'as* are very proud. They deem it a distinction between them and those *Muhammadians*, who have neglected, injured, and persecuted his descendants.—(Malcolm.)

⁴⁵¹ Malcolm in a note says: "In the Persian manuscript they are termed '*mullas*,' which may be translated '*learned men*.'" *Mirzá Haírát* in his translation has not used "*mullas*" but "*Ulamas*."

Rashîd and his whole court were filled with wonder and admiration at the display of her extraordinary talent and genius. *Hasaniya*, observing the impression she had made, said "O *Ibrâhîm*! this mode of proceeding is very tedious. I fear the Caliph will become weary; allow me now to interrogate you." *Ibrâhîm* replied, "I have yet three more questions to ask; if you answer them, I shall be satisfied." "Ask them," replied the lady. "Well *Hasaniya*," said he "declare who you think should have succeeded the holy prophet." "The person," she replied, "who was the oldest in the faith." "Who was the oldest in the faith?" said the Mullâ. She answered "'*Ali*, who was the son-in-law, cousin, and adopted brother, of the holy prophet." The brow of *Hârûn* was clouded with a frown at this answer. This *Ibrâhîm* saw and became bolder. "Tell me," said he to *Hasaniya*, "on what ground thou considerest '*Ali* the oldest in the faith. I say that *Abû Bakr* was 40 years of age when he embraced the religion of our prophet, and at that time, '*Ali* was a boy; and the belief or the unbelief, the obedience or disobedience, of a child is of little consequence." *Hasaniya* instantly exclaimed: "If I prove to you that the faith and obedience, or want of faith and disobedience of a boy has consequence, and that a child, as you term him, is amenable to divine reward or punishment, wilt thou confess the faith of '*Ali* in his boyhood?" *Ibrâhîm* replied, "If thou doest this by sound and convincing argument, I will confess it." "Well," said *Hasaniya*. "What say you regarding the boy, that *Elias*⁴² put to death, as stated in the story of that prophet and of *Moses*, which is handed down to us in the holy *Kurân*. What do you say to the answer which *Elias* gave to *Moses*, when interrogated on the murder of the child? 'As to the youth,' said he, 'his parents were true believers, and we feared lest he, being an unbeliever, should oblige them to suffer his perverseness and ingratitude.' (Sale, Vol. II., page 119). Now tell me, *Ibrâhîm*, was it proper to put this boy to death, or was *Elias* unjust? If *Elias* was unjust, is it not extraordinary that he should be praised by The Almighty, and his praises are written in the *Kurân*?" *Ibrâhîm* was at a loss to answer. "I abandon this point," said he; "but what do you say regarding '*Ali* and '*Abbâs*, his uncle; they disputed with each other regarding the right of inheritance to the prophet; each asserted he had the right, and they carried their complaints to *Abû Bakr*. When two persons go to a judge, one must be right, and one wrong." The design of *Ibrâhîm* in putting this insidious question was to oblige *Hasaniya* either to offend the Caliph, and hazard her life, by declaring '*Abbâs* (who was the immediate ancestor of *Hârûn-ur-Rashîd*)⁴³ in the wrong; or, should the fear of that danger lead her to pronounce

⁴² The text of the *Kurân* calls the person, who travelled with *Moses*, *Al Khizir*, a saint, who is believed by *Mahammadans* to be the same as *Elias*, though some have confounded him with *Phineas*, and others with *St. George*. It is believed by all commentators that *Al Khizir* is the saint, to whom *Mahammad* alludes in the account he has given in the 18th Chapter of the *Kurân*, of the adventures of *Moses*; a tale which will excite more curiosity in an English reader, from its being obviously that, on which the beautiful story of "Parnell's Hermit" is founded. "And coming to the rock," the *Kurân* states, "they (*Moses* and his servant *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*) found one of our servants, unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we had taught wisdom from before us. And *Moses* said unto him 'Shall I follow thee, that thou mayest teach me part of that which thou hast been taught, for a direction unto me?' 'He answered, 'Verily thou canst not bear with me; for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend.' *Moses* replied: 'Thou shalt find me patient if God please; neither will I be disobedient unto thee in any thing.' He said, 'If thou follow me therefore, ask me not concerning anything, until I shall declare the meaning thereof unto thee.' So they both went on by the seashore, until they went up into a ship; and he made a hole therein. And *Moses* said unto him, 'Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board? Now hast thou done a strange thing.' He answered, 'Did I not tell thee that thou couldst not bear with me?' *Moses* said 'Rebuke me not, because I did forget, and impose not on me a difficulty in what I am commanded.' Wherefore they left the ship, and proceeded, until they met with a youth; and he slew him. *Moses* said, 'Hast thou slain an innocent person, without his having killed another? Now hast thou committed an unjust action.' He answered, 'Did I not tell thee, that thou couldst not bear with me.' *Moses* said, 'If I ask thee concerning anything hereafter, suffer me not to accompany thee. Now hast thou received an excuse from me.' They went forward, until they came to the inhabitants of a certain city; and they asked food of the inhabitants thereof: but they refused to receive them. And they found therein a wall, which was ready to fall down; and he set it upright. Whereupon *Moses* said unto him 'If thou couldst, thou mightest doubtless have received a reward for it.' He answered, 'This shall be a separation between me and thee: but I will first declare unto thee the signification of that which thou couldst not bear with patience. The vessel belonged to certain poor men, who did their business in the sea; and I was minded to render it unserviceable, because there was a king behind them, who took every sound vessel by force. As to the youth, his parents were true believers, and we feared, lest he, being an unbeliever, should oblige them to suffer his perverseness and ingratitude, wherefore we desired that their Lord might give them a more righteous child in exchange for him, and one more affectionate towards them. And the wall belonged to two orphan youths in the city; and under it was a treasure hidden, which belonged to them; and their father was a righteous man; and thy Lord was pleased that they should attain their full age, and take forth their treasure, through the mercy of thy Lord. And I did not what thou hast seen, of mine own will, but by God's direction. This is the interpretation of that which thou couldst not bear with patience.'" Sale's *Kurân*, Vol. II, pages 117, 118, 119.

⁴³ '*Abbâs* was the uncle of *Mahammad*. His grandson was promoted to the dignity of Caliph; and the house of '*Abbâs* enjoyed power for several centuries. *Hârûn* was the fifth Caliph of this family.—(Malcolm.)

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'Alí wrong, to make her give up the whole argument and abandon her creed. *Hasaniya*, in reply, observed: "I must, *Ibráhím*, answer thy question from the holy *Kurán*." "Let us hear it," said the learned man. "God," said *Hasaniya*, "has stated through the prophet, that the angels *Michael* and *Gabriel* carried a dispute before *David*, in order to expose more strongly the crime of that monarch, in taking the wife of his poor subject *Uriah*. Now tell me, *Ibráhím*, which of these two disputing angels were in the wrong, and which in the right?" "Both," said *Ibráhím*, "were in the right; and it was to correct and punish *David*, that they went before that monarch with their dispute." "Thank God for this admission," said *Hasaniya*, "and in like manner both *Murtazwá*" *Alí* and *'Abbás* were in the right; and it was to correct the crime of *Abú Bakr* that they went before him. *'Abbás* said 'The right of inheritance is mine, because I am the uncle of the prophet;'¹³⁹ *Alí* said: 'It belongs to me as his cousin, son-in-law, adopted brother and heir; and his daughter is in my house, and *Hasan* and *Hussain* (who are the lords of the *Sayyids*, and the sacred inheritors of paradise) are my children: I am, indeed, identified with the prophet.' When *Abú Bakr* heard all this, he said, 'God knows whose claim is just; but I have, myself, heard the prophet say,' *'Alí* is my heir,¹⁴⁰ and the lord of my religion.' When *'Abbás* heard this expression from the mouth of *Abú Bakr*, he was enraged and said: 'O *Abú Bakr*, if thou hast heard this speech from the holy prophet, how comes it that thou sittest where thou art as Caliph, to the injury of *'Alí's* right, as declared by thyself?' *'Abú Bakr* now perceived that both parties had come to expose his guilt. 'You are come,' he observed, 'to quarrel with me, not to appeal to my decision as a ruler;' and having said this, he immediately left the assembly!" When *Ibráhím* heard this reply from *Hasaniya*, he said, that he also gave up this point. "But tell me," he added, "which you consider the most excellent, *'Alí* or his uncle, *'Abbás*?" "Tell me," said *Hasaniya* quickly, "which you deem most excellent, *Hamza* or his nephew, *Muhammad*? Why do you puzzle yourself so much with *'Alí* and *'Abbás*? If *'Alí* was the most excellent, it was the glory of *'Abbás* to have such a nephew; and if *'Abbás* was superior, it must add to the honour of *'Alí* to have had such an uncle!" *Hárún*, who had marked with wonder the ingenuity and ability of *Hasaniya*, turned to *Ibráhím Nidzám* and said, "I pity thy knowledge."

Hasaniya, having answered all the questions which had been put to her, observed, that she now required permission to ask one, of her holy and learned antagonist; "and if he can reply to that in a satisfactory manner," she added, "I will confess myself conquered. Tell me, *Ibráhím*," said she, "when the prophet left this earth, did he nominate an heir, or did he not?" *Ibráhím* said, "He did not!" "Was this omission," said she, "an error, or was it right? and was the election of a Caliph an error, or was it right in those by whom it was made? To which do you ascribe the error, *Ibráhím*, to the prophet or the Caliph?" *Ibráhím* gave no answer; he could not say the prophet had committed an error, without injury to the faith; and if he admitted the Caliph had been in the wrong, he gave up the point in dispute to *Hasaniya*. He had, also, a dread of *Hárún* and was silent from reflection. This distress for an answer was evident to all; a smile was to be seen on every face in the assembly, and the wise man of *Bassara* was reproached with being defeated by a woman.

The work, from which this has been translated, gives a sequel of disputations regarding dogmas, on which the *Shí'as* and *Sunís* entertain opposite sentiments; in all of these disputes the palm of victory is given to *Hasaniya*; and it adds, that the caliph *Hárún-ur-Rashíd*, convinced by her statements, desisted from his persecution of the *Shí'as*; that he also gave her, according to the terms fixed, a hundred thousand pieces of gold, and directed her to return to her master, on whom he bestowed a robe of honour. He, however, secretly advised this heroine of the *Shí'a* faith to leave *Baghdád*, lest some misfortune should happen to her. The lady left the assembly in triumph; and, independent of the presents she received from *Hárún*, many were bestowed upon her by princes of the blood, and other great persons. *Ibráhím Nidzám*, the author informs us, came down from his golden chair, quite ashamed, and retired with *Abú Yúsuf*, *Sháfi'i*, and some other of the enemies of the *Shí'as*; the people laughed at them; and a cousin of *Hárún* was particularly witty at their expense. But notwithstanding this approbation, *Hasaniya* and the merchant, fearful of the effects of the victory she had obtained, departed from the city, as the Caliph had advised, and took up their abode at *Madína*.

¹³⁹ Lit. "Executor and heir and payer of my debts;" the latter is synonymous with heir, as it describes one of the first and most sacred duties of a legal inheritor.

The Persian author of this work says, that when he was returning from Makka, he stopped at Damascus and obtained from a Sayyid of Syria, the Arabic manuscript which he has translated. The name of the translator is not given. The probability is that the book was first written in Persian; and it is ascribed to Shaikh Abul Fath Rází, a very eminent and zealous divine of the Shí'a sect. (140)

Among the doctrines of the Shí'as is that of "takiyyah,"⁴⁵⁵ according to which a man may, under circumstances of danger, not only conceal his faith, but make a temporary profession of contrary sentiments. The adoption of this unmanly tenet has been originally forced upon this sect, in consequence of the oppressed and persecuted state in which they so long remained; and the pride of the Persians has brooked its continuance rather than abandon the pilgrimage to Makka;⁴⁵⁶ but it has greatly diminished the number of pilgrims from Persia; the mass of the population of that country being satisfied with a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of 'Alí and his sons, Hasan and Hussain; whose remains are interred at Najaf and Karbalá, which are situated in the province of Baghdád; or to that of Imám Razwá at Mashad in Khurásán.⁴⁵⁷ The sepulchres of these saints of Shí'a worship have been enriched with the most magnificent presents by pious devotees; monarchs have emulated each other in adding to their revenue, and increasing the splendour of their appearance.⁴⁵⁸ In the mode of worship observed at these shrines, as at Makka, many ceremonies have been introduced that border upon a superstition, which is remote from that principle of pure Deism upon which the Muhammadan religion is professedly grounded. But the followers of the prophet of Arabia have relaxed a species of adoration, not only to him and his immediate descendants, but to a number of learned or pious men who have been canonized as saints. From this common progress of superstition hardly one of the numerous sects, into which the Muhammadan religion is divided can be deemed exempt. The Shí'as not only pay this species of devotion at the principal shrines that have been mentioned, but they offer up their prayers. Every village in Persia can boast of some Shaikh or holy person, whose character has obtained him a local reputation, that has rendered his shrine sacred among the few acquainted with his name.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ Takiyyah is a technical term among the Shí'as, signifying concealment of one's faith in case of danger. This meaning is not to be found in Richardson, who only gives "fearing, fear, caution, piety."

⁴⁵⁶ As they cannot perform that to Makka without testifying, as they visit the tombs of the first Caliphs, a respect for their memory, which is contrary to their belief. The strictness with which the Suní possessors of Makka have continued to enforce these concessions, has greatly diminished the number of pilgrims from Persia. It is not a duty of the Shí'as to curse the first Caliphs; but this reserve is more from prudence than feeling. When they hear them execrated, they never pass a heavier censure on the individual who does it, than to blame his indiscreet zeal. 'Umar is the particular object of their hatred. This probably proceeds from the great character of that Caliph. I was one day conversing with a very sensible and moderate Persian upon the history of 'Umar, and praising him as the greatest of all the Caliphs. He, assented to all the facts I stated, but said "In hama rást ast lakin ákhir sag búd. This is all true, but he was a dog after all."—(Malcolm)

⁴⁵⁷ Lit. "For this cause the number of pilgrims from Irán has gradually decreased, and men have turned their faces towards the burying places of 'Alí and his offspring, which are in the neighbouring provinces of Baghdád and Khurásán." At Mashhad is the burying place of those killed fighting for their religion, who are regarded as Shahíds or martyrs, and their tombs in consequence become a place of pilgrimage and visitation. The title of Shahíd, or martyr is given to any one, who dies under the following circumstances, as given in Hughes' Notes on Muhammadanism; (1) a soldier who dies in war for the cause of Islám; (2) one who innocently meets with his death from the hand of another; (3) the victim of a plague; (4) a person accidentally drowned; (5) one upon whom a wall may fall accidentally; (6) a person burnt in a house on fire; (7) one who dies from hunger; (8) one who dies on the pilgrimage to Makka.

If a martyr dies in war, or is innocently murdered, he is buried without the usual washing before burial, as it is said that the blood of a martyr is a sufficient ablution.
⁴⁵⁸ Lit. "Rich offerings are daily brought from all directions to the holy tombs; kings also, according to their spirit of emulation and means, expend princely sums at the above named places."

⁴⁵⁹ Lit. "But in the mode of pilgrimage to these holy places, as in that to Makka, there are certain forms, upon which the religion of Islám is founded; and the Muhammadans of the present time are similar to those in the prime of that faith. They grant a species of adoration, not only to the prophet and his descendants, but also to learned and pious men, whom they call awliyá or saints, and are in the habit of asking aid and help from their souls. None of the Muhammadan sects are exempt from these superstitions. Moreover, besides the above mentioned shrines, in every village of Persia, there will be found the tomb of some Shaikh or Darwesh, which serves as a place of pilgrimage for the people of those parts, although few are even acquainted with the name of the person who lies interred therein." Shaikh and Darwesh are both here used to signify men who have led a holy religious life. The feelings of gratitude and veneration, which the conduct of individuals first created, has grown, by excessive indulgence, and by the ardour of passions paid to the contrary opinions, into sacred reverence and devotion. (The incredible veneration excited by the cause of many evils even in the Christian Church.) The very garments of these persons have become relics of inestimable value; and in the course of time, the same properties have been assigned to them, as are supposed to have belonged to their possessors. There are relics, which are deemed sacred, at almost every shrine, particularly at that of 'Alí at Najaf.—(Malcolm).

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The sect of Wahábís.

The modern sect of Wahábís pretend that they are an exception to the above observations. This sect was founded nearly a century ago, by an Arab of the name of Shaikh Muḥammad the son of 'Abdul Waháb, whose name they have taken. Shaikh Muḥammad connected himself in the attempt to reform the religion of his country with Ibn Sa'úd, the prince of Dir'íya, the capital of the province of Najd. Through the efforts of the saint, and the aid of the temporal power of Ibn Sa'úd, and his son and successor, 'Abdul 'Azíz, the religion of the Wahábís is now established all over the peninsula of Arabia. The tenets of this sect are peculiar and merit notice. They profess that there is one God, and Muḥammad is His prophet; but as the Supreme Being neither has, nor can have, any participator in his power they say, that to profess that either Muḥammad, the Imáms, or any saints can have any superintendence over the affairs of men, or render them any aid hereafter, is blasphemy. They deem Muḥammadans, who deviate in any way from the plain, literal meaning of the Kurán, infidels; and maintain, that to make war upon all such is the imperative duty of every Wahábí. It is one of their tenets, that all titles, meant to show respect and honour to men, are odious to God, Who alone is worthy of high name;⁴⁶⁰ and they assert that, in conformity to what is revealed in the Kurán, true Muḥammadans should wage continual war against unbelievers, till they are converted, or agree to pay the tribute imposed on infidels; and that, in the latter case, they should be compelled to wear the coarsest garments, not be allowed to ride on horses, nor to live in splendid buildings. They maintain that the taxes (including zakát and khams) levied by Muḥammad are alone lawful; that swearing by Muḥammad, or 'Alí, or any other person, should be prohibited, since an oath is calling a witness to our secret thoughts, which no one can know but God. They deem it a species of idolatry to erect magnificent tombs; but to kiss relics, &c., is idolatry itself; and therefore they affirm that it is an action acceptable to God, to destroy the tombs of Muḥammadan saints in Arabia and Persia, and to appropriate their rich ornaments to worldly purposes, for which they were designed.

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They say, that it is wicked to mourn for the dead, for if they were good Muḥammadans, their souls are in paradise, at which their friends should rejoice. The Wahábís reject the whole of the traditions, limiting their belief to the Kurán, which was, they say, sent from heaven to Muḥammad, who was an excellent man and much beloved of God. They continue to preserve the usages of circumcision, ablution, &c., which they found established, but consider them more as matters of practice and usage, than of faith. The leading principle of this sect is their right to destroy and plunder all who differ from them; and those Muḥammadans, who do not adopt their creed, are represented as less entitled to mercy than either Jews or Christians. Their progress was so great about ten years ago, as to excite considerable alarm in the Turkish government. Among other places, they plundered the rich tombs of Alí and his sons at Najaf and Karbalá. Their inroads are always dreadful, for they spare none, who do not conform to their opinions; but they have lately met with some severe checks, and appear to be declining.

Feasts and festivals.

The Shí'as observe the same feasts as the Sunís; but the former have set aside the ten first days of the month of Muḥarram to mourn over the cruel fate of Hasan and Hussain, the sons of 'Alí. On the last day of this feast, they beat their breasts with violence; and calling on the names of the two martyrs, they pour curses on the heads of their enemies. It is during this ceremony that the lower orders of the Shí'as give offence to the Sunís by publicly cursing the three first Caliphs,⁴⁶¹ and especially Mu'awwiya and Yazíd. The Persians also observe the 20th of Sáfar, in commemoration of the burial of Imám Hussain's head at Karbalá. It had been cut off when he was slain, but was brought back from Syria to Karbalá, and buried forty days after the death of the Imám. The Shí'as also observe a feast, called, Ghadr, on the day upon which, according to their traditions, Muḥammad named 'Alí his successor; an occurrence which the Sunís deny.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ Lit. Honouring and sanctifying.

⁴⁶¹ Lit. "On the enemies of the friends of the family of the prophet."

⁴⁶² The following are the principal feasts observed by Muḥammadans, viz. Akhri chahár shamba, shah-i-barát, 'Idul fitr, 'Idul azhá, and Muḥarram.

The Muḥarram (lit "that which was sacred") commences, as observed by Shí'as, on the first of the month, and is continued till the 10th, which is called 'Ashúra. They are days of lamentation, in commemoration of the martyrdom of 'Alí, Hasan, and Hussain. The Khalifa 'Alí was assassinated in the mosque of Kúfa A.D. 660; Hasan was poisoned by his wife, at the instigation of Yazíd; Hussain was slain with 33 strokes of lances and swords. A.D. 680. The story of Hussain is one of the most touching pages of Muslim history. The following are the main features of the festival. A place is prepared called the 'Ashúr Khánda, (10th day house)

It has been before stated, that the Persians refuse their assent to many of the traditions, admitted by the Sunis; and the latter also reject many which their opponents deem authentic, as these traditions not only relate to the faith, but the form of prayer, and to the usages and laws of those who believe in them. There are several points of practice, both in religious worship and civil usages, in which these sects differ widely from each other. They neither agree in the manner of performing their ablutions, nor in the mode of holding their hands when at prayer. They also differ in the laws of marriage; and the Persians admit a legal concubinage, by which the parties are united for a limited period; a practice that is deemed by the Sunis a great profanation of the Divine Law. It would, however, be useless to describe the minute differences which exist between these two sects. All those that are essential have been noticed, and more is not necessary.

It has already been observed that the establishment of the Shi'a faith, as the national religion of Persia, gave to a country, in which patriotism was unknown, a principle of union, of equal, if not greater force. The Persians, however, are not so violent at present, as they once were, in their religious prejudices; this change is not to be ascribed, as has been sup-

or Imám Bárá (the Imám place), in the centre of which is dug a pit, in which fires are kindled, and at night the people, young and old, fence across the fire with sticks and swords, and whilst dancing round it, call out "Oh'Alí! Noble Hasan! noble Hussain! bridegroom! alas friend! stay! stay!" &c.; the cry being repeated, in the most excited manner, hundreds of times, until the whole assembly has reached the highest pitch of excitement. They then form themselves in circles, and beat themselves with chains in the most frantic manner. On the 7th day, there are representations of the marriage ceremony of Kásim, and of the martyrdom of Hussain; and on the 8th day, a lance or spear is carried about to represent Hussain's head, which was carried on the point of a javelin by order of Yazid. In addition to these representations, there are the Ta'ziyahs, or representations of the tombs of Hasan and Hussain, a horse shoe in representation of Hussain's swift horse, and the standards of Hasan, Hussain, and Kásim, and other celebrities.

The Sunis do not usually take part in these ceremonies, but observe the 10th day, 'Ashúra, being the day on which God is said to have created Adam and Eve, heaven, hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, fate, life and death. Muhammad commanded his followers to observe the 'Ashúra by bathing, wearing new clothes, applying surma (antimony) to the eyes, fasting, prayers, making peace with one's enemies, associating with religious persons, relieving orphans, and giving of alms. It is a fast laid down in the sunnat, not founded upon an injunction in the Kurán, but upon the example of Muhammad.

2. Akhíri Chahár Shamba is the last Wednesday of the month Safar, and is a feast held in commemoration of Muhammad's having experienced some mitigation of his last illness and having bathed. It was the last time he performed the legal bathing, for he died on the 12th of the next month. In some parts of Islám, it is customary in the early morning of this day to write seven verses of the Kurán, known as the seven saláms, and then wash off the ink, and drink it as a charm against evil.

3. Shab-i-barát (or the night of mandates) is observed on the 15th Sha'bán. On this night Muhammad said: "God registers annually all the actions of mankind, which they are to perform during the year; and that all the children of men, who are to be born and to die in the year, are recorded. Muhammad enjoined his followers to keep awake the whole night, to repeat rak'at prayers, and to fast next day; but there are generally great rejoicings, instead of a fast, and large sums of money are spent on fireworks.

4. 'Idul fitr (lit. the feast of breaking the fast) is held on the 1st Shawwál, which is the day after the close of the Ramazán fast. On this day, before going to the place of prayer, the sadakah, or propitiatory offerings, are made to the poor, in the name of God. The offerings having been made, the people assemble at the 'Idgáh, which is a special place for worship on festivals. The worship commences with two rak'at prayers, after which the Imám takes his place on the second step of the pulpit and recites the Khutbah, concluding with a prayer for the king. After this is ended, he offers up a manjít, or supplication, for the people, for the remission of sins, the recovery of the sick, increase of rain, abundance of corn, preservation from misfortune, and freedom from debt. He then descends to the ground, and makes further supplication for the people, the congregation saying Amín at the end of each supplication. At the close of the service, the members of the congregation salute and embrace each other, and offer mutual congratulations, and then return to their homes, and spend the rest of the day in feast and merriment.

5. 'Idulazchá (or the feast of sacrifice, called also 'Idi kurbán, or Bakr 'id (Cow festival) and the great feast,) is held on 10th Zúlhijjah. This festival has become part of the Makkán pilgrimage, of which, as previously stated, it is the concluding scene. It is, however, the great Muhammadan festival, wherever Islám exists. The sacrifice is said to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Isma'íl! The following is the account given by Muhammadan writers. "When Ibrahim (the peace of God be upon him) founded Makka, the Lord desired him to prepare a feast for Him. Upon Ibrahim (the friend of God) requesting to know what He would have on the occasion, the Lord replied 'Offer up thy son Isma'íl!' Agreeably to God's command, he took Isma'íl to the Ka'bah to sacrifice him, and, having laid him down, he made several ineffectual strokes on his throat with a knife, on which Isma'íl observed, 'your eyes being uncovered, it is through pity and compassion for me you allow the knife to miss; it would be better if you blind-folded yourself with the end of your turban and then sacrificed me.' Ibrahim acted upon his son's suggestion, and having repeated the words "Bismillah allah ho akbar" (i.e., In the Name of the Great God), he drew his knife across his son's neck. In the meantime, however, Gabriel had substituted a broad-tailed sheep for the youth, Isma'íl; and Ibrahim, unfolding his eyes, observed to his surprise the sheep slain, and his son standing behind him." In the Kurán, the name of the son is not given, although commentators state, that the prophet said that he was a descendant of that son of Abraham, who was offered in sacrifice. The sacrifice, as it is now performed, is as follows:—The people assemble for prayer at the 'Idgáh, as on the 'Idul fitr; after prayers, the people return to their houses. The head of the family then takes a sheep, cow, or camel, to the entrance of his house, and sacrifices it by repeating the words "In the Name of the Great God," and cutting its throat, the flesh of the animal is then divided, two-thirds being kept by the family, and one-third being given to the poor in the Name of God.—(Hughes' Notes on Muhammadanism.)

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posed, to the progress of civilization, but to the decrease of that fervour which attended the first introduction of the Shi'a faith, as the national religion of Persia; they deem their Suni neighbours as lost in error, but they do not term them infidels. "They are believers (Muslims)," they say, "because they recognise the holy mission of Muhammad and worship God, but they have forfeited their claim to be denominated faithful, (Mú'min) by their adoption of those who refused allegiance, and acted with cruelty, towards the lineal descendants of the holy prophet." The Sunis are not so charitable in their sentiments of the Shi'a sect; and though some of their ablest divines (Ghazálí, &c.,) have declared that the Shi'as, though deluded, were still Muhammadans, almost all Suni monarchs have been led, by a mixture of religious and political motives, to treat them as a race of heretics, that were worse than infidels; and upon this ground, the most pious of the rulers of Bukhárá, have considered themselves entitled to make slaves of their Shi'a prisoners;⁴⁶³ and Begí Ján was reproached by Áká Muhammad Khán with allowing true believers to be sold like beasts in the market place of the capital.⁴⁶⁴ The blasphemous tenets of the sect of 'Alí Allahiyya (or those who deem 'Alí to be a divinity) have been attributed by their enemies, to the Shi'as, who entertain a just abhorrence of this sect, whose numbers are not great, and who endeavour to conceal their usages (some of which are said to be of an obscene nature), under a veil of mystery.⁴⁶⁵

An account of
the Sáfis.

In a chapter upon the religion of Persia, it is impossible to pass over the Sáfis. That extraordinary class of devotees have been before noticed; but they claim a fuller description. We discover from the evidence of Muhammadan authors, that these enthusiasts were co-existent with their religion. Their rapturous zeal, perhaps, aided in no slight degree its first establishment; but they have since been considered among the most dangerous of its enemies. There can be no doubt that their free opinions regarding its dogmas, their contempt of its forms, and their claim to a distinct communion with the Deity, are all calculated to subvert that belief, for which they outwardly profess their respect; and their progress has, consequently, been deemed as synonymous with that of infidelity.⁴⁶⁶ There is no country, over which the tenets of the Sáfis have at different periods, been more widely spread than Persia. The great reputation acquired by one of their priests, Shaikh Sáfí, Ardabílí, enabled his descendants to occupy the throne of that kingdom for more than two centuries; but the monarchs of the Sáfavian dynasty were too sensible of the aid,⁴⁶⁷ which their power derived from the continuance of an established and understood religion, to indulge in the rapt and visionary dreams of their pious ancestors. Their country, however, continued to abound with persons, who believed in the tenets which these had taught; and the increase of their numbers has been, of late years, so great in Persia, that the Muhammadan divines of that nation have called upon the reigning king to defend the true faith from the attacks of several popular teachers who, from the sanctity of their lives and the delusive character of their doctrines, had acquired an alarming popularity. The monarch has, in consequence, adopted the most rigorous proceedings; and his severity has, for the moment, repressed a flame, which it would appear more⁴⁶⁸ calculated to increase than to extinguish.

It would be vain to attempt to give a full history of the Sáfí doctrine, traces of which exist, in some shape or other, in every region of the world. It is to be found in the most splendid theories of the ancient schools of Greece, and in those of the modern philosophers of Europe. It is the dream of the most ignorant, and of the most learned; and is seen, at one time,

⁴⁶³ An act that would be deemed impious, if they were deemed Muhammadans.—(Malcolm.)

⁴⁶⁴ The savage Turkamán tribes, who made inroads into Persia, followed the example of this prince, but from very different motives, than those of religion. I one day asked a man of these tribes on what ground they made their Persian captives, slaves. "Because," said he, "they are heretic Shi'as." "But suppose," I added, "those you took were Sunis?" "Then," replied he very coolly, "we must turn Shi'as, for slaves we must have."—(Malcolm.)

⁴⁶⁵ For a description of this sect see Colebrooke's paper on the origin and peculiar tenets of certain Muhammadan sects, in Asiatic Researches, Vol. VII, page 339; the learned and accurate Sale in his preliminary discourse to his translation of the Kur'an, has partly fallen into the same error, and unjustly charges the Shi'as with considering 'Alí as equal, if not superior, to Muhammad.—(Malcolm.)

⁴⁶⁶ Lit. "Are all calculated to bring the law into contempt and to lower its recognized teachers, and according to the proverb 'as you treat others, so will you be treated,' the latter have likewise reprehended them as being infidels."

⁴⁶⁷ Isma'íl the First ascended the throne of Persia in A.D. 1500, and his family was subverted by Nádír Sháh A.D. 1736.—(Malcolm.)

⁴⁶⁸ Lit. "And although the Sáfavian monarchs have paid the greatest attention to keeping the law firmly fixed, still, nevertheless, there have always been many of this sect; and their increase of late years has been so great that the divines of Islam have begged the king to destroy, overturn, and quell this sect, while yet their conditions have not breached the foundations of the national faith, or obtained power to subvert the pillars of the empire. The monarch has, therefore, used his best endeavours to put them down; and the fire, which seemed ready to flame upon high, has, for the moment, been repressed."

indulging in the shade of ease, and at another, traversing the pathless desert. It everywhere professes to be adverse to error and superstition, but exists by the active propagation of both.⁴⁶⁹ The wild and varied doctrines of their teachers are offered to disciples of this sect, in the place of the forms and usages of their religion. They are invited to embark on the sea of doubt, under the guidance of a sacred teacher, whom they are required to deem superior to all mortals, and worthy of a holy confidence that borders upon adoration.⁴⁷⁰ It is in India beyond all other climes, that this delusive and visionary doctrine has most flourished. There is, in the habits of that nation and in the character of the Hindú religion, what peculiarly cherishes that mysterious spirit of holy abstraction in which it is founded; and we may grant our belief to the conjecture which assumes, (143) that India is the source from whence other nations have derived this mystic worship of the Divinity. The same remark is applied by our ecclesiastical writers to Egypt, to which country they trace the mystic, the hermit and the monk. These writers speak of the propensity to an austere life as a disease in Syria and Egypt.⁴⁷¹

The general name, which the Persian followers of this sect have followed is *Súfi*, "pure," and is supposed to be derived from the term "*Safá*,"⁴⁷² "purity;" some have traced it to "*Súf*" wool or wool bearing.⁴⁷³

The *Súfis* represent themselves as entirely devoted to the search of truth, and as incessantly occupied in the adoration of the Almighty, an union with Whom they desire with all the ardour of Divine Love.⁴⁷⁴ The great Creator is, according to their belief, diffused over all His creation. He exists everywhere and in everything. It is difficult to understand what the *Súfis* state to be their opinion regarding matter. Some of these term the world "*'Álam-i-khiyál*, i.e., a world of delusion;" by which it is implied that we are constantly, with regard to all matter, under an illusion of our senses; and that it exists only from the light of God, or the animating principle which enables us to see it and makes it visible; otherwise, it is in itself, nothing. They compare all the creation, in its relation to the Creator, to those small particles that are discernible to the eye in the rays of

⁴⁶⁹ *Lit.* "To approach the purpose of writing an account of the *Súfi* doctrines in detail would be vain; in fact it would not be possible; for the theories of this class have, under various shapes and different forms, increased, and still continue to spread, by some means or other, over every quarter of the earth, and to the furthest part of the world, from ancient times to the present day, either through the ancient philosophers of Greece, or the modern savants of Europe. And the most ignorant among men, and the most learned among nations, have aimed at this new idea, and ventured to traverse this uninhabited dangerous desert. At one time, having fore sworn earthly attachments, it will be found in the shade of solitude; at another, immersed in the vapours of disappointment, and lost in the deserts of disgrace; in all places, and at all times, it lays claim to a religious sanctity by the giving up of all errors and superstition, but it exists by the propagation of both."

⁴⁷⁰ *Lit.* "These wild and varied fancies are offered to the disciples of this sect, and they are held excused from an outward observance of the forms and usages laid down in the *shara*.' The disciple must blindly trust his spiritual teacher, whom he must regard as his guide on the path of rectitude and holiness; and he must look on himself as a corpse in the hands of the washers of the dead. He must regard his holy instructor as the best and most exalted of created beings; and with this trust and confidence, which he has derived from his spiritual guide, he must step into the ocean of doubt."

⁴⁷¹ *Lit.* These delusions and absurd fancies flourish more in India, than in any other place; and looking at the habits and customs and law and religion of the Hindús, it would appear to belong particularly to it. Some suppose that India was the source of *Súfism*, and that other countries have derived it from thence. Some European writers trace it to Egypt and Syria; and say that the propensity to an austere life is a disease, which first appeared in Syria and Egypt."

⁴⁷² In *Mirzá Hairat's* translation "*Khulafá*" is evidently a clerical error; *safá* "purity" is plainly intended; and as the words are written somewhat like each other, it might easily be misprinted.

⁴⁷³ *Malcolm* says: "The Arabic term "*Súfi*" which means "wise, pious" and is metaphorically used to denote a religious man, is supposed to be derived from the term "*Sáf*, pure, clean" or *safá*, which signifies purity. Some have traced it to *súf* "wool or wool-bearing" in allusion to the coarse woollen garments usually worn by its teachers. It is worthy of remark, however, that these terms are all from the Arabic, and that the accounts we have of the *Súfis* are comparatively of a modern date, being all subsequent to the conquest of Persia by the Caliph 'Umar. It is not very unlikely, therefore, that this name has been originally adopted from the Greek term (*Sophoi*) wisemen.

By the term *Súfi*, all ranks, who adopt this creed, are known, from the revered teacher, who is followed by thousands of disciples, to the humblest *darwesh* or *fakir* who travels about naked, and begs alms to support him in that life of prayer, which he has voluntarily adopted. A life of mendicity, which many adopt from motives of piety, is assumed by others, whose fortunes are desperate, as a means of livelihood. It is related in the *Majális ulmú*, *minín*, that a man came to Muhammad and exclaimed: "O prophet! I am poor" "Poverty is my glory" said Muhammad. Another person came afterwards, and used exactly the same phrase; but Muhammad said to him "Poverty causes men to blush in both worlds." "You wonder," said the prophet to his companions, "at the apparent inconsistency of my answers to two men seemingly of the same condition; but the first of these men is virtuous, and has from principle abandoned the world; but the second fellow has no such merit, the world has abandoned him."

⁴⁷⁴ *Lit.* "In short, the *Súfis* represent that their life is entirely devoted to the search after the one object of truth; and that, being freed from the infirmities of the fetters of nature, and having attained to the stages of being eye-witnesses and knowers of the truth, they are ever spectators of the Glory of God and searchers after union with the Invisible Beloved."

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the sun, which are gone, the moment, that planet ceases to shine. They compare the emanations of His Divine essence or spirit, to the rays of the sun, which are, they conceive, continually darting forth and re-absorbed. They believe that the soul of man, and that the principle of life, which exists throughout all nature, is not from God, but of God; and hence those doctrines, which their adversaries have held to be most profane, as they were calculated to establish a degree of equality between the created and the Creator.⁴⁷⁵

The Súfí doctrine teaches that there are four stages, through which man must pass, before he can reach the highest, or that of Divine Beatitude; when, to use their own language, his corporeal veil (*hijábi jismání*) will be emancipated and his emancipated soul will mix again with the glorious Essence.⁴⁷⁶ The first of these stages is that of humanity (*násút*), which supposes the disciple to live in an obedience to the holy law (*shara'*), and an observance of all the rites, customs and precepts of the established religion; which are admitted to be useful in regulating the lives of, and restraining within proper bounds, the vulgar mass, whose souls cannot reach the heights of Divine contemplation; and who might be corrupted and misled by that very liberty of faith, which tends to enlighten and delight those of superior intellect, or more fervent devotion.⁴⁷⁷ The second stage, in which the disciple attains power or force (*Jabrút*), is termed the road or path (*taríkat*); and he, who arrives at this, leaves that condition, in which he is only admitted to admire and follow a teacher, and enters the pale of Súfíism. He may now abandon all observance of religious forms and ceremonies, as he exchanges, to use their own phrase, practical (*af'al-i-jismání*) for spiritual worship (*a'mál-i-rúhání*); but this stage cannot be attained without great piety, virtue and fortitude; for the mind cannot be trusted in the neglect of usages and rites, necessary to restrain it when weak, till it has acquired strength from habits of mental devotion, grounded on a proper knowledge of its own dignity and of the Divine Nature of the Almighty.⁴⁷⁸

The third stage is that of knowledge (*'irfán*) and the disciple (*'arif*), who arrives at it, is deemed to have attained supernatural knowledge; or, in other words, to be inspired, and he is supposed, when he reaches this state, to be equal to the angels.⁴⁷⁹ The fourth and last stage is that which

⁴⁷⁵ Lit. "And that all things are pure illusions of fancy and in truth are non-existent. And they say that like as small particles are visible in the rays of the sun, which are no longer visible when it is hidden, so, in like manner, the particles of creation are plain and clear in the rays of the Light of the True Sun, but when He is hidden, all no longer exist. Hence He is truly every thing and there is nought else but He. The world is altogether a series of emanations of His various lustres, and an exhibition of His constant dardings forth and re-absorptions; but, however, it is not as lookers-on on outward things say 'all that is, is of Him.' This belief the doctors of the faith look on as blasphemy and heresy, and those who hold these views, as deserving of hatred and enmity." This passage will perhaps be best understood from the following note given by Malcolm: "It is difficult to understand what the Súfís state to be their opinion regarding matter. Some of these term the world '*'álam-i-kháyál*' i.e., a world of delusion; by which it is implied, that we are constantly with regard to all matter under an illusion of our senses, and that it exists only from the light of God, or the animating principle, which enables us to see it, and makes it visible, otherwise it is in itself nothing. 'The creation,' they say, 'proceeded at once from the splendour of God, Who poured His spirit on the universe, as the general diffusion of light is poured over the earth by the rising sun; and as the absence of that luminary creates total darkness, so the partial or total absence of the Divine Splendour, or Light, causes partial or general annihilation. They compare all the creation, in its relation to the Creator, to those small particles, that are discernible to the eye in the rays of the sun, which are gone the moment that planet ceases to shine.'"

⁴⁷⁶ Lit. "There are four appointed stages for the Súfí traveller, which must all be traversed by him, before he can reach to the highest perfection, and obtain a full and complete share in all the Revelations and Emanations of the Divine Beauty and Glory. When they have passed through these stages, his corporeal veil will be removed, and the bird of his soul will fly to the pinnacle of the palace of its beloved."

⁴⁷⁷ Lit. "The first stage is *násút* or humanity, in which state the traveller is bound to obey the command of the holy law (*shara'*); and an observance of the outward rites of the established religion is therefore incumbent on him, as he is not yet supposed to have attained the ability to understand higher matters; and it might be that the exemption (*af'álib*) in such matters, which was not in conformity with the Law, might tend to mislead him."

⁴⁷⁸ Lit. "After this he reaches the valley of *Jabrút* (*جبروت*), which is also called *taríkat* (the road or path); this is the disciple's first entry into the pale of Súfíism. In this state, the disciple is excused from observing the ceremonies of the Law, and is left to his own discretion for spiritual worship (*a'mál-i-rúhání*), and a more perfect knowledge of God, and of the *'álam-i-kháyál* (world of the body); but this is a noble and devout exertion, to be pursued without rest or virtue, perfect piety, and unbounded patience and fortitude; and the soul lives a spiritual guide, who works and suffers, he must obey and follow."

denotes his arrival at truth (*hakikat*) which implies his complete union (wasl) with the Divinity; the veil of doubt is drawn aside; all rivals to the one God are removed; the disciple attains his object, duality cannot be, and he is absorbed in his Beloved, and the great and only God.⁴⁸⁰

The Sûfis are divided into innumerable sects, as must be the case in a doctrine which may be termed the belief of the imagination. But although they are so numerous and differ too in name, they are all agreed (144) in the principal tenets, and particularly in those which inculcate the absolute necessity of a blind submission to inspired teachers, and the possibility, through fervent piety and enthusiastic devotion, of attaining for the soul, even when the body inhabits the earth, a state of celestial beatitude.

Authors are divided whether there are two, or seven, of what can be deemed original sects among the Sûfis, the others being no more than branches from them; but a very learned author, *Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī*, of Kirmānshāh,⁴⁸¹ whose hostile bigotry made him direct all his ability to explain and confute the doctrines of the Sûfis, after enumerating the seven that are supposed to be original, states his opinion that there are but two entitled to that distinction. He observes that "the Sûfis are divided into a great number of sects. Some affirm that only four are original: The *Halūliyya*, (or the inspired by the divinity). The *Ittihadīyya* (or the unionists). The *Wāsiliyya* (or the joined). The *'Ishkiyya* (or the lovers). Some add two more: The *Talkīniyya* (or the instructed) and The *Ṭarākiyya* (or the penetrating); others have mentioned a seventh sect, the *Wahdatiyya* (or the solitudinarians). This writer concludes by stating his belief that there are only two original sects of Sûfis, the two first mentioned, and that all the others are derivatives. The principle maintained by the *Halūliyya* is, that God has entered or descended into them, and that the Divine spirit enters into all who are devout and have an intelligent mind. The *Ittihadīyya* believe that God is one with every enlightened being. They compare the Almighty to flame, and their souls to charcoal; and say, that in the same manner that charcoal, when it meets flame, becomes flame, their immortal part, from its union with God, becomes God.⁴⁸² It has, the learned author here followed states, been affirmed by the author of the *Bayān-ud-dīn* (or Exposition of religion) that these two sects, which are now deemed original, are derived from a sect, called *Hirmāniyya*, who borrowed their tenets from the ancient Sabians. The 'impious men,' he observes, "desiring to conceal from themselves the great error into which they had fallen, have tried to connect the doctrines of these sects with that of the twelve holy Imāms, to which they have not the slightest affinity; but," he adds, "the tenets of the *Halūliyya*, certainly, approach the creed of the Nazarenes (Christians), who believe that the spirit of God entered into the womb of the Virgin Mary, and thence the doctrine of the Divine Nature of their Prophet, Jesus."

The *Wahdatiyya*⁴⁸³ are considered, by many other writers, one of the original sects of Sûfis; but *Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī* terms them a branch of the *Ittihadīyya*, and states that this sect were not known in the time of the celebrated Sûfī teachers, *Bāyizīd* and *Hallāj*.⁴⁸⁵ They believe that God is every thing, and that everything is God. This class of Sûfis are deemed followers of the ancient philosophers of Greece, particularly of Plato, who, in my assert, has said: "That the God of the world has created all things

An account of the belief of the *Wahdatiyyas*.

the⁴⁸⁰ Lit. "The fourth stage is a very exalted one and is called the stage of *Hakikat*, (truth) — *Wasl* (union) or *Jam' al jam'* (junction of junctions); and *kashf* *hujub* (removal of the veil of doubt) is obtained; all rivals are removed from his sight, and the disciple obtains his or her; not only do the two (God and his soul) become one, but, from every hair of his body, veiling aloud 'Hawa (He is)' is heard, and in his every sigh, a shout of 'An Allah (I am desi)'. These are the stages of the disciple of Sûfism, as laid down by this sect." The technical term for the 4th stage is *Lahūt* (Divinity); *Hawa* and *An Allah* are names of God.

⁴⁸¹ *Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī*, the late *Mujtahid*, or high priest, of Kirmānshāh. I was well acquainted with this learned Persian, who enjoyed, when I was in Persia in 1800, the highest respect and confidence of the king. He was a man of considerable information; and there acquiescing in his appearance or manners, which indicated the intense and relentless zeal which he, some years afterwards, persecuted the Sûfis. — (Malcolm.)

⁴⁸² Lit. "The *Halūliyyas* hold that God enters into an enlightened and devout man (*wilāni kamil*); the *Ittihadīyyas* assert that God becomes one with him, and compare the man thus formed, to the union of the flame with firewood."

(ins. ⁴⁸³ I find, Malcolm says, in a work written by the late *Shāhnawāz Khān* of Delhi, a very unaccountable account of the first pirs or saints of the Sûfis. He mentions 'Abdul Wahid, the son of I, as the founder of a great sect; and it is not improbable that the sect of *Wahdatiyya* full re their name from him. The Arabic term *Wāhid*, from which this name is derived, signifies "singular, unique, incomprehensible."

deri. ⁴⁸⁴ Lit. "the columns."

men. ⁴⁸⁵ But his comment, to prove the fact, only shows, that the tenets they now openly are were then held in secret, and were deemed mysteries; for he states, "that *Hallāj*, when declared himself a god, was not blamed by them for being blasphemous, but for being a dealer of secrets." — (Malcolm.)

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a Súfí, is unlawful ; but from their books even, nothing can be learnt without the aid of a holy teacher ; but such, when initiated, can, they say, learn the disciple more in one hour, than a Mullá could in seventy years. The followers of this sect are generally dressed in a *khirkah* or patched garment, and wear a felt cap. They condemn worldly knowledge ; and pretend to mysteries, in which they are instructed by a preparatory fast, during which they hardly taste food and are kept in complete solitude.⁴⁹¹

14th.—The Kamáliyya, or “the perfect,” who reject all worldly occupation, except singing, dancing and music or, to use their own words, “those pursuits in which the soul takes delight.” This sect even sing their prayers, according to Áká Muhammad 'Alí.

15th.—The Hálíyya, or “those who believe only in the present life ;” and who are, according to Áká Muhammad 'Alí, a sect of Epicureans, who seek nothing but the enjoyment of the present hour, and are said not even to believe in a future state.

16th.—The Núríyya, or “the enlightened,”⁴⁹² who teach that men's actions should neither proceed from the fear of punishment, nor the hope of reward, but from innate love of virtue and detestation of vice.

17th.—The Bátíniyya, or the “mysterious.” This sect, Áká Muhammad 'Alí states, deem madmen holy, and term them, “the abstracted.”

18th.—The Jaudíyya, or “the liberal.” This sect are accused of delighting in fables and allegories, of wearing silk and embroidered garments, and of indulging in sensual gratification.

19th.—The 'Ishkíyya, or “the lovers.” The severe writer, who gives this account of the sects of Súfís, says that the 'Ishkíyyas profess themselves ardent lovers of God, but they continually address, he adds, the fairest part of the Almighty's creation with a favourite sentence, which implies that worldly love is the bridge over which those must pass, who seek the joys of Divine Love.⁴⁹³

20th.—The Jamhúríyya, or “the collected ;” a name that has been given them from their belief in the collected creeds of all the other sects of Súfís. Their leading doctrine is, that nothing which exists should be rejected, for all things contain a portion of the Divinity ; (Arabic), “and in everything there is a sign of Him.”

They are accused of being complete optimists ; everything is good with them, religion and infidelity, the lawful and unlawful ; like the Nazarenes, Áká Muhammad 'Alí observes, they deem dogs and hogs clean animals, and like them, they admit that females may go about unveiled. The greater part of the modern Súfís, he affirms, belong to this sect, and dignify their indiscriminate principle of belief and of conduct with the exalted name of Divine Love. (146)

The Mukammadan Súfís have endeavoured to connect their mystic faith with the doctrine of the prophet, who was himself, they assert, an accomplished Súfí ; and they interpret many of the verses in the *Kurán*, and some of his traditionary sayings, in a manner calculated to give them the benefit of his name. They quote a tradition of the prophet, from which they state that their four stages are derived. Muhammad is asserted, in this tradition, to have said “that the *Sharí'at* or law (canonical) is as a vessel ; the *Taríkat* road or faith is as the sea ; knowledge (*'Ilm*) of Divine things is as the shell ; and knowledge (*ma'rífat*) of the Deity is as the pearl ; but he, who desires to obtain the pearl, must first embark in the vessel.” The Persian followers of this sect deem 'Alí, his sons, and the twelve Imáms, as teachers of Súfíism. They state that 'Alí deputed his two sons and two other holy men to teach the mysteries of this faith ; and from these many of the principal Khalífas, or teachers, who have founded sects, derive their title to the sacred mantle.⁴⁹⁴

They declare their prophet Muhammad to have been a Súfí.

Sháh Nawáz Khán, of Delhi, informs us in his essay (the *Miráti Aftáb Numá*), upon this sect, that four persons were empowered by 'Alí

⁴⁹¹ Lit. “They pass some time in solitude and retirement and fasting and penance ; after which they pretend to the knowledge of mysteries.”

⁴⁹² So termed from their professed attachment to *Núr* “light or virtue” and their horror at *Nár* “fire,” which with them is the symbol of vice.—(Malcolm).

⁴⁹³ Lit. “Áká Muhammad 'Alí states that this sect profess to be lovers of God ; but wherever they see a handsome form, they attach themselves to (lay down their burden before) it ; and say that ‘outward things are the bridge that leads to the truth.’” This is an Arabic proverb.

⁴⁹⁴ Lit. “And other Khalífas or teachers of this doctrine trace their connexion to these four persons ; from whom they pretend, generation by generation, to have received the sacred mantle (*Khirkah*) and to have been appointed the spiritual guides of their sects.”

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to disseminate the doctrines of the Sûfis. These were his two sons, the Imáms Hussain and Hasan, and two learned men, one named Hasan of Bassara, and another, Kamail the son of Ziyád. Hasan of Bassara, he adds, was succeeded by 'Abdul Wáhid, the son of Zaid, and Habib ul 'Ajami, of Habib of Persia. The following five sects of fakirs, according to this writer, are derived from 'Abdul Wáhid :—

1st.—The Zaidiyya, who devote themselves to remain in deserts, and never enter towns or villages; they live entirely on vegetables and roots, holding the slaughter of any animal that hath life to be unlawful.

2nd.—The Albáziyya take their name from Albáz, a Khalífa or teacher, who was invested with the mantle by 'Abdul Wáhid. They affect solitude, and have neither wives nor children. They profess not to solicit alms, but to spend freely what comes unsolicited.

3rd.—The Adhamiyya trace themselves to the famous Sultán Ibráhím Adham. They are always travelling and are companionless. This sect continually move their lips in devotion.⁴⁹⁵

4th.—The Baháriyya from Baháir of Bassara, who derives his mantle through two descents from Sultán Ibráhím Adham. This sect are very reserved, and practise abstinence.

5th.—The Ishákiyya. Their Khalífa was Khwāja Ishák of Dináwar, who derives his mantle through two descents from Baháir of Bassara. According to Sháh Nawáz Khán, nine remarkable sects derive their origin from Habib-ul-'ajami.

1st.—The 'Ajamiyya take their name from their founder. They chiefly dwell in mountains, are very abstemious, and wear no dress but what is barely sufficient to cover their nakedness. This sect attach themselves to animals and birds, with which they form friendships.

2nd.—Taifúriyya take their name from Taifúr Abú Yazíd of Busám. He was one of the most celebrated of the Sûfis of Persia and derived his mantle from Habib-ul-'ajami.

3rd.—The Kirkhiyya derive their name from Ma'rúf of Kirkhi who, this author states, was a favoured disciple of the Imám Razwá, to whom, he is said in another manuscript, to have been a porter. Some of the most

⁴⁹⁵ Zikr is the religious ceremony or act of devotion, which is practised by the various religious orders of Fakirs or Darweshes. It is of two kinds, Zikr-i-jalí, that which is recited aloud, and Zikr-i-khafi, that which is performed either with a low voice, or mentally. There are various ways of going through the exercise, but the main features of each are similar in character. The following is a Zikr-i-jalí, as given by a native author.

1. The worshipper sits in the usual sitting posture and shouts the word Allah (God) drawing his voice from his left side, and then from his throat.

2. Sitting as at prayers, he repeats the word Allah still louder than before, first from his right knee, and then from his left side.

3. Folding his legs under him, he repeats the word Allah, first from his right knee and then from his left side, still louder.

4. Still remaining in the same position, he shouts the word Allah, first from his left knee, then from his right knee, then from the left side, and lastly in front, still louder!

5. Sitting as at prayer, with his face towards Makka, he closes his eyes, and says "Lá" drawing the sound as from his navel up to his left shoulder; then he says i-láhu, drawing out the sound as from his brain; and lastly il-lal-láhu, repeated from his left side with great energy.

Each of these stages is called a Zicarb. They are, of course, recited many hundreds of times over, and the changes described account for the variations of sound and motion of the body mentioned by European travellers who have witnessed the performance of a Zikr. The following is a Zikr-i-khafi.

1. Closing his eyes and lips, he says, with the tongue of the heart—"al-la-ha samí'an (God the Hearer), al-la-hu ba'sírun (God the Seer), al-la-hu 'alímun (God the Knower). The first being drawn, as it were, from the navel to the breast; the second, from the breast to the throat; the third, from the brain up to the heavens; and then again repeated stage by stage backwards and forwards.

2. He says in a low voice "Allah" from the right knee, and then from the left side.

3. With each exhalation of his breath, he says la iláhu, and with each inhalation, il lal lálhu.

The Third Zicarb is a most exhausting act of devotion performed, as it is, hundreds or even thousands of times, and is therefore considered the most meritorious.

Some teachers tell their disciples that the heart has two doors, that which is bodily, and that which is spiritual; and that the Zikr-i-jalí has been established for the opening of the former, and Zikr-i-khafi for the latter, in order that they may both be enlightened.

The most common form of Zikr is a recital of the 99 names of God; for Muhammad promised these of his followers, who recited them, a sure entrance to paradise. To facilitate this repetition, the Zikr (performer of the Zikr) uses a Tasbeeh, or rosary, of 99 beads. In the recital of the names, the prefix and inflexion are used three times. Ar-Rahímán! Al-Malik! &c.

In addition to the forms of Zikr already mentioned, there are four others which are even of more common use, and are known as Tasbeeh, takmúd, tahlíl, and takbír. Tasbeeh is the expression, Subhán alláh (Holiness be to God!). Takmúd, Alláhu Illáhu! (Praise be to God). Tahlíl, Lá iláha illáhu (There is no deity but God). Takbír, Alláhu Akbar! (God is great). Muhammad said: "Repeat the Tasbeeh a hundred times, and a thousand virtues shall be recorded by God for you, ten virtuous deeds for each repetition." (Hughes' Notes on Mohammedanism.)

celebrated of the modern teachers pretend to derive their authority from this saint.

4th.—The *Sakatiyya* derive their name from Sirí *Sakífi*, who was a disciple of Ma'rúf.

5th.—The *Janaidiyya* take their name from Shaikh Janaid of Baghdád, a Khalífa, or teacher, of celebrity, who received his mantle from Sirí *Sakífi*.

6th.—*Kázirúniyya*. This sect has its name from Abú *Ishák* of Kázirún, who derives his mantle through two descents from Shaikh Janaid. (147)

7th.—*Tausiyya* take their name from 'Alà-ud-dín of Taus, who, after five intermediate gradations or descents (*panj wásita*), inherited the mantle of Shaikh Janaid.

8th.—*Sahrawardiyya*, who take their name from Abú Najíb of Sahrawardí, who, through five descents, derived his mantle from *Habíb-ul-'ajamí*.

9th.—*Firdausiyya*, who take their name from Najm-ud-dín Firdausí, who was the Khalífa or teacher of Abú Najíb of Sahrawardí.

The same author gives a long list of other sects derivable from the above; among these he mentions a sect of *fakírs*, called the *Suffaviyya* (the ancestors of the *Súffavian* monarchs of Persia) who trace themselves to Shaikh Sufi-ud-dín of Ardabil; who, he observes, derived his mantle, through some gradations, from Shaikh Janaid of Baghdád.

The dignity of Khalífa can only be attained by long fasting and prayer, and by complete abstraction from all worldly pursuits. The man must die before the saint can be born.⁴⁹⁶ The preparation for the third class of *Súfism*,⁴⁹⁷ requires a long and awful probation.⁴⁹⁸ The person, who makes the attempt, must be a holy muríd or disciple, who, by devotion and abstraction, has already made a progress that has placed him above the necessity of the common usages and forms of established religion. He must commence his endeavour to attain a state of higher beatitude by a long fast, which, some sects conceive, should not be less than forty days. During this fast, he remains in solitude, and in a contemplative posture and receives no sustenance, but what is deemed barely necessary to prevent the soul taking its flight from its mortal tenement. Upon the patience and fortitude which he displays during this severe test, his character greatly depends; but when the skeleton (for such, after this fast, the disciple always appears) walks forth, he has still many years of trial to endure. He must either wander over deserts, or remain companionless in some frightful solitude, occasionally seeing the Khalífa or teacher, to whom he is attached. When the Khalífa dies, he bequeaths his patched garment, which is all his worldly wealth, to the disciple, whom he esteems the most worthy to be his successor; and the moment, the latter puts on the holy mantle, he is vested with the power of his predecessor.⁴⁹⁹

Attainment of the dignity of Khalífa.

⁴⁹⁶ *Lit.* "The rank of "die before you die" being obtained."

⁴⁹⁷ Which elevates to the rank and knowledge of angels.—(Malcolm).

⁴⁹⁸ Great numbers perish in their efforts to reach it.—(Malcolm).

⁴⁹⁹ *Lit.* "The disciple, who attempts this stage, must already have climbed some steps on the ladder of progress, and have been freed from carnal customs and the outward ceremonies of the established religion, and must have obtained distinction amongst his coevals on account of his severance from earthly attachments, and the manifestation to him of many of the veils of doubt. When a disciple is to be admitted to this stage, he must fast first for some length of time, which, it is stated by some, should not be less than forty days; and, during the whole of this time, he must remain in entire seclusion, occupied in repeating the Names of God, and meditating on "There is no God, &c."; he must eat and drink nothing but what is barely sufficient to support existence. When his patience and fortitude have been tried and fully proved during this period, he is allowed to commence his travels. He must then wander friendless and companionless over deserts and wastes, occasionally visiting his spiritual guide. If his frame, after being tested in the crucible of trial, comes forth pure and unsullied, the Khalífa, or spiritual teacher, will, at his death, leave his mantle, which is the sum total of his possessions, to the disciple, and make over to him the directorship of the other disciples."

The following are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the 99 Names of God:—

67 <i>Ahad</i>	... The One.	9 <i>Jabbár</i>	... The Powerful.
74 <i>Ákhir</i>	... The End.	41 <i>Jalíl</i>	... The Glorious.
73 <i>Awwal</i>	... The Beginning.	40 <i>Hasib</i>	... The Reckoner.
12 <i>Bári</i>	... The Maker.	38 <i>Hafidz</i>	... The Preserver.
21 <i>Básl</i>	... The Liberal.	51 <i>Hakk</i>	... The Truth.
76 <i>Bátin</i>	... The Inward.	28 <i>Hakam</i>	... The Commander.
49 <i>Bá'th</i>	... The Causer.	46 <i>Hakim</i>	... The Omniscient.
96 <i>Bakí</i>	... The Immortal.	32 <i>Halim</i>	... The Clement.
95 <i>Badi'</i>	... The Originator.	56 <i>Hamid</i>	... The All-Laudable.
79 <i>Barr</i>	... The Equitable.	62 <i>Hayy</i>	... The Ever-Living.
27 <i>Basir</i>	... The All-Seeing.	22 <i>Kháfiiz</i>	... The Bringer down.
80 <i>Tawwáb</i>	... The Relenting.	11 <i>Khálík</i>	... The Creator.
87 <i>Jámi'</i>	... The Collector.	31 <i>Khabír</i>	... The All-Informed.

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The Persian Súfis, though they have borrowed much of their belief and many of their usages from India, have not adopted, as a means of attaining beatitude, those dreadful austerities which are common among visionary devotees of the Hindús. Practices so abhorrent to nature required for their support all that influence, which ignorance and superstition united could gain over the human mind. The most celebrated of the teachers of the Súfi tenets in Persia have been men as famed for their knowledge as their devotion. In the list of these, modern Súfis desire to include every name which has attained a pre-eminence in the history of their country or in the world. The Muhammadan Súfis claim the Patriarch Abraham as one of their principal teachers. This holy man, they say, turned day into night and night into day, by his constant and undivided devotion of the Most High God. They claim, in fact, all who, by their writings or sayings, have shown a spirit of philosophy.⁵⁰⁰ But though this claim cannot be maintained, as many of the wisest and ablest men of Persia have been remarkable for their attachment to the forms and dogmas of the established worship, the Súfis can boast that great numbers, as eminent for their learning as their genius, have adopted their opinions. Among these, the most distinguished are poets. The progress of the improvement of the human mind is the same in all nations. The first ray of light, that illumines a dark and barbarous age, emanates from the poet, and his page long continues to be that which is chiefly, if not solely, admired. The natives of Persia are enthusiastically devoted to poetry; the meanest artizan⁵⁰¹ of the principalities of that kingdom can read or repeat some of the finest passages from their most admirable writers, and even the rude and unlettered soldier will listen with rapture to the strain of the minstrel. The very essence of Súfism is poetry.⁵⁰² The mathnawí,⁵⁰³ written by Shaikh Jallál-ud-dín, usually called Mullá-i-Rúm, the works of the celebrated Jámí, the book of moral lessons of the eloquent Sa'dí, and the lyric and mystic odes of

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Poetry is the
-essence of Súfism.

85 Zuljalálwalakráh	The Worthy of Honour and Glory.	58 Mubdi	... The Manifestor.
23 Ráfi'	... The Exalter.	10 Mutakabbir	... The Proud.
1 Rahmán	... The All-Compassionate.	54 Matín	... The Strong.
2 Rahím	... The All-Pitiful.	44 Mujib	... The Answerer of Prayer.
17 Razzák	... The Provider.	48 Majid	... The Most Honourable.
98 Rashid	... The Director.	57 Muhi	... The Apportioner.
83 Rá'uf	... The Merciful.	60 Muhi	... The Reviver.
43 Rakib	... The Guardian.	25 Musill	... The Debaser.
5 Salam	... The Peace.	13 Musawwir	... The Delineator.
26 Sami'	... The All-Hearing.	78 Muta'ali	... The Almighty.
35 Shakkár	... The Great Requirer.	24 Mu'izz	... The Honour-Giver.
50 Shahid	... The Faithful Witness.	90 Ma'ti	... The Restorer.
99 Sabúr	... The Patient.	59 Ma'id	... The Aider.
68 Samad	... The Eternal.	89 Mughni	... The Independent.
91 Zu'fir	... The Afflicted.	70 Muktadir	... The All-Able.
75 Dzahir	... The Outward.	71 Mukaddam	... The Antecedent.
29 'Adal	... The Just.	85 Mulsit	... The Impartial.
8 'Aziz	... The All-Precious.	39 Makil	... The Supporter.
33 'Adzim	... The Magnificent.	3 Malik	... The King.
82 'Afúw	... The Great Forgiver.	61 Mumit	... The Destroyer.
36 'Ali	... The Most High.	81 Muntalim	... The Revenger.
19 'Alim	... The Wise.	72 Mawakkhkir	... The Keeper Back.
14 Ghafár	... The Great Pardoner.	6 Mú'min	... The Faithful.
34 Ghafúr	... The Condoner.	7 Muháman	... The Defender from Danger.
88 Ghanf	... The All-Sufficient.	92 Náfí'	... The Arslater.
18 Fattáh	... The Opener.	93 Núr	... The Light.
20 Fábisw	... The Holder up.	97 Wáritb	... The Interitor.
69 Áddir	... The Omnipotent.	67 Wájid	... The Inventor.
4 Áddár	... The Holy.	65 Wáhid	... The Unique.
53 Kawwí	... The Strong.	45 Wási'	... The All-abundant.
15 Kabbír	... The Avenging.	77 Wáli	... The Governor.
63 Kayyám	... The Everlasting.	47 Wadád	... The Most Loving.
37 Ká'ir	... The Lusty.	52 Wáhi	... The Representative.
42 Karim	... The Beneficent.	55 Wáhi	... The Holy.
30 Láfí	... The Kind.	16 Wáhib	... The Bestower of boun- dles.
65 Májid	... The Noble.		
84 Milik-ul-mulk	The Lord of Powers.		
	94 Hádi		The Guide.

Háfídz, may be termed the scriptures of the *Súfis* of Persia; the names of many others⁵⁰⁴ might also be added. It is to them that they continually refer, and the gravest writers, who have defended their doctrine, take their proofs from the page of these and other poets, whom they deem to have been inspired by their holy theme.

The *Súfi* tenets are, as may be supposed from what has been said, involved in mystery; they commence in doctrines of general piety and virtue, and inculcate forbearance, abstemiousness, and universal benevolence. This is their profession, but they have secrets and mysteries for every gradation which are never revealed to the profane.⁵⁰⁵ *Mansúr Halláj*, one of the most eminent of their spiritual leaders, who, they believe, had attained the fourth or last stage of *Súfiism*⁵⁰⁶ proclaimed: "I am the Truth," or in other words, "I am God." Many fables have been invented to account for the imprudence of this wise teacher. One of these states, that he observed his sister go out every evening; he followed her and, having seen her communicate with the *Húrís* and receive, from these celestial nymphs, a cup of nectar, he insisted on drinking one or two drops that remained of the celestial liquor. His sister told him that he could not contain it, and that it would cause his death. He persisted, and from the moment that he swallowed it, he kept exclaiming "*An-ul-hakk*," i.e., "I am the Truth," till he was put to death. The constant repetition of this impious phrase alarmed the bigotry of the orthodox priests, and he was seized and impaled. An inspired *Súfi* is said to have demanded of the Almighty, why he permitted *Mansúr* to suffer. The reply was, "This is the punishment of the revealer of secrets." Among the many fables they relate of this holy person is the following. When *Mansúr Halláj* was carried to the stake, the executioners, they observe, could not perform their duty; it was in vain they endeavoured to seize him; his body eluded their grasp, and appeared seated in a composed posture in the air at some distance from the stake. While this was occurring on earth, his soul sought the regions of paradise. He was accosted by *Muhammad*, who admitted that he had arrived at the stage of *wásilah* or "union," and that his saying, he was God, was truth, but he entreated him for the sake of practical religion, which was necessary to keep men within proper limits, to permit himself to be impaled. The soul of the holy man convinced of the justice of what the prophet had said, returned to earth, to reanimate his body, which endured the death to which he had been sentenced.

Their tenets involved in mystery.

Their desire to reconcile their doctrines with the faith of *Muhammad*.

The principal fables of the *Súfis* relate to those of their sect who have suffered martyrdom. Of these one of the most celebrated is *Shams-i-Tabriz*, who was sentenced to be flayed alive on account of his having raised a person, that was dead, to life. We are told that after the law had been put in force, he wandered about, carrying his own skin, and solicited some food to appease his hunger; but he had been excommunicated as well as flayed, and no one would give him the slightest help. After four days, he found a dead ox, but his efforts to obtain fire to dress it were equally unsuccessful. Wearied out with the unkindness of men, he directed the sun to broil his meat. It descended to perform the office, and the world was upon the point of being consumed, when the holy *Shaiikh* commanded the burning orb to resume its station in the heavens. The general belief of these monstrous fables, relative to the divine nature of their spiritual leaders, is a just subject of reproach against the whole of the *Súfis*, who are also accused, by orthodox *Muhammadans*, of having no fixed faith, but of professing a respect which they do not feel for religion, that they may smooth the path of those whom they desire to delude. They pretend, their enemies state, to revere the prophet and the *Imáms*, yet conceive themselves above the forms and usages, which these holy personages not only observed, but deemed of Divine institution.⁵⁰⁷

Their belief in fables.

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Though the belief of predestination appears to be inculcated by the *Kurán*, few of the orthodox among the *Muhammadans* give a literal construction to the words of the prophet upon this subject. They deem

In predestination.

⁵⁰⁴ *Sahibí*, 'Urfí, *Rudakí*, &c.

⁵⁰⁵ *Lit.* "The *Súfi* tenets are, as may be understood from what has been said, involved in mysteries, and although, from what can be gathered from their sayings and outward professions, it would seem that abstinence and piety and forbearance and contentment and benevolence are universal, still they have secrets, which they keep concealed from the outer world."

⁵⁰⁶ *Lit.* "Whom they look on as a *wásil* (one who has obtained union with God)."

⁵⁰⁷ *Lit.* "The belief and credit of such idle tales and absurd stories regarding the divinity of their spiritual leaders is a cause of blame and reproach against this sect; in fact, believers in the *shar'at* (i.e., orthodox *Muhammadans*) say that the *Súfis* have no religion, and the respect that they outwardly profess for the faith is to deceive men, and therefore a net of fraud. They pretend to reverence the prophet and the *Imáms*, but turn away from their laws which they (the orthodox) regard to be of Divine institution and on which they always act."

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it, indeed, profane to do so, as it would make God the author of the guilt of man; but almost all the Sūfis are predestinarians. They believe, that the emanating principle, proceeding from God, can do nothing without His Will, and can refrain from nothing that He wills. Some of them deny the existence of evil, because, they say, every thing proceeds from God, and therefore must be good. The Sūfis of this class exclaim with the poet "The writer of our destiny is a fair writer, and never wrote that which was bad." While those who admit that there is evil in this world, but contend that man is not a free agent, repeat from *Hafidz* "My destiny has been thrown into a tavern by the Almighty. In this case, tell me, O teacher, where is my crime?"

Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī, Kirmān-shāhī, tell us that the Sūfis deem every thing in the world a type of the beauty and power of the Divinity; but he adds, that it is in the red cheeks of beautiful damsels that they contemplate His beauty, and in the impious deeds of Nimrod,²⁹ that they see and admire the omnipotence of His power. A celebrated Sūfi teacher, *Sahl bin 'Abdulla* of Tāstar, has written: "That the secret of the soul was first revealed, when Pharaoh declared himself a God"; and another, *Shaiḫ Muḥi-ud-din*, has said: "The hosts of Pharaoh were not lost in the sea of error, but of knowledge;" and this writer has asserted in the same page, "That the Nazarenes (Christians) are not infidels, because they deem Jesus a God, but because they deem Him alone to be God." The Sūfis are stated, by Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī, to deny the doctrine of reward and punishment; which is, he declares, incompatible with their ideas of the reabsorption of the soul in the Divine Essence, as with their literal belief of predestination. But they do not admit the truth of this assertion and some of their most celebrated teachers, who have revolted at a literal interpretation of the *Kurān*, have maintained that sinners will be punished, and that the good will enjoy a higher and purer bliss than can be found in a sensual paradise. While others, more visionary, believe that the imagination will have as great a power in the other world as in this; and that the punishment of all will consist in a delusion. Men, they say, will see a fire, which they will conceive is to burn them; but which, when it reaches them, will prove cold.³⁰ One of the writers of this sect, *Kāzari*, goes so far as to assert, that those condemned to hell will soon, from the habit of living there, not only be reconciled to its heat, but deem it a blessing, and look with disgust on the enjoyments of paradise; a sinner in hell, he says, will, in a short time be like a beetle in the midst of dung, which, delighted with its unclean mansion, abhors all sweet scents.

Their conception
of hell.

The Sūfis are accused of seeking to delude the Persians into a belief of their tenets by the most extravagant praises of their favorite, 'Alī; but they are, he affirms, equal admirers of the three first Caliphs, when with Sūnīs, on the same principle that they pretend to be in raptures with 'Alī, when with Shī'as;³¹ but the fact is, he adds, they are, in general, complete unbelievers;

²⁹ *Lit.* "Although the origin of this belief, that the decree of God is the author of all events, and the cause of the existence of good and evil, and right and wrong, is taken from the *Kurān*, most orthodox Mūtammadins explain away the verses which bear on this point; for if this belief was accepted, it would imply that God is the deer of all the evil deeds of man. But it is the firm belief of most, in fact, all the sects of Sūfis that "whatever is, proceeds from God, and nothing can be done without His consent." Some affirm that every thing is good, for every thing is from Him; whilst others hold that there is no evil, and good and bad alike proceed from Him.

Verse.

To the disciple, who has attained supernatural knowledge, there is no difference between sorrow and joy;

O capbearer of the mysteries! bring me the cap, for my joy is this, that this sorrow is from Him!

Tavd kardand I have translated, "explained away;" but the real meaning of it is "making a passage, which will bear a double interpretation, conform to the outward and apparent meaning;" e.g., in the verse of the *Kurān* (*Sale* Vol. II, Chapter 20, page 135), "Go unto Pharaoh, for he is exceedingly impious;" which the Sūfis interpret as "Look to your own proud self for it has become headstrong." A full list of these interpretations of the Sūfis will be found in the *Tafsīr-i-Ma'rūf-i-Kirkhī*. The passage I have quoted is, I think, referred to by *Mirzā Hairat*, a few lines further on when he makes mention of the revealing of the secrets of the soul.

³⁰ *Amāridah* and *Nunāridah*, which *Mirzā Hairat* has used to express "the red cheeks of beautiful damsels," and "the impious daring of Nimrod and Pharaoh," respectively, have been rather invented for the occasion. *Amārid* is the plural of *Amrad* "a beardless, beautiful youth;" and *Nunārid* in like manner, the plural of *Namrūd* "Nimrod."

³¹ *Lit.* "They will perceive that it has not the power to burn."

³¹ *Lit.* "Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī states that the Sūfis delude the Shī'as with their praises of 'Alī, and the Sūnīs with their admiration of the three first Caliphs; and that they are Shī'as with Shī'as, and Sūnīs with Sūnīs."

'Alī, according to them, was acquainted with all the mysteries of their doctrine; the poet *Jalāl-ud-din* makes 'Alī, when he is wounded by an assassin, declare "I am the lord of the country; but with my body I have no concern. You have not struck me; you are a mere instrument of Providence; and who shall pretend to revenge himself on Providence? Be not grieved therefore at what you have done, for to-morrow I am your advocate." Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī, after making this quotation, asks: "To what does such doctrine lead? To the most infamous sinner attaining the reward of the just in paradise."—(*Malcolm*.)

and it is easy for men to conform to every faith, who believe in none.⁵¹² In the account, which he gives, of the different sects of Sūfīs, he states a number of facts calculated to show the extravagant blasphemy, of their teachers and the blind credulity of their followers. A Sufi, Shaikh Rozbihān, a teacher of the Wāḍḍatiyyas and the Jaudīyyas, and author of a work called "Tafsīr-ul asrār" or "Commentary on Mysteries," he remarks, has told us, "that one day, when he was intoxicated, he saw God, who was in the figure of a man, with a cont on, his hair plaited and his cap cocked on one side. I struck him on the shoulder," this Sūfī writes, and exclaimed, "By the truth of thy unity, I know thee; and if thou assumest a hundred shapes, it would not conceal thee from my observation." "This is one of those impious madmen," he observes, "whom fools have worshipped as a saint." The spiritual leaders of the Sūfīs, Ākā Muhammad 'Alī states, are not only believed to perform miracles, but to live in continual communion with God; and one of the most celebrated of these teachers, Shaikh Muḥi-ud-din 'Abdul Kādir, Gilāni, is said to have ascended corporeally to heaven seven times every night; and Mullā-i-Rūm was, they believe, taken up into heaven when only six years of age. In one of the Persian manuscripts on the Sūfīs, is the following curious account of Shaikh 'Abdul Kādir, who was born in A.H. 471 and died in 561.

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Blasphemy of
their teachers.

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Their belief in
the miracles of
their teachers.

The mother of this saint declared that, when he was at the breast, he never tasted milk during the holy month of Ramazān; and 'Abdul Kādir, in one of his works, gives the following account of himself: "The day before the feast of 'Araf, I went out to the fields and laid hold of the tail of a cow, which, turning round, exclaimed 'O 'Abdul-Kādir, am I not that which thou hast created me?' I returned home and went up to the terrace of my house; I saw all the pilgrims, standing at the mount of 'Arafāt at Makka. I went and told my mother that I must devote myself to God; I wished to proceed to Baghdād to obtain knowledge. I informed her what I had seen and she wept; then taking out 80 dīnārs, she told me that, as I had a brother, half of that was all my inheritance. She made me swear, when she gave it me, never to tell a lie; and afterwards bade me farewell, exclaiming, 'Go, my son, I give thee to God, we shall not meet again till the day of judgment.' I went on well till I came near Hamadān, when our Kāfila was plundered by 60 horsemen. One fellow asked me what I had got. 'Forty dīnārs,' I said, 'are sewed under my garment.' The fellow laughed, thinking no doubt, I was joking him. 'What have you got?' said another. I gave him the same answer. When they were dividing the spoil, I was called to an eminence, where their chief stood. 'What property have you, my little fellow?' said he. 'I have told two of your people already,' I replied, 'I have 40 dīnārs sewed up carefully in my clothes.' He desired them to be ript open, and found my money. 'And how came you,' said he, with surprise, 'to declare so openly what has been so carefully hidden?' 'Because,' I replied, 'I will not be false to my mother, to whom I have promised that I will never conceal the truth.' 'Child,' said the robber, 'hast thou such a sense of thy duty to thy mother at thy years, and am I insensible, at my age, of the duty I owe to my God? Give me thy hand, innocent boy,' he continued, 'that I may swear repentance upon it.' He did so. His followers were all alike struck with the scene; and they, instantly, at his order, made restitution of their spoils and vowed repentance on my hand."

He arrived at Baghdād in A.H. 488, and must consequently have been, when this event happened, 16 or 17 years of age. His learning and virtue are spoken of with raptures. God, according to the author I write from, granted all his requests, and the Divine vengeance fell on those he hated. In A.H. 521, he began his public lectures. High Sunī authorities of the sect of Shāfi⁵¹³ report many of his miracles. He himself gives the following account of his fasting, previous to his becoming a disciple of his teacher. "I was eleven years," he observes, "in a burj or tower; and when there, I declared I would not eat or drink till some one caused me to do so. I remained forty days; after which a person brought a little meat, put it before me and went away; my life was nearly springing out at the sight of the victuals, but I refrained, and I heard a voice from within me call out, 'I am hungry, I am hungry;' and at that moment Shaikh Abū Sa'īd, Makhzūmī (a celebrated Sūfī), passed, and hearing the voice, exclaimed 'What is that?' 'It is my mortal part,' I replied, 'but the soul is yet firm

⁵¹² Ākā Muhammad 'Alī quotes an Arabic sentence, which is, he states, often repeated by their writers. It literally means "A Sūfī knows no religion," but they interpret it, "A Sūfī thinks ill of no religion" or, in other words, from having none themselves, they treat all with equal favour and consideration. — (Malcolm.)

⁵¹³ "High Sunī authorities of the sect of Shāfi" is rendered by the one word "Shawāfi"; "the high Sunī authorities, though not actually expressed, being implied therein; Shawāfi" is the plural of Shāfi."

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and awaits the result.' 'Come to my house,' he said, and went away. I resolved however to fulfil my vow and remained where I was; but Elias came and told me to follow the Shaikh, whom I found at his door waiting. 'You would not comply with my wish,' said he, 'till it was enforced by Elias.' After this, he gave me meat and drink in plenty, and then invested me with a Khirkah (or sacred mantle),⁵¹⁴ and I became his confirmed friend and companion."

Akâ Muhammad 'Alî treats every sect that comes under this denomination with a severity that must detract from the credit which is due to his extensive knowledge of the subject. There is no doubt that many of the most eminent Sûfis have been men of piety and learning, whose self-denial and wisdom have attracted a fame, which they did not seek; (the author of the *Âyân-i-Akbarî* relates that Awais Kirânî, a Sûfî, used to say to those that sought him "Do you seek God? If you do, why do you come to me? and if you do not seek God, what business can I have with you?"); while others have clothed themselves in the garb of humility to attain greatness, and have fled from observation, with no motive but that of attracting it.⁵¹⁵ There is no path to fame and power, however unseemly and however rugged, into which man will not enter; and the same passions, which stimulate the worldly votary of ambition to the attainment of royal robes and a sceptre, fill the breast of the mendicant devotee, who strives for the holy staff and the sacred mantle that are to vest him with power over the minds of the multitude.⁵¹⁶ It has been truly observed that the greatest objection to Sûfism is, that it is, in itself, no religion; wherever it prevails, it unsettles the existing belief; but it substitutes no other of a defined and intelligible nature. People's minds are taught to consider an attention to all the forms of the religion they follow as a mere worldly duty, from which they are to be emancipated by an increase of knowledge or of devotion.⁵¹⁷ The Sûfî teacher does not deny the mission of Muhammad; but while he instructs his disciples to consider that prophet and his successors as persons, who have been used for preserving the order and good government of the world, he boasts a direct and familiar intercourse with the Deity; and claims, on that ground, their entire confidence and obedience in all that regards their spiritual interests.

Kâzvi Nûrulla's account of the Sûfis and their doctrines.

Kâzvi Nûrulla of Shûshtar, who wrote the *Majâlis-ul-mûminîn*, a Persian author of very high reputation for his piety and judgment, has given an excellent general account of the Sûfis and their doctrine. This writer, like many others of equal authority, deems some of the principal Muhammadan saints to have been Sûfis;⁵¹⁸ and throughout his observations upon this sect, he makes a wide distinction between those who, though they mortified the flesh, and indulged in an enraptured love of the Divinity, still kept within the pale of revealed religion, and the wild devotee, who giving himself up to all the errors of a heated imagination, conceived, he approached God by departing from all that was deemed rational among men.

⁵¹⁴ The mantles, or patched garments, (Khirkah) which are used by ascetics or Sûfî teachers, have always been, in the East, objects of religious veneration. The legacy of the mantle is in fact the mode by which these holy men transfer their empire over the minds of their disciples, to their successors. Their power is grounded upon their sacred character; and that rests upon their poverty and contempt of worldly goods. Their mantle is in general *their all*; and its transfer, therefore, marks their heir. Some of these mantles can be traced several centuries, and their value increases with their age. They become relics, which are almost worshipped; and their envied possessor has many disciples and followers, who venerate the tattered and patched garment much more than the person who wears it.—(Malcolm.)

⁵¹⁵ Lit. "To continue, Akâ Muhammad 'Alî speaks severely of all Sûfis, and this is not becoming in a man of his knowledge and excellence; for there is no doubt, that many most eminent Sûfis were men renowned for their self denial and piety and learning and wisdom, and they have attracted fame without seeking it. In the *Âyân-i-Akbarî*, the author relates that Awais Kirânî used to observe to those who came to him; 'Do you seek God? if so, why do you come to me? and if you do not seek God, what business can I have with you?' Certainly, it cannot be denied that there have been, and are, others besides, who have donned the fakîr's cap in the desire of obtaining glory, and who, in the hope of attracting the notice of the world, have forsaken it, and, conceiving honour to be obtained from retirement, and publicity in privacy, have cooked ideas of greatness in the cauldron of poverty, and have committed robbery in the disguise of piety."

⁵¹⁶ Lit. "The pursuers of the path of fame, like the travellers on the road to God, have no fear of any thing in the pursuit of their object; monarchs in conquering kingdoms, and devotees and darweshes in obtaining the sacred mantle, are stimulated by one and the same thing. The former strive for power over the bodies of men, the latter for chiefship over religious sects; kings desire to bring the neck of their subjects into the chain of their control; darweshes wish to attract people's hearts to themselves. The former conceive that their authority consists in the extent of their possessions; the latter fancy their means to greatness to lie in the power derived from their disguise."

Hilât means both "power" and "disguise."

⁵¹⁷ It professes to leave the mass of the people in the state in which it found them, but it never can. We can conceive no attack that is more insidious, or that is more likely to be effectual. It is to praise the beauty and utility of an edifice, that leisure may be given to sap those foundations on which it stands.—(Malcolm.)

⁵¹⁸ But, by this term when applied to them, he obviously means no more than religious enthusiasts.—(Malcolm.)

"The Almighty" this author observes "after his prophets and holy teachers, esteems none more than the pure Sûfis, because their desire is to raise themselves, through Divine grace, from this earthly mansion to the heavenly regions, and to exchange their lowly condition for that of angels. What I know of this sect of men, I have stated in my preface.⁵¹⁹ Those, among them who are termed accomplished and eloquent, are of two classes, "men of science" (*Hukamâ*) and "men of piety and learning" (*'Ulamâ*). The first of these seek truth by means of demonstration. The second, through the proofs afforded by religion. There is another sect who are termed "men of knowledge" (*'Urafâ*) and "holy men" (*Auliyyâs*) who, in the pursuit of a state of beatitude, have abandoned the world. This class are also called "men of science," yet, as they have, through Divine grace, obtained a state of perfection, their fears are believed to be less than others who remain in worldly occupation.⁵²⁰ They are, consequently, more exalted, and are considered to be nearer the rich inheritance of the prophets than other men. There are, no doubt, imminent dangers in this path, for there are many false teachers, and many deceived students, who, like the thirsty traveller, pursue the vapour of the desert, and, if they do not rush to death, return wearied, grieved and disappointed, because they have been the dupes of their own imagination.⁵²¹

A true and perfect teacher is most rare, and when he exists, to discover him is impossible, for who shall discover perfection, except he that is perfect? Who shall tell the price of the jewel but the jeweller? This is the reason why so many miss the true path, and fall into all the mazes of error. They are deceived by appearances, and waste their lives in the pursuit of that which is most defective; conceiving, all along, that it is most perfect; and thus lose their time, their virtue and their religion. It is to save men from this danger that God, through the prophet, has warned us to attend to established usages, and to be guided by care and prudence. What has been said applies equally to those who live in the world, and to them who have abandoned it; for neither abstinence nor devotion can exclude the devil, who will seek retired mendicants, clothed in the garb of divinity; and these, like other men, will discover that real knowledge is the only talisman, by which the dictates of the good can be distinguished from those of the evil spirit. The traveller of the path of Sûfism must not, therefore, be destitute of worldly knowledge, otherwise he will be alike exposed to danger, from excess, or deficiency, of zeal; and he will certainly act contrary to the most

⁵¹⁹ Kâzî Nûrullâ is deemed one of the most moderate and sensible of Persian authors. The following is part of the passage in the preface to which the author alludes:—The Sûfis are of two classes. Those, who desire human knowledge, and the common usages of religion, and pursue these in the ordinary way, are called "Mutakallim," i.e., advocates or observers; but if they practise austerities, and look to the inward purity of their souls, they are Sûfis. This word literally means "pure, clean." The celebrated Mullâ-i-Rûm has the following play upon the word in one of his lines: "Sûfi na shawad Sûfi tâ dar na rasid jâme" which means "The Sûfi will not be pure till he takes one cup (of the love of God)."—(Malcolm).

⁵²⁰ It is stated that the disciple of a famous Sûfi, who had some money in his pocket when he was travelling, expressed fear. "Tars ba andâz, i.e., cast away thy fear," was the answer of his holy master. "How can I cast away a feeling?" said the man. "By throwing away that for which it is excited" replied the ascetic. The man throw away his money, and, having nothing to lose, felt no more alarm.—(Malcolm.)

⁵²¹ I have left the above paragraph as given by Malcolm, but the literal rendering of Mîrzâ Hairat's translation is as follows:—

Accordingly in the 6th Majlis (assembly, chapter) of the Majâlis-ul-Mû'minin (assemblies of the faithful) he gives a full account of Sûfism, of which the following is a summary:—"With regard to all the Sûfis of pure intent, the existence of their teachers (bestowers of bounty) has, in the opinion of the travellers of the paths of the way of Truth, been held, ever since the creation of the world, next in esteem to that of the prophets and Imâms of the right road of religion (i.e., Islâm); for, through Divine grace, they have desired to raise themselves from earthly mansions to heavenly regions, and have attained from the mean and low state of humanity to the exalted and highest rank of angels. What I know for certain has been briefly hinted at in my preface. The obtaining certain knowledge regarding the objects in the search after Truth, by which is meant Divine Wisdom, is attained either by demonstration and through the proofs (afforded by religion); and of this class are the Ahl-i-nâzar (or men of deep thought) who are called *Hukamâ* (men of science) and *'Ulamâ* (men of learning); or by the path of purity and perfection, as is the habit of fakirs (holy devotees) and these are called "*'Urafâ* (men of knowledge) and *Auliyyâ* (saints). Although both these classes are really *Hukamâ* (men of science), still the latter, as they have obtained a state of perfection through Divine grace alone, and as there are fewer thorns of doubt and misleadings of fancy in their path, are more honourable and exalted, and are considered to be nearer the rich inheritance of the prophets. But there are many dangers and endless perils in this path, for the exposure to temptations, and the whirlpools of wild thoughts, inward delusions and vain fancies, cause the traveller (or disciple) to become amazed and confused in the wilderness of pursuit thereafter. The worst of its evils is that, from a slight exhibition 'like the vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water'—(Sale's *Kurân*, Vol. II, Chapter 24, page 188) he wanders from the way and withdraws from the pursuit, till he reaches that state, 'until when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing.' Sale's *Kurân*, Vol. II, page 188.)

The Arabic word "Sirâb, vapour in a plain" signifies that false appearance, which in Eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sunbeams. It sometimes tempts thirsty travellers out of their way, but deceives them when they come near, either going forward (for it always appears at the same distance) or quite vanishing.—(Sale.)

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sacred of his duties. A senseless man is likely, in the practice of abstinence and abstraction, to exceed just bounds; and then, both his bodily and mental frame become affected, and he loses his labour and his object. It is to men of this description that the prophet adverts, when he says, "God will not (153) accept the irrational devotee"; and again, when he exclaims (in the *Hadith*). "My back has been broken by pious fools, and useless learned men."⁵²²

The writer, after some remarks on the affinity between virtuous Shī'as and Sūfīs, observes "that many of the latter have disguised their real sentiments from their alarm at persecuting tyrants; and have given general answers, and pretended to be of no particular faith, to escape the effects of that fury which was pointed at the Shī'as. The consequence of this conduct has been, that they have subjected themselves to the reproach of having no religion at all; and for the reasons, I have stated, it has become a tenet among Sūfīs not to confess their religion. It is, indeed, considered among themselves a crime of the deepest turpitude to do so."⁵²³

The Sūfī teacher (according to Kāzī Nūrulla) professes to instruct his disciple how to restore the inward man by purifying the spirit, cleansing the heart, and enlightening the soul; and when all this is done, they affirm that his desires shall be accomplished, and his depraved qualities shall be changed into higher attributes, and he shall prove and understand the conditions, the revelations, the stages and gradations of exaltation, till he arrives at the ineffable enjoyment of beholding and contemplating God. If teachers have not arrived at this consummation of perfection themselves, it is obvious that to seek knowledge or happiness from them is a waste of time; and the devoted disciple will either terminate his labours in assuming the same character of imposture, that he has found in his instructor,⁵²⁴ or he will consider all Sūfīs alike, and condemn the whole of this sect of philosophers.⁵²⁵ It often happens, that sensible and well-informed men follow a master who, though able, has not arrived at that state of virtue and sanctity, which constitutes perfection; his disciples, conceiving that none are better or more holy than their teacher and themselves, and yet disappointed at not reaching that state of enjoyment which they expected to arrive at, seek relief from the reproaches of their mind in scepticism. They doubt, on the ground of their personal experience, all they have heard or read, and believe that the accounts of the holy men, who have attained in this world a state of beatitude, are only a string of fables. This is a dangerous error; and I must therefore repeat, that those, who seek truth, should be most careful to commence with prudence and moderation, lest they be lost in the mazes that I have described: and, from meeting with evils of their own creation, give way to disappointment and grief; and, by expelling from their minds that ardent fervour which belongs to true zeal, disqualify themselves for the most glorious of all human pursuits.⁵²⁶

⁵²² Lit. "And many men, from the gilded appearance of an outward object, which has no reality, have wandered from the right road; and it often happens, being deceived by impostures and ideas, that have no real foundation, they waste their precious life in attending on the imperfect, imagining him perfect, and this conduces to both worldly and future loss; and for that very reason is it, that, in the Word of the most Wise God and the prophet (lord of inspiration), there are many encouragements regarding (paying due attention in) the matter of meditation and reflection; and the most learned doctors have also generally recommended to men, the practice of the habit of contemplation. There is, moreover, undoubtedly a great need of this practice in the path of seeking after purification of the heart, for, during the time one is purifying and denying one's self, the allurements of Satan are presented in obscure forms, in the garb of Divine Inspiration; and to discriminate between these is only to be attained by rational proofs. Moreover, if the disciple be entirely destitute of worldly knowledge, he cannot be secure from falling into the whirlpool of excess or deficiency (of zeal), and cannot help acting contrary to the command of the law; and he is likely, in his folly, to exceed the bounds of moderation in abstinence, which results in the destruction of his bodily health and the deterioration of his mental powers. The saying of the prophet 'God will not accept the irrational devotee' refers to this class; and also the other tradition in which the prophet says 'Pious fools, and the wise, who are careless in their practice, have broken my back.'"

⁵²³ Lit. "And after making some remarks on the affinity between Sūfīs and Shī'as, he observes that the expression, often used by the leaders of this (the Shī'a) faith that the Sūfīs have no religion, is in reality only a subterfuge for them (the Sūfīs) to avoid confessing themselves as one of the Sunīs, and to evade acknowledgment of their belief in the Shī'a doctrine for the sake of escaping danger. And hence it is also said (by themselves, the Sūfīs) that every Sūfī, who reveals his religion, is worthy not only of reproach, but of punishment."

⁵²⁴ Shaikh is the word generally applied to the principal teachers among the Sūfīs.—(Malcolm).

⁵²⁵ Filasūf, which signifies a philosopher, is a word in common use in Persia. It was formerly, they state, applied to Plato and others, who are now known under the more dignified name of Hakamā (men of science). Impositors in philosophy appear in the East to have degraded the term of filasūf, which, in the idiom of the present day, signifies a master in deceit and art.—(Malcolm).

⁵²⁶ Lit. "According to Nūrulla, the Sūfī teacher (Shaikh) should teach his disciple to rebuild his inner man; by which is meant, to purify his spirit, cleanse his heart, enlighten his soul and change his depraved habits into praiseworthy ones; and having instructed his disciple in the conditions and the revelations of exaltation, he should carry him on to the degrees and stages and gradations and progressive steps of travelling to God, and in God, and with God and by God. And if the spiritual teacher has not himself arrived at this state of exaltation, the disciple can obtain no profit from him; and the student will eventually fall into one of two conditions; either deeming himself to have attained to the dignity of his spiritual guide, he

We are informed by Firishṭa, that the degrees of the saints of these religious men are four, which he denominates, *Saghrā*, (the least) *Wásita* (the middle or greater) *Kabrā* (the great) and *ʿUdzma* (the greatest); each of these has a *bidʿyat* (beginning) *Wast* (middle) and *Nihāyat* (end). The holy men of these descriptions in this world are never less, he says, than 356 persons, who are always employed in helping the weak and in interceding for sinners. The principal *Sūfis* believe that 300 of this number are *Abtāl* (brave men), 40 *Abdāl* (pious men), 7 *Sayyāh* (pilgrims), 5 *Autād* (props), and 3 *Kutb* (poles), and one *Kutb-ul-aktāb*, (the pole of poles). When any of these persons dies, he is succeeded by another of the rank next below him, and so on, in regular succession; e.g., if the pole of poles dies, one of the poles fills his place, and so on, till one of the general believers is brought into the rank of *Abtāl* (or brave men). Among the 356 persons, the same author adds, nine only are deemed qualified to relegate, or invest others with, their authority as teachers; these nine consist of the *Kutb-ul-aktāb*, (the pole of poles), the three *Kutb* (or poles) and five of the *Autād* (or props).

The progress of *Sūfism* has been of late very rapid in Persia. Its tenets were mixed with those of the *Shiʿa* sect, when that was established as the national faith by the first of the *Sūffavian* kings; and some of the monarchs of that race gloried in professing tenets, which they inherited from their pious ancestor, *Shaiḫ Haidar*, who is deemed one of the most celebrated of the *Sūfi* teachers in Persia. It is mentioned by some European writers that a book, called the "*Karājild*" or "black volume" (154) was inherited by the *Sūffavian* princes from their pious ancestors. This mysterious legacy was not to be opened, till the kingdom was in imminent danger of ruin. I have never met with an account of the *Karājild* in any Persian author. The orthodox hierarchy of Persia have, from the first, made an open and violent war upon this sect; and have represented to the ruling monarchs that the established religion was necessary to the support of the state; and that nothing could be more dangerous than the progress of that spirit of infidelity, which, by unsettling men's minds, was calculated to throw them into a state of doubt and ferment. The principal *Sūfi* teachers, they admitted, might act from different motives; some might be the deluded dupes of their own imagination, while others sought only to delude their followers; but the tenets and the rhapsodies of all tended to the same point; they desired first to abolish the forms of religion, that they might, with more ease, destroy the substance; they pretended that, in their own contemplation, they allowed no name, not even that of the highest angel or of the prophet *Muḥammad*, to come between them and their God; but, with the very breath that they uttered this sentence, they desired to come between God and other men. The *Sūfi* teachers, they said, endeavoured to destroy names to which men gave reverence, with no other object but that of substituting their own; for the first and fundamental tenet of *Sūfism* inculcated, that the profane, or erring, could not advance a step without a spiritual guide; and that their progress in the true path would be exactly in proportion to their confidence in their holy instructor. The *Murtazwā Shāhī*, they said, make an image of their teacher in clay, which the disciple keeps, and to which he turns his thoughts; what was this, they asked, but a desire of becoming the idol of men's worship? On these grounds, it could be of little consequence to a country, which their bigotry or ambition had thrown into confusion, whether the men, by whom this was effected, were desirous of an heavenly or an earthly crown; whether they pulled down the fabric from the mere wish of destroying what they deemed bad, or with the object of building, with its ruins, something which, in their imagination, would appear more beauti-

Rapid progress of
Sūfism in Persia.

will be plunged into the whirlpool of error, or, becoming a denier of all spiritual teachers, he will become the enemy of those holy men. If some of the disciples of this sect (who are sensible and well informed) are allowed by their spiritual guides to go and teach others, and are raised to this dignity by their spiritual teachers, when they ponder on what they have heard regarding the state of former teachers or what they have read in books about them, and reflect thereon, find themselves altogether coming short of that state, the temptations of Satan arise in their hearts, and they think that there is no spiritual teacher in the world like their own, and that had he reached that exalted state, they should also enjoy some profit therefrom; they then demonstrate to themselves that there are no spiritual teachers or saints in their own times, like those of former days, and hence they give up the search after a spiritual guide, and they either say, that there may have been saints and spiritual guides in other ages, but that there are none whatever now, or else they believe that the accounts of the spiritual guides of this and other ages are nothing but myths and fables. This is also a dangerous error; it therefore behoves the sincere seeker after truth, to be very prudent at the commencement, so that he may not be trampled under foot on the road of these ignorant teachers, or drowned in the whirlpool of their delusions; for when, from following after them, the seeker after truth feels in himself dejection and gloom and coldness, it expels from his mind all zeal and sense of shame, and the ability of the seeker after truth becomes lessened, and he himself becomes lost."

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ful.⁵²⁷ They affirmed that if they did not seek to excite commotion and rebellion, their doctrines threw the community into a state, the most favourable for those who had such designs; and they asserted that the history of Persia and neighbouring nations, abounded with examples of their successful efforts to obtain temporal power, through the influence of their spiritual character. *Hasan Sabáh*⁵²⁸ and his descendants were a race of *Súfis*; and the implicit obedience, which their devoted followers had given to those mountain chiefs, had, for two centuries, filled Persia with murders, and made the proudest monarchs of that country, and neighbouring empires, tremble at the name of their mysterious power. The history of *Báyizíd*, the founder of the *Roshaniyyas*, was another example; he had established, amid the mountains of *Afghánistán*, a temporal power, upon the authority of his spiritual character, that enabled him and his successors to disturb the tranquillity of the empire of *Delhi*, when it had reached, under the celebrated *Akbar*,
 (155) the very zenith of its power. These were the arguments used by the orthodox hierarchy for the destruction and annihilation of the *Súfis*.

There was enough of truth, in the arguments above stated, to awaken all the suspicion of the temporal rulers of Persia; and recent events were calculated to render the government of that country active in their efforts to suppress a heresy of so alarming a character. The *Súfiyán* kings had been taught, by a recollection of their own origin, to be zealous of any of their subjects, who appeared disposed to have recourse to the same means;⁵²⁹ but the *Súfis* in their dominions were never actively persecuted before the reign of the last monarch of that race, *Sháh Sultán Hussain*, who gave himself into the hands of the priests of the orthodox religion, and allowed them to exercise every severity towards all who departed from the forms of established worship.

The attempt of *Nádir Sháh* to alter the *Shí'a* faith, and to adopt that of the *Suní*, as the national religion of Persia, and the discussion of sacred topics, which that monarch invited for the purpose, as he professed, of framing a new faith, had, no doubt, a serious effect in diminishing the influence of the *Muhammadian* religion upon the minds of the inhabitants of that kingdom. *Karím Khán*, though reputed a true believer, and an observer of the forms of worship, was neither rigid himself nor intolerant of others. During his reign, a celebrated *Súfi* teacher, named *Mír Ma'súm 'Alí Sháh*, came from India to *Shíráz*, where his followers soon amounted to more than 30,000 persons. *Mír Ma'súm* is called a disciple of *Sayyid 'Alí Razwá Dakkaní*. The orthodox priests took alarm and prevailed upon the mild *Karím* to banish the saint from his capital. *Mír Ma'súm* left, and took up his abode at a small village in the neighbourhood of *Isfahán*, but his reputation was increased by his expulsion. *Mír Ma'súm* afterwards deputed his disciple, *Fayázw 'Alí*, to teach in that city. The author of the life of some of the principal modern *Súfi* teachers of Persia states, that *Fayázw 'Alí* was of the sect of *Núr Bakhshiyya*, or "the enlightened," who trace their origin to *Ma'rúf of Kírkí*; and that he aspired to be the teacher of his sect, till *Mír Ma'súm* arrived from India, when he instantly bowed to his superior in knowledge, and was content to become his first disciple. This writer has given us a statement of seventeen tenets, which, he says, are openly professed by this sect. They were as follows:—

1st.—To adore nothing and no person but God.

2nd.—To attend to the ordinances of the prophet and the twelve *Imáms*.

3rd.—To be always pure by ablution, and to deprecate the wrath of God.

4th.—To observe the regular periods of prayer.

5th.—To attend to the five lessons, decreed to be observed after the particular prayers.

6th.—To use the "*tasbít*" or "string of beads."

⁵²⁷ Lit. "On these grounds therefore, this belief was, without doubt, the means of greatly injuring, if not entirely destroying, the established religion; and if the church and state were injured, it made no difference, whether the travellers on this road, and the instigators of this matter, really intended to deceive others, or to purify and correct themselves, whilst their spirit was engaged in the highest stages of *Láhit*, or the lowest degrees of *Násút*, or in other words, whether the searcher after truth, desired a heavenly crown or an earthly throne. If the building was actually pulled down, it mattered little, whether the destroyer of it really wished to correct and rectify himself, or desired to build something from its ruins, which was more beautiful in his ideas."

⁵²⁸ *Hasan Sabáh* is said to have belonged to the *Súfi* sect of *Báfiniyya*. He lived in the 11th century. As the history of *Hasan Sabáh* and his descendants is too long to insert here, I will give it, on account of its special interest, in an appendix at the end. See Appendix B.

⁵²⁹ Lit. "The *Súfiyán* had an example in their own selves, and therefore they did not require advice from others."

7th.—To constantly repeat, "O God, Thou art the True and Only God, Thou alone art pure; I am an unworthy sinner, but Thou art the Forgiver of sinners."

8th.—To remember the constant necessity⁵³⁰ of a murshid or teacher, to give strength to devotion, and to give aid in the dark and difficult path.

9th.—To welcome every grief and misfortune as a blessing.

10th.—To pain neither yourself nor others.

11th.—To trace every morning and evening, with the forefinger (of the right hand) on the forehead, the Name of the True God, of the prophet and of the twelve Imáms; and on the first of every month, when they saw the new moon, to trace the same sacred words on the breast.

12th.—To eat what is lawful, and clothe themselves in clean robes; (156) as these outward habits of cleanliness aid inward piety.

13th.—To reverence parents with a reverence like unto devotion.

14th.—To preserve the mysteries of the sect as a profound secret.

15th.—To let the heart be always with God, wherever the body may be.

16th.—To be kind unto all men, to pain none, and to desire to pain none.

17th.—To resign themselves to the Will of God in all things; never to complain, but to be grateful for everything.

These were the tenets, he says, taught by Fayázw 'Alí, before the arrival of Mír Ma'súm in Persia.

Fayázw 'Alí soon died and was succeeded in his office, by his son Núr 'Alí Sháh, who, though young in years, was old in piety.

The number and rank of the followers of Mír Ma'súm excited alarm in the minds of the priests of Isfahán, who transmitted so exaggerated an account of affairs to 'Alí Murád Khán, and recommended him so strongly to support the faith, by the punishment of those, whose opinions were alike hostile to true religion and good government, that the monarch, the moment he received their representation, sent orders to cut off the noses and ears of some of the most zealous of the obnoxious sect; and, as a further disgrace, to shave the heads of all who had adopted their opinions.⁵³¹ The writer of the manuscript here followed informs us, that men, notorious for their profligacy and infamy, were employed as spies to discover the doctrine of the Súfis. These men reported that Mír Ma'súm was considered as a god by his disciples, and that Núr 'Alí Sháh, Mushták 'Alí Sháh, and others of his favourite disciples personated the angels, Gabriel, Michael, &c. The ignorant soldiers, entrusted with the execution of the mandate, were not very capable of discriminating between true believers and infidels; and we are assured by a contemporary writer, that many orthodox Muhammadans had their noses and ears cut off, and their beards shaved, upon this memorable occasion.⁵³² Mírzá Hidáyatulla, Mustafi, is said to have been the person, who first undeceived 'Alí Murád Khán, and caused him to stop the persecution of the Súfis.⁵³³ But Mír Ma'súm 'Alí and Núr 'Alí Sháh were not willing to remain where they had been so publicly proscribed; and they proceeded, accompanied by a crowd of followers to Kirmán; where, however, the chief priest, alarmed by the defection of his flock, denounced vengeance against them, and forced Mír Ma'súm to fly to Mashad in Khurásán. He was refused admission into that city and went to Hirát, with the

A.D. 1782, A.H. 1197.

A.D. 1783, A.H. 1198.

A.D. 1785, A.H. 1200.

⁵³⁰ Lit. "To always have in his vision the form."

⁵³¹ Lit. "In short, gradually, the number of followers of Mír Ma'súm increased to such an extent, that the priests of Isfahán became alarmed, and represented matters to 'Alí Murád Khán in such an exaggerated and extravagant manner, stating that the protection of the true religion and good government required that a barrier should be set up, as soon as possible, against this torrent of heresy and blasphemy, that 'Alí Murád Khán, in consequence, gave orders to root out the ears and noses of some of this sect, and to shave the beards of all who had adopted their views."

There are three expressions in the above sentence particularly worthy of note: 1, amhá namúd "represented;" 2, tá zúid ast "as soon as possible;" 3, gosh o dimágh kandan "to root out the ears and noses." Amhá really means "giving a sword a fine water, making it very bright." The meaning here given to dimágh will not be found in any Dictionary; but dimágh is commonly used in Persia to signify the nose.

⁵³² Lit. "The soldiers, who were deputed to cut off the noses and ears of these Súfi dar-weshes, made no distinction between them and true believers, and (as it were) drove donkeys and cows with the same stick. One writer informs us that, upon this occasion, many noses and ears were, on suspicion, (cut off and) thrown on the ground, and their beards and monstachios (shaved off and) blown to the winds."

"To drive donkeys and cows with the same stick" is an idiom signifying, to treat good and bad alike; the explanation of it, of course, is that the cow, a mild creature, requires a very light beating, but the stubborn donkey requires to be well beaten, before he can be got to move. The cow, here, refers to the true believers or Shí'as; the donkey to the Súfis.

⁵³³ Some of the principal inhabitants of Isfahán, shocked at these proceedings, interested themselves in favour of the Súfis, and 'Alí Murád Khan was persuaded to send a second order to stop the persecutions he had at first commanded.—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XXII.

A.D. 1789, A.H.
1204.
A.D. 1794, A.H.
1209.

desire of proceeding by Kábul to India; but his fame, and the number of his followers, alarmed the king of the Afgháns, who compelled him to return to Persia. At Kirmán, to which he returned, Mushták 'Alí Sháh, one of the most pious of his disciples, was put to death.⁵³⁴ One of the crimes of this person was his excellence as a musician. We are told that he played upon the *tár*⁵³⁵ in so harmonious and touching a manner, as to melt into tears all who heard him.

A.D. 1797, A.H.
1212.

(157)

Núr 'Alí Sháh and Mír Ma'súm had proceeded to Karbalá, and intended to have remained there, as a place of safety,⁵³⁵ but the solicitations of the inhabitants of Kirmánsháh, where they had before resided, induced them to revisit that city. The numbers, that crowded to meet them, excited the jealousy and indignation of the chief priest, who was a man of the highest reputation both for his learning and piety. Alarmed at the rapid progress of infidelity, the pontiff determined to put an instant stop to it, by the most violent measures.⁵³⁶ He placed Núr 'Alí Sháh in confinement; and, during the commotion that followed this act, care was taken that some of the swords of the faithful should slay Mír Ma'súm, who was murdered when at prayers in the midst of his followers. The king highly approved of the conduct of the chief priest of Kirmánsháh, who, in a most able but violent letter to the prime minister, which was made public, endeavoured, and not without success, to expose the various heresies of the Súfis, against whom it was the object of his life to direct the popular indignation.⁵³⁷ This sect, however, notwithstanding the efforts of their enemies to repress them, continued to increase in numbers; and Núr 'Alí Sháh, with all those who adhered to him, was banished the kingdom. He returned some time afterwards, and was, we are informed, urged by his followers to create a disturbance and murder the tyrannical priest. The mild spirit of Núr 'Alí Sháh is said to have revolted from this extreme; and he again fled to Karbalá, from whence he went towards Músál. His avowed disciples were, at this period, about 60,000; but many more were supposed to be secretly devoted to him; and, among the latter, a great majority were inhabitants of Persia. The writer of his history states, "that two inhabitants of Kirmánsháh, who were distinguished by an extraordinary appearance of zeal, dressed the food of Núr 'Alí Sháh on the day that he was suddenly attacked by those violent spasms, which, in a few hours, terminated his existence. Their flight led all to suspect them of having poisoned him. Núr 'Alí died at 9 A.M. on the 10th of Muharram A.H. 1215. He expired close to the grave of the prophet Jonas, within a league of the city of Músál." From the circumstances attending his death, his being poisoned was attributed to Áká Muhammad 'Alí, the high priest.⁵³⁸ Two of the devoted adherents of this teacher were afterwards taken up, and sent in confinement to the reigning monarch, who commanded them to be sent to the high priest of Kirmánsháh, and empowered that determined enemy of the Súfis, to do what he chose with the offenders; the result was, that they were put to death.⁵³⁹

A.D. 1797, A.H.
1212.

A.D. 1799, A.H.
1214.

A.D. 1800, A.H.
1215.

⁵³⁴ *Tár*, the abbreviated form of *sítár*, (three strings) is a species of guitar with three strings.

⁵³⁵ *Lit.* "With the view of perhaps passing some time in safety, under the shadow of the protection of the thresholds of the descendants of 'Alí."

⁵³⁶ *Lit.* "The high priest in question, fearing lest the flame of their heresy and blasphemy should blaze up, determined to fell them from the very root with the axe of violence."

⁵³⁷ *Lit.* "After this, Áká Muhammad 'Alí represented the state of affairs in an epistle to the prime minister, and in that letter he exposed the weaknesses of the Súfi faith in a very full manner, and set forth the dangerous consequences that would arise from the spread of it. When the king heard of these doings, he approved, and accorded his consent to what had been done."

In the Persian, *Shakháfat* has been written instead of *Sakháfat*, by a clerical error; the three dots over the first letter should be erased.

⁵³⁸ The danger that was to be apprehended from his fame, and the circumstances attending his death, which happened at this period, gave reason to suspect that he was poisoned; and from the circumstance of those, who were supposed to have perpetrated this act, being natives of Kirmánsháh, his disciples openly ascribed his death to the great opposer of the Súfis, Áká Muhammad 'Alí, the mujtahid, or high priest, of that city. Áká Muhammad 'Alí used always to treat this accusation as a malignant calumny. He asserted that the story of Núr 'Alí Sháh being poisoned was an invention, and that he died of the plague.—(Malcolm.)

⁵³⁹ Malcolm, in a note, says, the letter from Fath 'Alí, the reigning monarch, to Áká Muhammad 'Alí, empowering the latter to put the two Súfis to death is a curious document. The following is its purport, as given in the manuscript in my possession.

"As the Súfis have at this time extended their belief to an alarming extent, and obtained many foolish and credulous converts, who adopt their faith, and dress in their fashion; as all this is contrary to the interests of the true religion, and has occasioned much thought to the wisest of our state; as you have also urged us much on this subject, we have taken the ill into consideration, and have written to all our governors and officers, to punish these offenders if they do not recant; to take from them all which they have plundered from weak men; and if the proprietors of this wealth cannot be found, to distribute it among the poor. We have, in short, ordered that the sect be extirpated and put an end to, in order that the true faith may flourish. Áká Mabdí and Mírzá Mabdí have been deceiving the people about Hamadán, who consider them as holy teachers; they were sent prisoners to our presence; we send them

Some of those, who pretend to have knowledge upon this subject, estimate the numbers of the Sûfis in Persia, between two and three hundred thousand persons; but it is impossible that they can have any means for forming such a calculation, and they probably include in this number, not only those who believe in the visionary doctrines of this sect, but those whose faith in the efficiency of the forms and usages of the established religion has been shaken by the tenets of Sûfi teachers. The latter class are very numerous; and they have probably been increased by the violent means which have been taken to defend the established religion. Every Sûfi, that has suffered death, is deemed a martyr, and those who revere their memory contend that the cause of truth could never require to be supported by acts of cruel persecution.²⁰

In the above account of the Sûfis of Persia, I have studiously limited my observations to the most remarkable facts and events connected with their doctrine and history. I have carefully abstained in this chapter from attempting to give any description of the various and extraordinary shapes, which this mystical faith has taken in India, nor have I ventured to offer any remarks on the similarity of many of the images and opinions of the Sûfis of Persia to the Gnostics and other Christians, or indeed to those of some of the ancient philosophers of Greece. The principal Sûfi writers are familiar with the wisdom of Aristotle and Plato; and their most celebrated works abound in quotations from the latter. It has been often assumed, that the knowledge and philosophy of ancient Greece were borrowed from the East; if they were, the debt has been repaid. The life and opinions of Pythagoras, if translated into Persian, would be read, at this moment, as that of a Sûfi saint. The tale of his initiation into the mysteries of the Divine Nature, his deep contemplation and abstraction of mind, his miracles, his passionate love of music, his mode of teaching his disciples, the persecution that he suffered, and the manner of his death, present us with nearly an exact parallel to what is related of many of the most eminent of the Sûfi teachers, and may lead to a supposition, that there must be something similar in the state of human knowledge and of society, where the same causes produce the same effects. (159)

The Christian religion has, at no period, made any progress in Persia, though that kingdom has been visited by many missionaries. There is, amid the mountains of Kurdistan, a small colony (of Nestorians) who are supposed to have resided there more than thirteen centuries.²¹ The Armenian colony, who dwell in Jalfâ, one of the suburbs of Isfahan, though they no longer enjoy the privileges bestowed upon them by Shâh 'Abbas the Great, are still protected in the full exercise of their religion.

The Jews in Persia, who are not numerous, cannot appear in public, much less perform their religious ceremonies, without being treated with scorn and contempt by the Muhammadan inhabitants of that kingdom. There are numbers of Jewish families at Shiraz and at Hamadân. This race are not only efficiently protected, but respected, in Turkey, where they enjoy both wealth and consideration. The Gahrs, or worshippers of fire, do not experience much toleration, except at Yazd, where they obtain respect on account of their numbers. They have, in that city, a magistrate of their own tribe, who presides over the ward they inhabit; and they observe, in their places of worship, the forms that were established in the reign of Ardashîr Bâbâjân, the founder of the Sâsânî dynasty.

by Ashraf Khân, Yûsufî (state messenger), to be delivered over to you, whom we consider as the wisest, the most learned, and most virtuous of all the 'Ulamas of our Kingdom. Put them to death, confine them, or punish them in the way you deem most proper and most consonant to the decrees of the holy religion. May your health and prosperity continue."

²⁰ The great proportion of the Sûfis of Persia are not to be distinguished from the other part of the Muhammadan population. They are, in fact, required, when, in the first ranks of this mystic faith, to conform to the established religion; and the gradual and unseen manner, in which men are led into infidelity, is justly stated by Muhammadan divines to be one of the greatest dangers, that attend this delusive doctrine.--(Malcolm).

²¹ Malcolm says "When I was at Sahna in A.D. 1810, I found a colony of forty families of Nestorians, who had a pastor and a small church. They appeared to live in great comfort, having uniformly, according to their own account, enjoyed the favour and protection of the Wâlis, or princes, of Ardâlân. This is chiefly to be ascribed to their peaceable and industrious habits. They were mostly artificers and manufacturers."

CHAPTER XXIII.

An account of the Government of Persia; with observations on the Judicial, Revenue, and Military Establishments of that Kingdom.

Chapter XXIII.

It would be a waste of time to commence the description of the government of Persia with a discussion upon the nature of that authority, upon which orthodox Muhammadans believe the right to govern others should be exercised. From the death of Muhammad, the right of every race of potentates, who professed his religion, has rested chiefly on the sword; but policy has often led to the sacred name of Imám or "vicar of the prophet," being bestowed on those who exercised sovereignty, particularly the Caliphs of Arabia; and we may, perhaps, refer the comparative permanence of some of the greatest of the Muhammadan dynasties to that increase of respect, which they have derived from the union of temporal and spiritual power. None of the various races of kings, who have reigned in Persia, since the subversion of the authority of the Arabian Caliphs,⁵⁴² have ever been esteemed the head of the religion of that country. The Sáfavian monarchs were revered and deemed holy;⁵⁴³ but they never assumed the chief ecclesiastical power. That power, which, according to the belief of the Shí'as, was only legitimately exercised by the prophet, and the twelve Imáms, or descendants of 'Alí, is considered to belong to Mahdí, the last Imám, who has disappeared, but who is still believed to exist.⁵⁴⁴ It is exercised, during his concealment, or rather invisibility, by those holy men, who are raised by popular suffrage to the dignity of mujtahid, or high priest.⁵⁴⁵

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Power of the
monarch of Persia.

The monarch of Persia has been pronounced one of the most absolute in the world; and it has been shown that there is reason to believe, his condition has been the same from the most early ages. The word of the king of Persia has ever been deemed law; and he has probably never had any further restraint imposed upon the free exercise of his authority, than what has arisen from his regard for religion, his respect for established usages, his desire of reputation, and his fear of exciting an opposition that might be dangerous to his power, or to his life. There are no assembly⁵⁴⁶ of nobles, no popular representatives, no ecclesiastical council of 'Ulamá⁵⁴⁷ in Persia. It is a maxim in that nation, that the king can do what he chooses, and that he is completely exempt from responsibility. He can appoint and dismiss ministers, judges, and officers of all ranks. He can also seize the property, or take away the life, of any of his subjects, and it would be considered as treason, to affirm that he was amenable to any checks, except those which may be imposed by his prudence, his wisdom, or his conscience. The exact limitations to which he is subject cannot easily be defined, for they are equally dependent upon his personal disposition, and

⁵⁴² The 'Abbási Caliphs derived their name from 'Abbás, the son of 'Abdul Maṭlab, and reigned from A.D. 749 till their extinction in A.D. 1258.

⁵⁴³ On account of their descent from a saint. The learned Kämpfer, who visited Persia in A.D. 1712, has given a very curious account of the opinion, which the Persians entertained of their sanctity. To give the character of this feeling, it is enough to mention, that the water, in which the Sáfavian monarch washed, was deemed a cure for all complaints.—(Malcolm).

⁵⁴⁴ The belief of the Shí'as is in direct opposition to the tenets of the Sunís, who maintain that the Imám should be always visible. They say, that he should neither conceal himself, nor be a common object.—(Malcolm).

⁵⁴⁵ They may be deemed the head of the hierarchy of Persia. Malcolm says; "I write from several Persian manuscripts of authority, and from the information of several able men of that country, with whom I conversed upon the subject." Chardin states, that the Sáfavian kings were deemed the vicars, or successors, of the Imáms.

⁵⁴⁶ The usages of the monarchs of Tartary required that they should call a Kuraltai, or assembly of chiefs, upon all great occasions; and when the immediate descendants of these monarchs governed Persia, they probably complied with this custom; but the Kuraltai appears to have been assembled less as a deliberative body, than to give force and effect to a measure, upon which the prince, who presided at it, had previously resolved. Nádir Sháh went through the mockery of consulting an assembly of this description, before he usurped the crown.—(Malcolm).

⁵⁴⁷ 'Ulamá signifies "learned men;" and as the highest kind of 'ilm, or science, among the Muhammadans, is a knowledge of the Kurán and traditions, those skilled in this branch of knowledge are termed "Ulamá", which, in the Turkish empire, describes a body of priests, who, acting under the maftí, or chief pontiff of the empire, both control and support the power of the grand signior.—(Malcolm).

upon the character and situation of those under his rule ; particularly of that part of the community, who are, from their condition, the most exempt from the effects of arbitrary power.

The ecclesiastical class, which includes the Mujtahids (or priests who officiate in the offices of religion) and the *Kāzwis* (or those who expound the law as laid down in the *Kurān* and the books of tradition) are deemed by the defenceless part of the population as the principal shield between them and the absolute power of the monarch. The superiors of this class enjoy a consideration that removes them from those personal apprehensions, to which almost all others are subject. The people have a right to appeal to them in all ordinary cases, where there appears an outrage against law and justice, unless when the disturbed state of the country calls for the exercise of military power.

The merchants of Persia are a numerous and wealthy class ; and there is no part of the community that has enjoyed, through all the distractions, with which that kingdom has been afflicted, and under the worst princes, more security, both in their persons and property. The reason is obvious : their traffic is essential to the revenue ; oppression cannot be partially exercised upon them, for the plunder of one would alarm all ; confidence would be banished, and trade cease ; besides, the merchants of Persia correspond with those of the adjacent countries ; and the king, who ventured to attack this class, must consent to have his name consigned to disgrace and obloquy in every quarter. Notwithstanding these claims to favour and protection, contributions, in the shape of loans, have often been raised upon this class ; and fines are occasionally levied, on granting, or securing to, them commercial privileges.⁵⁴⁸

The citizens of great towns, who have no further protection than what they find in that respect which the absolute monarch of the country is disposed to pay to law and usage, and to the character of their priests and magistrates, are much more exposed to the effects of a tyrannical government, than the wandering tribes, who constitute the military part of the community in Persia, and whose condition, in a very great degree, protects them from oppression. These tribes may, in fact, be considered as a camp of soldiers, who are only exposed to the common vicissitudes of military life, and who are formidable from the character of that social union, which causes them to entertain common feelings of attachment and of resentment.⁵⁴⁹ The power of the monarch over this class of his subjects may be said to be liable to the same fluctuations, as that which he exercises over the principal tributaries of the kingdom, whose submission or disobedience is always determined by the weakness or strength of his authority. (160)

The kings of Persia are considered as completely absolute in all that relates to their own family. They may employ their sons in the public service, or immure them in a *haram* ; deprive them of sight or of life, as their inclination or their policy may dictate. It was the practice of the Saffavian kings, after the time of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, to confine the princes of the blood ; and those not intended for the succession were usually deprived of sight,⁵⁵⁰ that they might not have it in their power to disturb the peace of the country. The successor to the throne, though fixed upon by the king, was seldom declared till the moment of his elevation ; but the rank of the mother was, according to the custom of that family, of no consequence ; and the son of a slave (if it suited the pleasure of his royal father) had as good pretensions to the crown as the descendant of the highest born princess, who boasted the honour of marriage with the sovereign. The reigning family of Persia have adopted usages more congenial to the feelings of the military tribe to which they belong. A number of the sons of the present monarch are employed in the chief governments of the kingdom ; and a prince, not the eldest of the king's sons, but whose mother is of a high family in the Kājār tribe, has been declared the heir of the crown, and has for many years enjoyed a consideration, and exercised a charge,

⁵⁴⁸ Lit. " But notwithstanding these considerations, heavy contributions, by way of taxes, have been laid on them ; and at other times they have been subject to unfair impositions (taking and collecting) under other names."

Malcolm says : " In a recent instance, when a case occurred in India, the decision of which materially affected the interests of the Persian merchants, the interference of the Court was refused until a sum should be collected, as the price of an application to the English Government."

⁵⁴⁹ Lit. " And as they have a kind of special union among themselves, their enemy or good will is the cause of fear or hope (for the monarch)."

⁵⁵⁰ Chardin states that " these princes were deprived of sight at all ages." He gives a shocking description of the operation of taking out the eyes, which appears to be the same as that now practised. It had been the custom to scar the eyes with a hot iron, but a discovery that this was not effectual, led to the cruel method of taking them out altogether with a sharp pointed instrument.—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XXIII.

suit to his high destination. It appears, therefore, that there is no fixed rule for the treatment of the princes of the blood royal in Persia; but, in all periods, the members of his family have been entirely dependent⁵⁵¹ upon the monarch. Their condition is regulated by his feelings, or by his policy; and he is considered by his subjects to have even a more absolute authority over them than over his domestics, courtiers, and ministers. The sons of the ruler of Persia have, in fact, no rights that are either recognized by law or by custom. No mediating power can interpose between them and their parent and sovereign. Born on a precipice, they are every moment in danger of destruction, and are alike subject to fall by their virtues as their crimes; for the jealousy of a despot is excessive, and he usually views, with increased suspicion and alarm, every action of those who are placed nearest to his throne.

From what has been stated, we may assume that the power of the king of Persia is, by usage, absolute over the property and lives of his conquered enemies, his rebellious subjects (including bands of public robbers⁵⁵²), his own family, his ministers, public officers, civil and military, and all the numerous train of his immediate servants and domestics, and that he may punish any person of the above classes without examination or formal procedure of any kind whatever. But in all other cases that are capital, the forms prescribed by law and custom are observed; and the monarch only commands, when the evidence has been examined, and the law declared, that the sentence shall be put in execution, or that the condemned culprit shall be pardoned. There are, no doubt, instances in which the king exceeds that prerogative which usage gives him; but these are rare; and when they occur, it is generally under a pretext that the offence is dangerous to the person, or to the power, of the king. It is, indeed, obvious that the hierarchy of the country could not maintain its respect and popularity, if the law, of which it is the organ, was openly contemned and set aside. But we cannot understand the character of the power of the monarch without constant reference to the actual condition of the empire he governs. Persia, in its most tranquil state, contains tributaries, who reluctantly acknowledge his authority; mountain tribes, who subsist by plundering their less warlike neighbours; ambitious nobles, who are eager to establish their independence; and even the more peaceable part of the population have been of late so habituated to change, that they are prompt to obey any new master, whom the fortune of the hour places over them. The sovereign of such a country must be dreaded, or his power could not be effective; and we consequently find that some of the monarchs of Persia, who have been stigmatized by travellers on account of their cruelty, are those under whom that country has been most prosperous. The exaggerated accounts spread of their barbarity have arisen, in a great degree, from the king, himself, ordering all executions, and from the court of his palace being often the scene of bloodshed. But a practice, at which we shudder, is deemed, by the Persians themselves, essential to the preservation of the royal power. It adds, they believe, in a very great degree to that impression of terror, which it is necessary to make upon the turbulent and refractory classes of the community.

His personal duties.

There is no country in which the monarch has more personal duties than in Persia; there were a few instances, among the weakest and most depraved of the Sáfavian family, of the reigning monarch confining himself entirely to the palace, and communicating with none except favourite eunuchs; but these remarkable exceptions only prove the general rule by which the kings of Persia are guided in the execution of their sovereign functions. The mode of performing these appears to have differed but very little from the most ancient times to the present day. At an early hour in the morning, the principal ministers and secretaries attend the king, make reports upon what has occurred, and receive his commands. After this audience, he proceeds to his public levée, which takes place almost every day, and continues about an hour and a half. At this levée, which is attended by the princes, ministers, and the officers of the court, all affairs, which are wished to be made public, are transacted; rewards are given, punishments awarded; and the king expresses aloud those sentiments of displeasure, or approbation, which he wishes to be promulgated. When this public levée is over, he adjourns to a council chamber, where one or two hours are given to his personal favourites and to his ministers. After the morning has been passed in this manner, he retires to his inner apartments; and, in the evening, he again holds a levée, less public than that of the

⁵⁵¹ "Lit. Under command."

⁵⁵² Bands of public robbers are considered in the same light as rebels, and put to death, when seized, without trial.—(Malcolm).

morning, and transacts business with his ministers and principal officers of state. Chapter XXIII.

The usual occupations of the monarch of Persia are liable to no interruption but what proceeds from illness, the pursuit of field sports, or occasional exercise on horseback. When in camp, his habits of occupation are the same as in his capital; and we may pronounce that he is from six to seven hours every day in public, during which time he is not only seen by, but is accessible to, a great number of persons of all ranks. It is impossible that a monarch, whom custom requires to mix so much with his subjects, can be ignorant of their condition; and this knowledge must, unless his character be very perverse, tend to promote their happiness. (162)

It is impossible to give an exact description of the duties, which the prime minister⁵⁵³ of a king of Persia has to perform; these depend upon the degree of favour and confidence he enjoys, and upon the activity and energy, or indolence and incapacity, of his sovereign. He is usually deemed the medium through which political negotiations, and all affairs that relate to the general welfare of the state, should be transacted. He receives and introduces foreign ambassadors, corresponds with the principal governors of provinces, and, when he is a decided favourite, he exercises a great influence over all the branches of the government. The late *Hájí Ibráhím*, during the whole period he was prime minister to *Áká Muhammad Khán*, presided over every department of the state. The prime minister is sometimes placed at the head of every department, and at others, this great power is divided, and a separate minister has charge of the public revenue. This is the case at present; *Mirzá Shafí* is prime minister, and *Hájí Muhammad Hussain* presides over the financial and revenue departments of the kingdom. The title attached to this office was *Amín-ud-daulah* or "the safety of the state." He is, at present, called *Nidzám-ud-daulah*, or "the regulator of the state." These arrangements rest solely with the king. He has also four chief ministers, who are dependent upon his favour, from hour to hour, not only for the authority they exercise, but for the preservation of their property and lives, which may be said to be always in peril. Their danger is increased with their charge; and their time is incessantly occupied in personal attendance upon their sovereign, in the intricacies of private intrigues, or the toils of public business. Men must be very efficient before they are competent to fill such stations, and they are generally selected on account of the reputation they have attained in inferior offices. It is a maxim of policy, not to raise a nobleman of high birth and rank to the station of prime minister. Perhaps few of that class in Persia are equal to the duties; but if they were, it would not be deemed wise to trust men with the use of the king's name, and of the royal seal, who might employ them to further their own plans of ambition, and who could not be cast down without exciting a murmur of discontent, if not a spirit of turbulence, among their vassals and adherents. As the administration is, in general, constituted, the disgrace or execution of a minister creates no sensation whatever. There are instances of a departure from this policy, but they are too rare to be considered otherwise than as exceptions to a general rule.

Duties of the Secretaries of State.

Besides his chief ministers, the king of Persia is aided by secretaries of state, called *Munshís* and *Mustaufís*, in every department; they preside over different offices or chambers of accounts, which are termed *Daftar Khána*, or chambers of records; and in them the accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the kingdom, throughout the ecclesiastical, civil, revenue, and military branches of its government, are kept with much regularity and precision.⁵⁵⁴ It is rare, however, that any of the officers, who fill these departments, enjoy any extensive influence, though it is from this class that the ministers of the crown are often selected.

A great change has taken place in the whole frame of the court of Persia since the *Súffavían* kings occupied the throne. Some of the monarchs of that race were accustomed to pass a great part of their time in the *haram*.

⁵⁵³ The Persian title of this officer is *Ítimád-ud-daulah*, which means "the trusted of the state." He is, at present, more commonly called *Sadr-i-ádzam*, which means "the first in precedence," or prime minister. — (Malcolm).

⁵⁵⁴ Lit. "Besides the chief ministers, there are also *munshís* (secretaries of state) and *Mustaufís* (auditors of accounts); by whose means most of the business of the state is transacted, and the records of the receipts and disbursements of the kingdom are made over to them. The office, in which the *Mustaufís* sit, is termed the *Daftar Khána* (record chamber); and in it they keep with precision all accounts connected with the disbursements and receipts of the revenue of the state and expenditure of the country, in all matters relating to the stipends, pensions, orders on the revenue for payment of services, and hereditary pensions of the *Ulamás* *Mashaikhs*, *Sayyids* and poor devotees, and the pay and allowances of civil and military officers, and *batta* and extra allowances to soldiers."

X.B.—Malcolm says the *Munshí-ul-Mamálík*, or secretary of state, and the *Mustaufí* (counsellors) are among the first in rank; their seal is necessary to every royal mandate.

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The consequence was that they fell under the dominion of women and of eunuchs. The latter sometimes were promoted to the first stations in the kingdom, and always exercised a commanding influence. The *Kájár* chiefs, who have, since the downfall of this family, filled the throne of Persia, have not yet changed the manly habits of their ancestors for usages of so degenerate a character; and eunuchs are very seldom employed beyond the walls of the *haram*.⁵⁵⁵ The chief officers of the king's household, and those who preside over the ceremonies of the court at festivals, feasts, &c., and his domestics, have not necessarily any official concern with the affairs of government; but as they often, particularly the latter, become great favourites, and enjoy more of the personal confidence of their master than his ministers, they attain, in an indirect manner, a considerable influence, if not authority, in the state.

Laws of Persia.

The law of Persia, like that of all Muhammadan nations, is founded upon the *Kurán* and upon the traditions. From this circumstance, the duties of the priest and the judge are combined; and the hierarchy has attained great power, from the priests being the administrators of the sacred law, and having, in that capacity, the ability to shield the people, in some degree, from those incessant attacks to which they are exposed from the violence and rapacity of their sovereigns and rulers.

Administration of justice.

Justice is administered in Persia in two distinct modes. The written law, which Persia has in common with every Muhammadan country, is termed *Shara'*. It is founded on the *Kurán* and the *Sunnat*, or oral traditions; but since the establishment of the faith of the *Shi'as* as the national religion in Persia, the learned men of the ecclesiastical order, who administer this law, have rejected all traditions which come from the three first Caliphs, or from others, whom they deem the personal enemies of 'Alí and the family of the prophet.

By the theory of a Muhammadan government, there should be no courts of justice except those established for the administration of the *Shara'*, or written law; but in Persia there is another branch of judicature, which is termed '*Urf*, or customary law; and the name is referrible to the principle that should govern the secular magistrates by whom it is administered, who ought to decide all cases brought before them according to precedent, or custom. This law, if it can be termed such, is never written; for Muhammadans can have no written laws but the *Kurán* and the traditions. It varies in different parts of the empire, because it has reference to local, as well as common, usages. The king, as temporal monarch, is at the head of the '*Urf*, or customary law; which may indeed be considered, through all its branches, an emanation from the royal authority, although it is administered upon principles that are grounded on a professed regard for the habits and prejudices of the people.

There can be no doubt respecting the origin of this system. The rulers and chiefs of Persia, though converts to the Muhammadan faith, have neither been disposed to sacrifice, at the shrine of the religion they embraced, their temporal power, nor the laws and usages, which they had inherited from their forefathers; and while they submitted to those ordinances which were deemed sacred and indispensable, they have preserved, as more conformable to their prejudices and to their system of government, the '*Urf*, or customary law; but the administration of this law has always varied with the power and disposition of the monarch. There have been periods in the history of Persia, when the religious zeal of the sovereign has caused almost every case to be referred to the ecclesiastical judges, as in the reign of Sultán Hussain; and at others, as under Nádír Sháh, the whole authority has been vested in the secular magistrates.⁵⁵⁶

(164) The ecclesiastical order pretend that the *Shara'*, or Divine Law, which they administer, should take cognizance of all cases whatever; while the courts of '*Urf*, or customary law, have succeeded, supported by the temporal power, in limiting their functions to the settlement of disputes about religious ceremonies, inheritance, marriage, divorce, contracts, sales, and all civil cases; while it reserves to itself the decision in all proceedings respecting murder, theft, and every crime that is capital, or that can be called a breach of the public peace; but, in cases of murder, it calls upon the aid of the court of *Shara'* whenever it desires to act according to the law; and, in all such cases, evidence is taken, and the law declared by the *Shaikh-ul-Islám*, or presiding judge of the court of *Shara'*.

⁵⁵⁵ I have known only two or three instances of eunuchs being employed in situations of trust during the present reign. I however, observed, that they were treated with uncommon attention and deference.—(Malcolm).

⁵⁵⁶ We may safely conclude, Malcolm adds, that the latter are prone to encroach upon the privileges of the former: and, as they possess power, they can seldom be at a loss for pretexts to justify their proceedings.

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they owe their rank. The reason is obvious; the moment they deviate, the charm, which constitutes their power, is broken; men no longer solicit their advice or implore their protection, nor can they hope to see the monarch of the country courting popularity, by walking to their humble dwellings, and placing them on the seat of honor, when they condescend to visit his court. When a mujtahid dies, his successor is always a person of the most eminent rank in the ecclesiastical order.⁵⁶²

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The mujtahids of Persia exercise a great, though undefined power, over the courts of Shara', or written law, the judges of which constantly submit cases to their superior knowledge: and their sentence is deemed irrevocable, unless by a mujtahid, whose learning and sanctity are of acknowledged higher repute than that of the person, by whom judgment has been pronounced. But the benefits, which the inhabitants of Persia derive from the influence of these high priests, are not limited to their occasional aid of the courts of justice; the law is respected on account of the character of its ministers; kings fear to attack the decrees of tribunals, over which they may be said to preside, and frequently endeavour to obtain popularity by referring cases to their decision. The sovereign, when no others dare approach him, cannot refuse to listen to a revered mujtahid, when he becomes an intercessor for the guilty. The habitations of this high order of priesthood are deemed sanctuaries for the oppressed; and the hand of despotic power is sometimes taken off a city, because the monarch will not offend the mujtahid, who has chosen it for his residence. When I was in Persia, *Ákâ Muhammad 'Alî* of Kirmânsâh (before mentioned), *Mirzá Abul Kâsim* of Kumm, and *Hâjî Mir Muhammad Hussain* of Isfahân, were the most celebrated. *Hâjî Sayyid Hussain* of Kâzwîn had died five years before, but his memory was so highly venerated, that his house continued to be considered a sanctuary.

The Shaikh-ul-
islâm.

The next in rank to the mujtahid is the Shaikh-ul-islâm.⁵⁶³ There is a Shaikh-ul-islâm to every principal city in Persia; he is nominated by the king, from whom he receives a liberal salary; but it is a station, in which the desires and wishes of the inhabitants are almost invariably consulted, and one, to which the individual is usually promoted from a general belief of his superior sanctity and knowledge. These officers often attain a respect hardly inferior to that enjoyed by the mujtahid. They, like them, studiously avoid any open connexion with men in power. In large cities, there is a *Kâzrî*,⁵⁶⁴ or judge, under the Shaikh-ul-islâm; and the latter has, in general, the further aid of a council of *Mullás*, or learned men, many of whom give their services gratuitously, in the hope of increasing their reputation, or of recommending themselves to notice and employment. In the lesser towns there is only a *Kâzrî*; and, in villages, they have seldom more than an inferior *mullá*, who can read a few sentences of Arabic, which entitles him to perform the ceremonies at a marriage, divorce, or funeral, to make out common deeds, and to decide on plain and obvious cases. When subjects of intricacy occur, this officer refers to the *Kâzrî* of the neighbouring town, by whom the cause is often carried before the court of the Shaikh-ul-islâm, or supreme judge of the provincial capital.

The Kâzrî.

The Muftî.

There is also in Persian courts an officer who bears the name of Muftî, but who has none of those great powers, which are associated with that title in Turkey. His duty is more to prepare an exposition of the case before the court, and to aid with his advice, than to decide; but as this office requires a man of learning, his opinion often influences the judgment of his superiors.

The lower ranks of the priesthood in Persia are seldom entitled to a share of that praise, which has been bestowed upon some of the superior branches of this order. They neither enjoy, nor can expect, popular fame, as their situations are not permanent. They are exposed to great temptation; and receive, with their office, but a very limited income. We can, therefore, believe that there is truth in those accusations, which represent them as being, in general, as ignorant as they are corrupt and bigoted.

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The art and venality of the *Kâzrîs* and *Mullás* of Persia are often noticed by the writers of that kingdom; and the character of this class

⁵⁶² And though he may be pointed out to the populace by others of the same class, seeking him as an associate, it is rare to hear of any intrigues being employed to obtain this enviable dignity.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁶³ A term, which literally means "the elder, or chief of the faith," but which, in its common sense, signifies the supreme judge of the court of Shara', or written law.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁶⁴ This officer was originally supreme civil judge in all Muhammadan countries; he still retains great powers in Turkey, though under the Muftî; and, among the Muhammadan states in India, he is the chief judge; but, in Persia, the *Kâzrî* is considered as under the Shaikh-ul-islâm in all cities, where that high office exists.—(Malcolm.)

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(167) law ; and their decisions on such points are received as evidence in the court of the lay magistrate ; who is also in the habit of continually referring to them all cases, which he desires, either from personal or political reasons, should be decided by their authority ; as for instance, any case where a lay magistrate conceived his decision might involve him in dispute with any person of rank or influence, or when he feared he might, by the punishment of a man of a tribe, excite a dangerous spirit of revenge ; and in criminal cases, the chief judge of the court of Shara' pronounces sentence according to the decrees of the sacred law, after a due examination of evidence and proof.

The decisions of the courts of Persia, whether those of written or customary law, are speedily obtained ; and a suit in them is attended with little apparent cost, though considerable sums are often given in bribes.⁵⁷⁰

It has been already stated, that the king of Persia deems himself vested with an authority independent of the law ; and considers that he can, from the prerogative of his high condition, take the life, or seize the property, of any one of his subjects ; but it has been shown that the exercise of his absolute power is practically limited. In all cases, where he does not personally decide, or delegate his authority to others, the criminal law of Persia is administered in a manner conformable to what is laid down in the Kurán. Theft may be forgiven, and murder compounded, if the party from whom the property is stolen, or the legal heir of the person that has been slain, are disposed to mercy. The pardon of theft or murder is grounded upon the last portion of the following two verses of the Kurán (Sale Vol. I, page 128) : " If a man or woman steal, cut off their hands, in retribution for that which they have committed. This is an exemplary punishment appointed by God ; and God is Mighty and Wise. But whosoever shall repent after his iniquity, and amend, verily God will be turned unto him ; for God is inclined to forgive and to be merciful ; " and again with regard to compounding murder (Sale Vol. I, page 30) : " O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the slain ; the free shall die for the free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a woman ; but he, whom his brother shall forgive, may be prosecuted, and obliged to make satisfaction according to what is just, and a fine shall be set upon him with humanity. This is indulgence from your Lord, and mercy ; and he, who shall transgress after this, by killing the murderer, shall suffer grievous punishment."⁵⁷¹ Mutilation for theft, though commanded in the Kurán, is seldom practised ; but the king often inflicts capital punishment on those who are convicted of having stolen to any large amount. When a man or woman is murdered, the moment the person by whom the act was perpetrated, is discovered, the heir at law to the deceased demands vengeance for the blood. Witnesses are examined ; and, if the guilt be established, the criminal is delivered into his hands, to deal with as he chooses. It is alike legal for him to forgive him, to accept a sum of money as the price of blood, or to put him to death. The barbarous usage of committing the execution of the law into the hands of the injured individual is still practised in Persia. It is only a few years ago, that the English Resident at Abúshahr saw three persons delivered into the hands of the relations of those whom they had murdered. They led their victims bound to the burial ground, where they put them to death ; but the part of the execution, which appeared of most importance, was to make the infant children of the deceased stab the murderers with knives, and imbrue their little hands in the blood of those who had slain their father. The youngest princes of the blood, that could hold a dagger, were made to stab the assassins of the late Áká Muhammad Khán, when they were executed ; and it has been before mentioned, that the successor of Nádir Sháh sent one of the murderers of that monarch to the females of his haram, who, we are told, were delighted to become his executioners.

In the time of the Súffavian kings, the court of the Díván Begí not only passed its decisions upon the cases of murder and robbery which occurred in the metropolis, but over the whole kingdom. This court, we are told, took particular cognizance of four crimes ; the knocking out of a tooth, or an eye, cases of rape and of murder. Other crimes, the same author says, were judged on the spot where they were committed, by the Hákim or chief magistrate, who referred all civil suits to the Shara', or court of written law ; but it is added, that it was the peculiar privilege of nobles, public ministers, all king's guests, including ambassadors and envoys from

⁵⁷⁰ The administration of the customary law, or 'Urf, is more summary than that of Shara', because it is more arbitrary. All forms and delays of law arise out of a respect for persons and property, that is unknown to this branch of the administration of justice in Persia, which always imitates, in its decisions, the promptness of that despotic power from which it proceeds, and by which it is supported.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁷¹ Manslaughter is, according to the Kurán, to be expiated by releasing a believer from slavery, by paying a fine to the relations of the deceased, or by giving alms.—(Malcolm.)

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Begler Begs, Hákims and Dároghas appointed by the king; Kalántars and Katkhudás elected by the people.

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Administration of justice among the wandering tribes.

The king nominates the Begler Begs⁵⁷⁶ and Hákims, or governors of cities, who are not required, as a matter of course, to be natives of the place of their government; nor is it necessary that the Dárogha⁵⁷⁷ should be so; but the Kalántar, or chief magistrate of the city, and the Katkhudás, or magistrates of different wards, though nominated by the king, must necessarily be selected from the most respectable natives of the city. Though these officers are not formally elected, we may assert that the voice of the people always points them out; and it may be further stated that, if the king should appoint a magistrate disagreeable to the citizens, he could not perform his duties, which require that all the weight he derives from personal consideration should aid the authority of office. In small towns or villages, the voice of the inhabitants, in the nomination of their Katkhudá, or head, is still more decided; and, if one is named whom they do not approve, their incessant clamour produces either his voluntary resignation or removal. These facts are important; for there cannot be a privilege more essential to the welfare of a people, than that of choosing, or even influencing the choice of, their magistrates (Ráis or Rish-i-sufaid).⁵⁷⁸ It is true that these cannot always screen them from the hand of power, and they are often compelled to become the instruments of oppression, but still the popularity with their fellow-citizens, which caused their elevation, continues to be their strength; and, in the common exercise of their duties, they exhibit every attention to their comfort, happiness and interests. It is important to state in this place, that, in every city or town of any consequence, the merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, and artisans, have each a head, or rather a representative,⁵⁷⁹ who is charged with the peculiar interests of his class, and conducts all their concerns with the governor of the town. This person is chosen by the community to which he belongs, and is appointed by the king. He is seldom removed from his situation, except on the complaint of those whose representative he is deemed; and even they must bring forward and substantiate charges of neglect or criminal conduct, before he is degraded from the elevation to which their respect had raised him.

It must be obvious that no general description of the administration of justice can comprehend the various communities, which form the population of an empire like Persia. It has been before mentioned that the military part of the inhabitants of that country are divided into tribes, who derive their origin from different nations. The Turks from Turkistán or Tartary; the Arabs from Arabia; and the original tribes of Persia, consisting of the Kurd, Lak, Zand, and many others. All these tribes, though speaking different languages, have nearly similar customs. They usually live in tents, subsist upon their flocks or the chase, and change their residence with the season. The system of the internal government of the whole of this race of men is nearly the same. They profess the Muhammadan religion; and consequently acknowledge the authority of the written law, as laid down in the Kurán and the traditions. During the reign of the Sáfavian kings, the Sadr-us-Sudúr, or chief pontiff, appointed a Kázwi or judge, to every one of the principal tribes of Persia; and the power of this person formed a considerable check upon the chief of the tribe. Nádir Sháh, when he abolished the office of Sadr-us-Sudúr, changed this system; and the only persons of a religious character, who at present remain with the tribes, are Mullás, who can perform marriage ceremonies, grant divorces, give names to children, or repeat the prayers at a funeral.⁵⁸⁰ In any cases of importance that they have occasion to refer to the courts of Shara' they apply to the Kázwi, or Shaikh ul islám, of the nearest town.

The customary law of these tribes differs materially from that of the rest of the population; they have, in fact, a separate system of jurisdiction. Besides the chief, there are persons at the head of each division or

⁵⁷⁶ Begler Begs are governors of provinces; this is a Turkish word, signifying "thousands of thousands."

⁵⁷⁷ The Dárogha is the lieutenant of police, who acts immediately under the Hákím or governor.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁷⁸ The Rish-i-sufaid are the elders, who preside over the different branches of the tribe. The literal meaning of this word is "gray-beard;" and this authority was, no doubt, meant only to be given to elders; but it is often hereditary, and consequently sometimes falls to young men.

The word Ráis may be translated "Esquire," according to the ancient signification of that word in English. It implies, in Persian, the possession of landed estate, and some magisterial power. The Ráis is, in general, the hereditary head of a village. The name is derived from the Arabic word "rás" which signifies "the head." The use of this term in Persia is, I believe, confined to those districts which are inhabited by persons descended from the tribes of Arabia.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁷⁹ This person is termed Wásita-i-a-náf or, the mediator, or representative of his class.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁸⁰ Lit. "Instructing and shrouding of the dead." Tallín is the ríel voce instruction of the dead, when first buried, by an Imám, on the subjects of the Muhammadan creed.

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wrongs, to promote his cause. Many instances might be mentioned to show the action of this spirit of revenge. I know none more remarkable than that which recently occurred between the families of the tribe of Shafti, and that of the governors of Risht. A manuscript in my possession contains the following statement of this feud, or rather family war: "In the time of Sháh Sultán Hussain, Kásim Khán, Shafti, slew Áká Kamál, governor of Risht, which is the capital of Gílán; his son Áká Jamál, slew Karím Khán, the son of Kásim Khán, who had murdered his father. Áká Rafi' the brother of Kásim Khán, slew Áká Jamál, and revenged his nephew. Hidáyat Khán, the son of Áká Jamál, slew Áká Rafi', and five of his brothers and nephews; a child, called Áká 'Alí the son of Kásim, was the only person of the family of Shafti, that was preserved. Hidáyat Khán, desiring to employ the tribe of Shafti, was compelled to put this child at their head, as they refused to serve except under one of the blood of their chief. Áká 'Alí made his escape, and when he attained his 16th year, he was aided by Áká Muḥammad Khán in an attempt to revenge his father, uncles, and brothers. He succeeded in taking Hidáyat Khán, whom he slew. Two of that chief's sons, Hussain Kulí Khán and Fath 'Alí Khán were sent to the Persian Court; and when the present king obtained the throne, he gave the former a small force to endeavour to recover Gílán. This chief ordered two of his men to conceal themselves in a wood to assassinate Áká 'Alí, as he passed along a road in their vicinity; they were successful in doing so; and the relations of that chief, alarmed at his fate, fled to the island of Lankarán, and claimed the protection of Mustafá Khán, Tálísh. The reigning monarch invited them to return to their family possessions of Shaft. On his sending a sealed Kurán as the most sacred of all pledges, they came back; but they thought of nothing but revenge; day and night they watched the movements of Hussain Kulí Khán; at last one of the brothers of Áká 'Alí succeeded in shooting him, as he was riding along the road. There has yet," the writer, who gives this account, states, "appeared no man of courage among the descendants of Hidáyat Khán; but the murdered Hussain Kulí has left an infant son; and if this boy prove worthy of his family, he will no doubt revenge the blood of his father." At the period this account was written, A.D. 1810, the feud between the families of Shafti and Risht had continued about seventy years.

To proceed; it is very usual for the heir of a person, who has been murdered, to demand not only goods and horses, but one or more of the nearest female relations of the murderer in marriage. The person, who receives a bride in this manner, neither pays the customary sums to his father-in-law (Shír bahá), nor settles a dowry on his wife;⁵⁶³ it is not unusual to demand two or three females, from the family of the murderer, for the heir and nearest relations of the deceased. This is deemed the best of all modes of ending the feud, as it binds those in ties of kindred, who were before the most inveterate enemies.

(173) The tribes of Persia have very different usages relative to forgiveness of murder; some have a pride in being considered implacable, and invariably exact life for life; but this is certainly not common. If a person belonging to a tribe desire forgiveness for a murder that he has committed, it is usual for him to hang a sword round his neck with a black cord, and to go in that suppliant manner to the heir, and declare, when he approaches him, that he comes to receive his doom. Though the laws of honour almost always restrain his enemy from putting him to death, it is very rare that even the mandates of his superiors can compel one of these fierce barbarians to save his life by what he deems an unmanly and abject submission. When a man of a wandering tribe, or a poor citizen, who has committed murder, is condemned to pay the price of blood, but cannot raise the amount required, it is customary to oblige him to wear a large iron collar round his neck, and to beg from all he meets, till he collect enough to discharge the fine. The persons, who carry this symbol of their guilt and repentance, are the most importunate of mendicants.

⁵⁶³ Shír bahá (or price of milk) is the money, &c., usually sent to the father-in-law to distribute among the attendants of the bride, for their services to her during her infancy. This is not usually received by men of wealth and position, but is common among the lower classes. The meanings, given by Richardson, are, I think, incorrect.

Kábi is the marriage portion, or settlement on a wife at marriage, which the husband is bound to pay to the wife, if he divorces her without sufficient cause. It is her portion on her husband's death, and is paid out of the estate before any debts, or payments of any kind. It is called "Mahr" in Arabic, and is of two sorts; Mahr-i-Mu'ajjal, or dowry paid down on the spot, and made over to the bride at the time of marriage; and Mahr-i-mu'attal, (or mu'ajjal), or promised settlement, which is bound to be paid after marriage, in case of divorce, or death. The bride's dowry, or presents given her by her parents and friends, including clothes and furniture of all kinds, which she brings to her husband, is called Juhiz.

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deemed independent of the king of that country. The small island of Khárák is the only one, in which there is a garrison of his troops. He, however, claims a right of sovereignty over them all.

It is the custom for the principal officers of the empire, and the chiefs of tribes, who are employed, or dwell, at a distance, to have a part of their family at the capital. These hostages (for such they are deemed) are always watched, but seldom strictly guarded, unless where the person, for whose fidelity they are a pledge, is suspected of treason. When he actually rebels, they are sometimes put to death; but examples of this severity are not frequent. The dread of their occurrence, however, while it retains numbers in the path of duty, makes every ruler, who is at all independent, refuse, as long as he is able to do so, to comply with this custom; and his consenting to send his eldest son, or any part of his family, to remain at court, is always considered as a token of complete submission.

(179) The condition of the principal feudatories of Persia has been noticed. These, though they acknowledge the paramount power of the monarch, have always denied his right of interference in the internal government of their country. The Wálí, or prince of Georgia, whose territories have recently become a province of Russia, held for many years, the first rank among those great tributaries. The Wálí of Ardalán, in Kurdistán, still enjoys the dignity and privileges, that belonged to his ancestors. This chief exercises all the functions of a sovereign within the limits of his hereditary possessions. His system of government is, in its general features, the same as that established in other parts of Persia, only that his personal authority is limited by the situation in which he is placed; for he is checked in the exercise of his power by the fear of the superior lord; as well as the necessity of preserving that attachment to his person, which constitutes his strength.

Though there are several cities in Kurdistán, the military tribes of that country seldom inhabit either towns or considerable villages, nor do they assemble, except for purpose of war, in large encampments. The dwelling of the native of this province is often solitary; and whether the Kurds reside in houses or tents, it is seldom that more than a few families dwell together. (The Lazakis are remarkable for having their habitations similar to the Kurds). This custom, whether it arises from the nature of the country, or from adherence to ancient usage, is calculated to retard every progress to improvement. We have, as mentioned in the 20th Chapter, evidence of the inhabitants of this country continuing in an unchanged state for more than twenty centuries. Neither the rays of civilization, which enlightened Persia under Naushirwán, nor those that shone upon the neighbouring provinces of Arabia and Turkey under the most celebrated of the Caliphs, ever penetrated amid the wilds of Kurdistán, though these were situated in the immediate vicinity of Mada'in (Ctesiphon) and of Baghdád. The Kurd saw and despised a knowledge, which was accompanied by an effeminacy and luxury, that rendered man more subject to the oppression and cruelty of his rulers. He enjoyed the savage freedom, and felt a pride in the privations and hardships to which he was exposed, when he regarded them as associated with his independence. It is not surprising that religion should never have made any great progress amid such a people. There is no proof of their ever having been zealous followers of the worship of Zoroaster, and, though they now profess the faith of Muhammad, they are, in general, not only inattentive to the substance, but careless in the observance of the ceremonies it prescribes. In Sáhn, which is the capital of Ardalán, there are mosques and priests; and in these the shará', or written law, is observed in nearly the same manner as in other parts of Persia. The principal distinction arises from most of the inhabitants of Kurdistán being Sunis; and their laws are, consequently, founded on the interpretation of the authorities, which are respected by that sect. Among the ruder tribes of this province, the shará', or written law, meets with little attention. They continue to be governed by the usages of their forefathers, and yield an obedience to their chief, which he repays by his protection, and by exercising his authority, on all occa-

sions, with the utmost regard to their customs and prejudices. A remarkable instance of this occurred when I visited Persia in 1810. I was encamped at a village called Zágħa, situated within 25 miles of Sahná. The officer, who attended, as Mihmándár, or entertainer, to the mission on the part of the Wálí, informed me that a man of the tribe of Sarikoh had, the day before, murdered his father. "He will, of course, be put to death?" I observed. "I do not think he will," said the Mihmándár, "for (180) he is himself the heir, and there is no one to demand the blood." "Will not the prince of the country take action in the affair?" "The Wálí," he coolly replied, "cannot interfere in a case like this, unless appealed to; and, after all, if the affair be agitated, the murder will be compounded. Among the Kurds, who are always at war, the life of an active young man is much too valuable, to be taken away on account of a dead old man!"

There are several districts in Kurdistán, whose inhabitants profess allegiance to the monarch of Persia, but who are even more independent of all attempts at interference, with their internal government, than the province of Ardalán, because these mountains are more inaccessible. Among these, one of the most remarkable is a branch of the tribe of Halkári, who dwell in that lofty ridge of hills, which lies immediately west of the Lake of Úrmiya, and approaches the vicinity of the town of Salmás, in Ázar-báiján. This petty state, if we can credit those accounts we receive of it, has continued, for centuries, to enjoy more freedom than almost any other Asiatic tribe or nation can boast. Their ruler is a direct descendant of Kará Uthmán, a chief of the tribe, who was governor of Wán, when the Amír Taimúr attacked that province. They are represented as constant in their allegiance to this family, except when serious complaints are urged against the reigning representative. On such occasions, the Ákás, or heads of the different branches of the tribe, whose condition is also hereditary, assemble, and summon him to attend. His conduct is tried; and if a majority of voices decide that he is unfit to rule, a particular leader, told off for the purpose, places a pair of slippers before him. The chief immediately rises; and, putting them on, walks out of the assembly. The next heir succeeds; but the discarded ruler is protected in the enjoyment of the personal property of his family. We are assured, that all the usages of this community display the same character; and that, in their internal administration, the lowest individual is treated with respect and consideration by his superiors. There is an account of this tribe in the History of Kurdistán. I received some curious anecdotes of their usages from an intelligent officer, who accompanied me from Tabriz and had long lived in the neighbourhood. He told me, that they were seldom engaged in internal wars; but that, recently, after the majority had decided to depose a ruler, the Áká, whose duty it was to place the slippers, had refused to do so. This had produced a division; and Abbás Mirzá, the Prince Royal of Persia, had interfered in favour of the deposed chief, but had failed in his efforts to restore him to his authority.

Several of the chiefs of Khurásán, who profess allegiance to the Kings of Persia, are as independent of his authority, in the internal rule of their possessions, as the Wálí of Ardalán; but their situation differs from his in this essential respect; he inherits a power, which has been enjoyed by his ancestors for many centuries; theirs is of recent usurpation; and its destruction, and the subjugation of their principalities, to a similar condition with the other parts of Persia, would be considered as the natural and just consequence of the re-establishment of the royal authority; whereas any attempt to reduce Kurdistán to that condition would be deemed a departure from the policy of the wisest and most powerful of the monarchs of Persia, who have always respected the rights of the chiefs and the inhabitants of this country; and we may here notice a remarkable fact in proof of this observation, that, though some of their rulers boast a descent from the family of Muhammad, neither Arabs nor Tartar tribes have ever permanently settled in that great province.

The mode of collecting the revenue in Persia is intimately connected with the general administration of justice, and cannot be separated. The same officer sometimes presides in the courts, and this union of power is favourable to the interests of the country, according to the personal character of the officer who is vested.

The fixed revenue of Persia, which is appropriated to the crown and government 585 lands (Khálísa), from taxes levied on the landed property terms royal domains and government lands, is estimated at about three millions sterling is chiefly derived from the *khálísa*, or more particularly at the disposal of the King. The *khálísa* is a term in opposition to *khálísa* or government lands, means the royal lands, which are appropriated to support palaces, and certain parts of the public service, and the establishment, — (Maleolu).

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of individuals (Arbábí), and from every species of goods and merchandize. Before the time of Nádir Sháh, a great proportion of land had been granted for the support of the ecclesiastical establishment.⁵⁸⁶ Personal estates had also increased, during the long period of tranquillity which Persia had enjoyed under the Sáfavian dynasty, to a great extent; but Nádir, as has been before stated, seized that property, which had been appropriated for the support of the ecclesiastical body; and, amid the revolutions that have succeeded his usurpation, almost all the principal families of Persia have perished, and their estates fallen into the possession of the crown. A very small portion of that territory, which once belonged to the hierarchy of the country, has been restored. The priests⁵⁸⁷ are, at present, chiefly supported by pecuniary stipends; and a deduction from the revenue is admitted in every province to pay the judges of the courts of shara, to keep colleges and mosques in repair, and to maintain religious establishments. I possess no documents that can enable me to state, with any correctness, the exact provision made for the priesthood in Persia. The Mujtahids, or chief pontiffs, usually live upon their own means, or have lands assigned them. If there are any Wakf or charity lands, in the province to which they belong, they are placed under their management. The Peshnamáz, or chief officiating priests at the mosques, have salaries,⁵⁸⁸ but many of the most respected of this class perform the duty gratuitously. The Shaikh-ul-Islám, Kázwis, &c., have all fixed salaries. In the city of Isfahán, the sums, paid to persons of this description, were estimated at 10,000 túmáns per annum. The annual pay of the Shaikh-ul-Islám at Shíráz was 2,000 túmáns.

Crown lands are cultivated by the peasantry of the province on terms very favourable to the cultivator. These terms are said to have been settled by Naushírwán the Just. They are certainly of great antiquity. When the crop has been measured on the ground,⁵⁸⁹ by an officer appointed for the purpose, if the seed be supplied by government, it is returned, and ten per cent. of the whole is next put aside for reapers and thrashers; after which, the crop that remains is equally divided between the cultivator and the king. In one account it is stated, that this mode varies, and that the cultivator in some parts of the kingdom, pays two-thirds to the king. Lands that are the property of individuals⁵⁹⁰ pay according to their situation in respect to water. When that is certain and obtained from a flowing stream, they pay 20 per cent. of their produce, after deducting seed, and the allowance before stated for reapers and thrashers. If watered from aqueducts,⁵⁹¹ they pay 15 per cent.; and if from wells or reservoirs, only five.⁵⁹² Every encouragement is held out to the cultivators to sow those government lands, the crops of which depend solely upon rain. If the cultivator find the seed, ten per cent. only is demanded for the king. Another manuscript states 20 per cent.; but when this is the case, it is probable government find the seed. This crop is sometimes abundant, but often fails altogether. This description of land, if it belongs to individuals, is seldom cultivated; when it is, the proprietor pays 5 per cent. on the actual produce.

The mode of settlement that has been described, applies to what is termed, the summer harvest (Saifi). In that of winter (shatwi), rice is the only grain, the cultivation of which is regulated by the same rules. The seed of every thing else, that is sown at this season of the year, is furnished by the cultivator. The crop is divided into three parts, of which one only is the property of government. Private estates pay 15 per cent. of the produce on winter crops. The time of sowing also varies according to the difference of climes; in the provinces of 'Irák, Ázarbáiján and Fárs, the summer crop is reaped between the middle of the month of June and the end of July.⁵⁹³ In the more arid regions of Persia, it is much earlier. At

⁵⁸⁶ Which had been equally enriched by the generosity of the kings of the Sáfavian dynasty, and by the piety of their subjects.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁸⁷ The priests are styled "lords of the turban" as they wear exceedingly long ones; some of them having turbans as much as thirty yards in length; they are almost invariably white.

⁵⁸⁸ From four to twelve hundred piastres per annum.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁸⁹ Lit. "As it stands," which evidently means before it is reaped.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁹⁰ The estates of individuals are of different tenures, some are free; others pay a small quit rent; and some of a tenure not unlike our copyhold; they are held by deeds for ninety-nine years, renewable on paying a fine of a years' rent.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁹¹ There is nothing of greater value in Persia than water; and the government construct and keep aqueducts in repair: but the cultivator is usually made to pay for watering his field and gardens, in a proportion that exceeds the expenditure, and constitutes the right of supplying water into a source of revenue.—(Malcolm.)

⁵⁹² The duty on estates is generally farmed by the owners, which prevents trouble and the vexatious interference of the subordinate officers of the revenue with the landholder.

⁵⁹³ Lit. "From the end of Júzá to the end of Sartán." These are the astronomical names of the months used in Persia. The following is, I believe, the full list; Jádí (Capricornus) January; Dalw (Aquarius) February; Hút (Pisces) March; Hamal (Aries) April; Thaur (Taurus) May; Júzá (Gemini) June; Sartán (Cancer) July; Asad (Leo) August; Sambala (Virgo) September; Mízán (Libra) October; 'Akrah (Scorpio) November; Kaus (Sagittarius) December.

Shúshtar, and in almost all the provinces of Khúzistán and Sístán, the seed is put into the ground much earlier.

The above may be assumed as the general principles, by which the collection of revenue from land, in most of the provinces of Persia, is adjusted. Local circumstances and usages may make the amount of the government share vary in some parts of the kingdom; but the difference is immaterial. The compact between the owners and cultivators of land and the government is simple, and well understood by all parties. The former often pay a considerable proportion of their rent in kind. This, however, is regulated by convenience, usage, and the ability of the cultivators. Some villages, of which the inhabitants are poor, pay the government share almost entirely in kind; but when the farmer has wealth, he generally prefers making cash payments for the whole, as he avoids, by that means, the interference of the inferior officers of the revenue department. According, however, to the general and established rule, the cultivator should pay half in money and half in kind. I find it mentioned in a note upon a statement of the revenues of Persia, that for every tûmán that is paid in money, one kharwár,⁵⁹⁴ or ass load, of grain is also levied; and the fixed price, when it is taken in money, as it generally is, ought to be one tûmán per kharwár. Of late years, however, government have often exacted at the rate of two, or even two and-a-half, tûmáns per kharwár.

The general mode of settling for large tracts of land does not, of course, apply to rich and highly manured fields, or to gardens in the immediate vicinity of towns.⁵⁹⁵ When Persia was in a tranquil state, we are assured that some of the ground in the vicinity of Isfahán produced more than thirty crowns a jaríb;⁵⁹⁶ but this must have been either garden ground, or fields set apart for the cultivation of melons. Melons have always been cultivated in great abundance in the vicinity of that capital.

The government is always ready to dispose of waste land, particularly if it be required to build upon or to plant a garden. A heritable lease is given, subject to a small ground-tax; and the fruit trees, that are raised, become subject to a tax, which varies according to the age of the tree, and the quality of the fruit. The fixed tax upon fruit is very moderate, and the extraordinary assessment cannot fall heavy, else this delightful luxury could not be raised in the abundance, and at the cheap rate, which it always is in Persia. In a statement, which I received at Shíráz in A.D. 1800, from an intelligent native of that city, I find the tax on vineyards and fruit trees as follows:—Vineyards, (faryáb or certain water) six dinárs⁵⁹⁷ per vine, (bakhs or uncertain) five dinárs per vine; apples, pears, peaches, &c., 20 dinárs per tree; walnuts 100 dinárs per tree. (183)

Both the form and the policy of the Persian government have always disposed it to grant arable lands to the wandering tribes on the most favourable terms; but these seldom cultivate more than is necessary for their own consumption. The vast tracts of fine pasture lands, which are allotted for their winter residence, are considered as part payment for their military service; but a tax is levied upon families, according to their wealth, which is collected by their chief, or by those whom he deposes to exercise his authority. This duty is not always the same, but it is never high. In the statement of collections, which I received at Shíráz, and before alluded to, I find it rated to the inhabitants of that city and district as follows: a milch cow pays annually 300 dinárs; an ass, 200; a brood mare, 1,000; a camel, 300; a sheep, 700 dinárs.

A part of the fixed revenue of Persia is derived from ground rents of houses, rents of caravan sarais, baths, shops, water-mills, manufactures (including cloths of all kinds, glass, leather, hardware, earthenware, &c.), and duties upon all kinds of foreign and home merchandise. Some of the sources of this part of the revenue have greatly increased since the extinction of the Súffavían family and of that of Karím Khán, both of which revolutions have been attended with immense confiscations. Whole streets in the principal cities, which before belonged to individuals, have become the property of government, and are rented to its subjects. The revenue collected from shops is very considerable. When these belong to government, a rent is fixed, which is deemed proportionate to the gain derived by

⁵⁹⁴ The kharwár of grain is 100 Tabríz muns, or about 700 lbs.—(Malcolm).
⁵⁹⁵ This is the only kind of land that is enclosed. It is generally rented for money, and often at a very high rate.—(Malcolm).
⁵⁹⁶ A jaríb is about three-fourths of an acre; but varies considerably in different parts.—(Malcolm).
⁵⁹⁷ A dinár, here referred to, is a nominal coin, in which accounts are kept; there are 1,000 dinárs to the piastre, or about 500 to the English shilling.—(Malcolm.)

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those who hire them. When they belong to individuals, the government claims 20 per cent. of their computed annual profits. The revenue terms, *Sar-shumári* (or numbering of individual's heads), and *Khána-shumári* (or numbering of families), are used in Persia to describe the modes of collecting the ground rents and share of shop profits, in cities and towns, and the manner of levying the duties from the wandering tribes; these imposts are made, not agreeably to the actual condition of houses or families, but as they are rated.

(184) The principles, however, upon which the whole of the fixed revenue of Persia is settled, are at once just and moderate; and the system is so perfectly understood, that it is attended with neither difficulty nor oppression; but unfortunately for that country, its monarchs have never been satisfied with the produce of this revenue; and the justice and moderation of the established assessment have only served to make the inhabitants of Persia feel more sensibly those irregular and oppressive taxes, to which they are continually exposed.⁵⁹⁸ The first of these extra taxes may be termed usual and extraordinary presents. The usual presents to the king are those⁵⁹⁹ made annually by all governors of provinces and districts, chiefs of tribes, ministers, and all other officers in high charge, at the feast of Nauroz, or the vernal equinox. These gifts are regulated by the nature of the office, and the wealth of the individual, and consist of the best of the produce of every part of the kingdom. Sometimes a large sum of money is given, and this is always the most acceptable that can be made. There is a necessity for every officer of high rank making this annual offering, which is, indeed, deemed part of the revenue; and, as such, falls ultimately upon the farmers, cultivators, and manufacturers. The amount presented on this occasion is generally regulated by usage; to fall short, is loss of office; and to exceed, is increase of favour. The tribute, paid to the king of Persia by those princes and chiefs who own him as their paramount lord, is transmitted at this season, and may be classed under the same head as the other presents given at the Nauroz. We are assured that the receipts from this branch of revenue amount to nearly as much as two-fifths of the fixed revenue of the kingdom; and we are more reconciled to a belief of this fact, from a knowledge that one governor of a province has, for several years past, never made an annual present of less than 100,000 *túmáns*. Mr. Morier, who saw the offerings presented to the king on the feast of Nauroz, A.D. 1808, states that the *peshkash*, or offering, of *Hájí Muhammad Hussain Khán* was "fifty-five mules, each covered with a fine *Kashmír* shawl, and carrying a load of 1,000 *túmáns*." This respectable nobleman, who is minister of finance,⁶⁰⁰ and governor of *Isfahán* and all the districts subordinate to that city, derives his power, to make these splendid offerings to his sovereign, from the general improvement of the country committed to his charge.

Besides the usual tribute from dependent princes and chiefs, and presents from officers in high rank, which are made at the Nauroz, there are extraordinary presents of a less defined nature, but which are also of very considerable amount. It is not customary to collect duties in camp; but the merchants, admitted to attend it, are expected to give collectively a large offering in money to the king. Every person appointed to high employ makes a present, as a token of his gratitude; and this amount, which is usually settled before his nomination, may often be deemed the purchase money of his station. Monopolies are not unknown in Persia; but this invidious mode of increasing the revenue is not common. The produce of fines imposed on crimes by the courts of 'Urf, or customary law, and of involuntary presents, extorted from those who are suspended or dismissed from employment, which are levied on the pretext of delinquency, is very considerable; and we are not surprised when informed, that the amount, annually collected from these and other sources, equally corrupt and oppressive, has been estimated at 600,000 *túmáns*; a sum equal to one-fifth of the

⁵⁹⁸ *Lit.* "But the monarchs of Persia have never been satisfied with this amount of revenue, but have harassed and afflicted the people by other means and ways, and have taken (impositions) from them under every sort of name; among which may be mentioned *Peshkash*, or offerings."

The word *anhár*, in the Persian translation, is evidently a misprint; *anhá*, with *hamza* at the end, is meant; it is the plural of *nahw*, and signifies "roads, paths, tracts."

⁵⁹⁹ *Ta'aruf* means "knowing each other, mutual acquaintance," and is usually applied to presents given by way of introduction, among equals; offering to a superior being termed *peshkash*. Malcolm states, that there is every reason to conclude, that this usage of receiving presents on the Nauroz has existed in Persia from the most early times. The custom of approaching superiors with presents is, indeed, the fee, which barbarous despotism exacts from petty rulers and governors under their authority; and, in feudal governments, these presents form a principal part of the revenue of the paramount prince.

⁶⁰⁰ The word "*mu'ayyir-i-mamálík*," used "for minister of finance," is not to be found in *Richardson's Dictionary*. A *mu'ayyir* is an officer entrusted with the assaying of metals, the fixing of price currents, &c.; and hence *mu'ayyir-i-mamálík* has been introduced into modern Persian to express "the minister of finance."

fixed revenue of the state; but it is impossible to make any exact calculation of an amount, which depends so much upon the character of the monarch.

The most oppressive of all the imposts of Persia is called *Sâdir*; a term which denotes that description of taxation, which is raised for extraordinaryaries. If an addition is made to the army; if the king desires to construct an aqueduct, or build a palace; if troops are marching through the country and require to be furnished with rations; if a foreign mission arrives in Persia; if one of the royal family is married; or, in short, on any occurrence not ordinary; an impost is laid sometimes upon the whole kingdom, and at others, only on particular provinces. This is regulated by the nature of the occurrence, which requires the supply, and a consideration of its local, or general, application.

The *Sâdir* extends to all classes. It usually bears lightest upon the wandering tribes, not only because they are the poorest, but because they are the most impatient of this species of taxation. It falls heaviest upon the proprietors of estates, and citizens. It is, or rather ought to be, levied according to defined rules; and every person should pay the *Sâdir* (or contribution) in the proportion that he pays the *Mâhyat* (or fixed revenue); but the governors of provinces usually exercise an arbitrary discretion in the collection of this tax, which renders it more oppressive. The tax is often rendered very severe upon the poorer class of cultivators, by the necessity they are under of selling the crops upon the ground at a low price, in order to pay it. It is not unusual to see grain selling for 1! to 2 *tûman* the load, or 700 lbs., which the farmer has sold at one *tûman*. The governors seize the gross amount that each village has to pay; and this affords them an opportunity of showing partiality, and committing injustice. The sum derived from this source has been calculated at two-fifths of the amount of the fixed revenue; and it has been calculated, on the grounds above stated, that the receipts of the king of Persia from presents, fines, and extraordinary taxes, are equal to the amount of the established taxes, which make the revenue amount to a sum little less than six millions; but a proportion only of this is paid in money into the royal treasury. A large deduction is made for the expenses of collection, and a considerable portion is received in kind, and used for public purposes. It is also a general practice to pay the chief ministers of religion and of justice, the principal officers of state, the royal household, and the army, by assignments on the public revenue of different provinces.

There are sufficient grounds to conclude that the general account, which has been given of the revenue of Persia, is tolerably correct. It rests upon the authority of well-informed natives. Perhaps the total amount stated to be collected is somewhat exaggerated. The disbursements of the government of Persia cannot easily be ascertained; but we know as a positive fact, that they are much less than the receipts. It has, in general, been the policy of the monarchs of that kingdom, as of most Asiatic despots, to amass wealth; for, in all countries where there is no public credit, a full treasury is deemed essential to the security of the state.

It will be important, before we conclude this short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and of the mode of administering justice, and collecting the revenues in that kingdom, to offer a few general observations upon the power of that monarch, and the practical effects of the whole system of the internal administration of the country.

Nothing can be more difficult than to describe the operation of the separate parts, or the whole, of a system of government, which is exposed, like that of Persia, to continual and violent changes; but, though these changes produce a great effect, both on the character and condition, of the nation, they neither destroy, nor materially alter, those rules, which are established for the conduct of the administration, and which, guarded as they are by usage, by public opinion, and by religion, are seldom infringed with impunity. The government of this country may be termed a military despotism, the action of which is regulated by a consideration of the condition of its subjects, and the situation of the empire. The power of the monarch of Persia rests chiefly upon the fear he inspires. It has been well observed, that the arm of a despotic prince should be always uplifted. He must be prompt to repel foreign attack, and to repress every appearance of sedition or rebellion; for, surrounded by the ambitions and the turbulent, he can enjoy no security, and his subjects can know no peace, unless he be dreaded. Powerful nobles, and high officers of the empire, are, from its frame, arbitrary in their respective charges; and when these cease to tremble at the supreme authority, the nation suffers a great increase of misery under a multitude of tyrants.

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The chief ministers of the court of Persia enjoy a very considerable, though indirect, power, from being the medium of representation to a sovereign, who generally acts from the impulse of the moment, and whose decisions must consequently be much regulated by the sentiments of those in whom he reposes confidence. This kind of power, of doing good or evil by secret or open communication with the king, belongs, in a greater or less degree, to all the officers of his government, and the domestics of his household; and, as the nature of absolute power makes it impossible that persons so immediately attached to the monarch should be amenable to any inferior tribunal, it follows that this class should be entirely subject to his will. It is impossible, from the shape of the government, that the condition of this class of persons should be otherwise than it is; and no small proportion of that security, which the rest of the community enjoy, may be referred to the danger, in which those near the king continually stand; for, unless he be very weak, or very unjust, it is hazardous for any of his ministers, or courtiers, to commit violence or injustice in his name.

The governors and chiefs of tribes may be considered in nearly the same relation to the king, as his ministers; and when we reflect on the facility, which the habits of the Persian monarch afford to his subjects of preferring complaints, (for every individual, who resides at the capital, or has the means of going to it, may find an opportunity,⁶⁰¹ of personally communicating with the king) and that policy, which dictates attention to them, we must be satisfied that, in a rude and half civilized community, the exercise of the absolute power of the sovereign, over those to whom he delegates his authority, is essential to preserve the people at large from the oppression and rapacity of petty rulers.

Though a great proportion of the kings of Persia may be deemed capricious, cruel, and unjust, we find very few examples, in the history of that country, of their exercising their absolute prerogative, except over those whom usage, and the condition of the state they govern, have placed at their disposal; but this class has of late become more numerous from the frequent wars and rebellions, with which the kingdom has been afflicted. Amid scenes of revolution, neither life nor property is safe, as the peaceable inhabitants of the country are dragged into a participation of the crimes of the different individuals, who are aspiring to the crown; and that very weakness, which compelled them to acknowledge one party, too often invites the other to plunder them; but it is never considered that a monarch can be justified, unless under the circumstances which have been mentioned, in seizing the property, or taking the life, of any of his subjects, not in his immediate employ.

The king of Persia always exercises his power, as the chief magistrate of the 'Urf, or customary law, in his own capital, and the district surrounding it; and all civil and criminal cases, after being examined by subordinate officers of justice, are submitted to him for decision. His numerous occupations compel him, in the performance of this part of his duty, to, trust, in a great degree, to others, or to form a very hasty judgment on the cases brought before him; and this summary proceeding, added to the mode of execution, which is generally in his presence, and is always inflicted by executioners,⁶⁰² who attend his person, often give a character of barbarous tyranny to acts of the most exemplary justice. We generally find that, in a country like Persia, the inhabitants of the capital, who are under the immediate jurisdiction of the monarch, are the happiest and the best governed. Their temper is of more consequence to the despot, than that of any other part of his subjects; and they are, therefore, treated with more lenity and consideration. They are seldom exposed to be tyrannized over by any other than the sovereign; and, assuredly, of all the evils which belong to absolute power, the greatest is the necessary delegation of its vast authority to mean and sordid agents, whose minds must, from their condition, be insensible to many of the higher motives that may be expected to influence the conduct of the chief ruler.

Many European travellers, who have resided at the capital of Persia, have felt a very natural horror at the tyranny of particular sovereigns; and have given, in consequence, an exaggerated picture of the condition of that country. One writer (Chardin) affirms that "the Persians expect injustice from their kings;" he informs us, that a person often exclaims, when speak-

⁶⁰¹ The usual time is at the morning salâm, "levée." A short time ago, an English artillery sergeant, employed in disciplining the Persian troops, availed himself of this circumstance to prefer a complaint to the king against a paymaster, who had kept back his pay. He succeeded in his application for redress; and the proceeding, on his part, was considered perfectly regular.—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁰² They are termed, "Farrâsh-i-ghazwâb" or "servants of anger or violence," and always attend the king, and are ready, at every moment, to execute his commands.—(Malcolm). See also Appendix C.

ing of another who is oppressive, "Pádsháhi mikunad" (He acts the king); and if they experience violence from any one, they exclaim, "Magar pádsháhe tú" (Perhaps thou art a king); but these idiomatic phrases only prove that they recognize an unlimited power in their sovereign, which they will admit in no other person; they do not imply his interpretation of them; but that the king has a power, which belongs to none other, and not that he is a tyrant. The same author, whose experience was very great, and whose local knowledge was very minute, after a detail of the caprice and cruelty of the kings of Persia, upon which the philosophers of his country have grounded many just, and some erroneous, opinions, concludes with the following remarkable observation: "After all, I never saw, and never heard of, the king committing any outrageous act of violence, unauthorized by a public procedure, against any person, not in the class of courtiers, or public officers of government." With respect to the latter, he very truly states "that the danger they incur does not diminish their solicitude for employment. They listen attentively to the accounts they hear of those countries, where life and property are secure, but the impression made upon their minds is of the same character as that, which men receive, when told of the joys of the other world. It is unaccompanied by any desire to leave that which they inhabit." This writer also observes, and with truth, that, in a government like Persia, it would be impossible to adopt any other than the most prompt and rigorous measures, when a great offender is concerned. It is, indeed, obvious, that a noble of rank (particularly the chief of a tribe) would, almost always, have the means of escaping punishment; and the monarch is forced therefore to proceed with caution lest, in the attempt to destroy a guilty individual, he should hazard his own safety, or the peace of his country. It is from these causes, that marks of favour and honorary dresses not unusually precede disgrace and death. The victim is decorated for the sacrifice; and the dagger of assassination is employed to perform the office of the sword of justice. (155)

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and we have not, in Persian history, another example of so violent an act of authority. If the sovereign be restrained, by a sense of the religion he professes, and a deference for the general feeling of those whom he governs, from oppressing the religious order, he is no less prevented by usage, and the apprehension of exciting secret discontent or open revolt, from interfering with the established customs of the military tribes of his dominions; and even the civil branches of the population of Persia, may, unless in cases of insurrection, be pronounced as exempt from suffering, in a direct manner, from the tyrannical exercise of the personal authority of the monarch of that country. Their lives and property are generally secure, unless under the sentence of the law; and though their judges and magistrates can impose fines, inflict corporal punishment, and sentence to death, they have no power of directing landed property of inheritance to be seized or alienated, unless for the satisfaction of creditors; and we cannot have a better proof of the security of private estates than a knowledge that, during the latter years of the Sülfavian dynasty, land sold for 25 and 30 years' purchase; and that all the late revolutions, which have afflicted Persia, and the heavy impositions, that have been laid upon the inhabitants of that country, have never reduced it below one-half of its former value. About ten years ago, land in the vicinity of Shiráz was sold at 12 years' purchase, which was deemed a very low price.

The king nominates whomsoever he pleases, to be governors of provinces and principal collectors of the revenue; but the military tribe will only obey a leader, who belongs to the family of their chiefs: and the king is not always able to interrupt the regular succession. When he appoints, or, more properly speaking, supports, a chief who is disagreeable to the tribe, their violent discontent and insubordination often compel him to revoke the measure he has adopted. The principal magistrates of cities, (Kalantars) who act under the governor, and those appointed to preside over different wards (Kad Khudás), must, as has been before stated, not only be natives of the city, but persons who are agreeable to the majority of the inhabitants. These officers, therefore, and the magistrates of towns and of villages, may almost be said to be elective. The effect of this system is to render the situation of the magistrate of a town like that of a chief of a tribe; and we often find that it is hereditary in a particular family. A magistrate so chosen may occasionally bend before a storm he cannot resist, and become an instrument of tyranny and oppression; but all his natural feelings, and the interest of himself and his successors, must dispose him to use what power he has, for the protection of his fellow citizens; and the custom, therefore, which grants to the inhabitants of Persia this right of influencing the nomination of their immediate superiors, is very effective in preserving them from some of the worst evils of a despotic rule. This privilege, as has been mentioned, is extended to all the principal tradesmen and artizans of Persia. In every great city, each class has its head (Mufaddam), whom the general voice has raised to that condition; and, through this person, all particular imposts laid upon the trade, or manufacture, to which the party belongs, are paid, while all grievances are represented through the same channel.

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There is no country, in which men enjoy more personal freedom, in regard to their place of residence, than in Persia. All ranks, except those in the public service, or slaves, (who are not numerous) may go where they choose within the kingdom, or leave it whenever they desire to do so. There is no passport required; the government never offer any obstruction to an individual following his own inclination in this particular; and the facility, with which men can remove from the effects of tyranny, may be deemed one of their securities against its oppression. There are some exceptions to this rule. The male Armenians in Persia may leave that kingdom, but they cannot remove the females of their family without a passport, which is seldom obtained but with great trouble and expense.

We have already stated, that the confusion, which prevails in Persia between the courts of Shara' and 'Urf (written and customary law) has been purposely promoted, not only by the monarch, but by all those who enjoy power. It is a great source of illicit emolument; for, in cases of dispute, (except on points expressly limited to the decision of the written law) the favour of the king, or of those civil or military officers, who are vested with his authority, is essential; and it is generally sought by the most corrupt means. It is quite impossible to define the exact nature of a system, which varies with the character of the chief ruler, and of those whom he employs, and which is more or less oppressive, as he is moderate and just, or venal and rapacious. In a country where the law, as it is termed, is administered in so summary a manner, and where decisions are given at the moment, and upon a hurried examination of facts, men with

the best intentions may often pronounce an unjust sentence ; and those who desire to screen guilt, or to punish innocence, have the easy means of doing so under the form of justice. The principal check upon the conduct of subordinate governors is an appeal to the throne, which those, whom they oppress, can always make, as no person can prevent an individual in Persia from seeking that relief ; and when he reaches court, he is certain of attention ; for, supposing even that there is no disposition to redress the injured, it is by an accumulation of these complaints against the governors of provinces and cities, that the king and his ministers furnish themselves with matter of accusation, which either affords a pretext for removing and plundering the party accused, or of compelling him to share with them the spoils, he has obtained by the abuse of his power. It is impossible for the most virtuous public officer to guard against these accusations, which are often brought forward by the intriguing efforts of his enemies ; and when the court is corrupt, innocence is no security. Men in high station, therefore, may be said to be compelled to violence and extortion by the character of the system. They must provide themselves with the only means, by which they can satisfy the cupidity of their superiors, and save themselves from disgrace and punishment.

The same species of corruption, which prevails in the judicial administration, pervades that of the collection of the revenue ; but oppression in this branch is attended with more difficulty ; as it is not unusual for whole villages and districts to rise against it ; and, when the distance prevents their going in a body to the capital, they send deputies. This proceeding is seldom adopted with a hope of obtaining redress, but it is almost certain to stop the progress of abuse ; for no person, unless very powerfully supported, dare continue to oppress those who have carried their complaints before the king. (191)

The situation of the public officers in Persia, from the highest to the lowest rank, appears precarious, and full of anxiety and danger ; yet there is no country, in which employment is more eagerly sought. It always gives consequence, and sometimes wealth ; and all who attain it seem desirous of grasping as much as they can, without a very flagrant violation of law and justice. The higher ranks are, in some degree, restrained by a regard for that popularity, which gives them strength ; and the lower, by a fear of the punishment which follows detection and exposure. The situation of the deputy magistrates and collectors of districts ⁶⁰¹ between rapacious and violent superiors, who desire to exact more than the revenue, and a rude and turbulent populace, who are reluctant to pay even just dues, must however, be very miserable. A few years ago, when the prince, who is governor-general of Fârs, called upon the officers of his court to know what punishment he should inflict upon a very notorious thief, who had just been seized ; " Make him " said a noble, whose age and the loss of his sight had privileged to speak his sentiments with freedom, " the manager of a district in Fârs ; I can conceive no crime," he added, " for which such an appointment would not be an adequate punishment."

The despotic and cruel system of government, which has long prevailed in Persia, has not subdued the spirit of the natives of that kingdom ; nor has it impoverished them in that degree, which might have been expected. The ministers and chief nobles appear to be in the enjoyment of affluence ; and all persons in the public service seem to have ample means of supporting themselves and their families. Some of the merchants and principal inhabitants of towns are possessed of considerable property ; and among the other classes of the people, though few are rich, there seem to be hardly any in actual want. I should pronounce, as far as my own observation went, that there are fewer mendicants in Persia than in any country I ever saw. The lower classes may, in a considerable degree, owe their exemption from penury to their fine climate and productive soil, and to their industry and frugal habits ; but, in Persia, as in other countries, falsehood and deceit keep pace with tyranny and injustice ; and the abuses of the government, and the constant changes to which it is exposed, appear to have more effect upon the moral, than on the physical, condition of the people. In Persia, every man complains of his poverty and of the violence of the government ; but this complaint as often proceeds from a desire to avoid oppression, as from its actual pressure. The system is bad, and those who suffer from it, naturally hate the persons by whom it is administered ; and to this feeling, which is destructive of all social ties between the rulers and those whom they govern, we may, in a great degree, attribute the constant recurrence of those internal troubles in Persia, which have,

⁶⁰¹ Every province in Persia is divided into *balûks*, or districts, to each of which there is a separate *zabit* or manager, whose duty usually combines that of magistrate and collector.

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for so long a period, exposed that country to a succession of civil wars and revolutions.

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The character of the persons entrusted with the government of provinces must always have a considerable influence on the happiness and prosperity of the people.⁶⁰⁵ The Caliphs, while they held that kingdom, divided it among military leaders; and the conquerors from Tartary, who established their sovereignty over it, pursued the same system, but employed the princes of their own families in these high situations. Some of the Sáfavian kings adopted this policy; but the last monarchs of that race confined their sons to the *haram*, as is the modern usage of Turkey; and, with the hope of increasing their revenue, and of preventing rebellion, they nominated men of low birth and civil pursuits to the office of superintendents, or farmers, of provinces; the consequence has been shown; tranquillity was obtained, but the empire weakened. Nádír Sháh, and his immediate successors, employed military chiefs in all the principal governments; and the reigning monarch has divided almost the whole of Persia among his sons; but he places, with these princes, wazírs or ministers, whom he considers in a great degree responsible for the internal government of the province. In some cases, a separate person is appointed superintendent of the revenue, and there is always an officer, nominated by the crown, to command the troops. When I first visited Shíráz in 1800, the Prince Hussain 'Alí Mírzá was Governor-General of Fárs; Chirágh 'Alí was his wazír; Mírzá Muhammad Khán, the son of Háji Ibráhím Khán, was the superintendent of revenue; and Nasrulla Khán, Karágúzálú, was commander of the forces. When I was there in 1810, the prince continued governor-general; but Muhammad Nabí Khán held both the office of wazír and superintendent of revenue. Sádík Khán, a military chief of the Kájár tribe, commanded the troops. It appears very difficult to pronounce on the merits of these opposite systems; that now pursued is certainly the most generous; but, though the conduct of royal governors, who desire to attach those under their rule, and who are above being the mere purveyors of an avaricious court, may give present prosperity to the kingdom, the extent of future danger cannot be concealed. On the occurrence of an accident to their common parent, whom they obey from habit and from duty, their condition becomes critical, if not desperate; and submission, even to an elder brother, is no security against their continuing an object of his suspicion. In such circumstances, rebellion, or flight from the kingdom, present the only roads to safety; and the latter is not likely to be contemplated, till all hopes are abandoned of the former being successful.

Army of Persia.

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We shall conclude this chapter upon the government of Persia, by a short view of the army of that state, which comprises a considerable body of irregular horse, furnished by the military tribes of the country, and commanded by their own chiefs; a numerous irregular militia, raised and supported by the provinces and principal cities of the empire; and a corps of infantry and artillery, clothed and disciplined in the European manner.

The irregular horse of modern Persia are the same kind of troops which opposed the Romans; and they have preserved not only the habits, but the mode of fighting, of their forefathers. The Persians now, it is true, use a carbine instead of a bow.⁶⁰⁶ As the men are robust and brave, and their horses active and strong, there cannot be a cavalry more suited for all the purposes of predatory warfare. The Persians assert, that their monarch can command a body of 80,000 of this description of troops, who perform military service in return for grants of land, and liberty of pasture. Every chief of a tribe is obliged to furnish a quota, proportionate to the number of his followers. (Horsemen are also furnished in other modes. I find it stated in one manuscript, that the possessor of every water-mill in Persia was obliged to contribute a man, mounted and equipped for public service. I am not certain that the usage still exists; but it is not more than six years ago since it was stated, by a Persian nobleman in high public employ, to be one of the resources of the country; it is probable, therefore, that the obligation is recognized, and that when the horseman is not required, the owner of the mill pays a sum of money to government. It is a remarkable fact that an usage, similar to the above mentioned, prevails over many parts of Turkey). Each horseman receives provisions for himself and horse, and a small annual pay. This seldom exceeds five or six *túmans* per annum, and is paid by an assignment on the revenue, which the

⁶⁰⁵ The Sarracens of ancient Persia appear to have had the same power as the *Pašas* of modern times. (Malakán.)

⁶⁰⁶ But, like the *Parthians* of ancient times, they take their aim at their enemy, when at, by only relying from his attack. — (Malakán.)

persons, who receive it, sometimes discount at a considerable loss. Each horseman has also an annual allowance of two ass loads of grain. The officers of this body have a larger pay than the men; but few receive more than fifteen or twenty *túmáns* per annum, and four or five ass loads of grain; and the regulated value of an ass load of grain, if government pay it in money, is one *túmán*. This class of the army, unless there be a prospect of plunder, or their own chief is in command, give their services very reluctantly. They are only obliged to attend a few months in the year; and, if not engaged in active hostilities, always return home during the winter.

The monarch of Persia has, constantly near his person, a body of horse, which are termed, as a distinction, his slaves, or royal guards (*Ghulám-i-sháhí*).⁶⁰⁷ This favourite corps, which, at present, does not exceed three or four thousand men, is formed promiscuously from Georgian slaves, and the sons of the first nobles of Persia. They are well armed, and well mounted, at the public expense; and their pay is not only better than that of the other troops, but they are employed on every service, that is likely to add to their income. They receive from 20 to 30 *túmáns* per annum; and as this is usually given in an assignment upon the revenue, and they are allowed to go personally to receive it, they almost always exact more than their due. This is not difficult; for the very name of *Ghulám-i-sháhí* or "one of the king's personal guards" throws a village, or district into alarm. Each of the princes of the blood, that is employed in a separate government, has a small body of *Ghuláms* or "personal guards," who are upon the same footing, in regard to their pay, equipments and employment, as those of the king.

Almost all the population of Persia are armed;⁶⁰⁸ and there is a militia in every part of the country, which is equally formed from men of wandering tribes, and the inhabitants of cities and villages. The usual duties of this militia are to defend their homes, and to aid the police. They are maintained by the province, town, or village, to which they belong; but, when employed with the army, or in distant garrisons, they receive pay from government.⁶⁰⁹ The number of this registered militia is stated to exceed 150,000 men. They provide their own clothing and arms. The former is the common dress of the country to which they belong; the latter usually consists of a matchlock,⁶¹⁰ sabre and dagger. The militia has no further discipline than that of obeying their own officers; and neither the men of this class, nor the irregular horse, will submit to be commanded by any but those of their own body, whom they deem their superiors. (194)

Before the reign of *Sháh 'Abbás* the Great, the only army of Persia was the irregular horse, and the common infantry or militia of the country. This monarch, with the desire of opposing the Turkish janissaries, and from a wish to check the overgrown power of the *Kháns*, or chief of tribes, formed a corps of 12,000 infantry, and a rude park of artillery. He also raised a body of 12,000 horse, which were commanded by the favourite officers of court. Through the aid of this force of infantry and cavalry, who were indiscriminately formed from men of military tribes and Georgian slaves, and who were entirely dependent upon the monarch, *'Abbás*, and his immediate successors, were able to keep in check, and ultimately to destroy, the power of the great *Kháns*, or chiefs of military tribes, whose followers had before constituted the whole force of the kingdom, and who were first reduced to 30,000 men, and ultimately, so broken and discouraged, that they ceased to be formidable either to the monarch of the country, or his enemies. The spirit and strength of this branch of the army of Persia has been revived by those scenes of turbulence and war, with which that country has been afflicted during the last century; and the army of *Áká Muhammad Khán* consisted of irregular horse and infantry, a few unwieldy pieces of cannon, and a number of *zambúráks*, or camel swivels; but the present monarch has, with a view of opposing the Russians, and of strengthening his internal government, formed a body of regular infantry and artillery, which already amount to 20,000 men; and part of this new body of troops, who have been latterly trained by English officers, are clothed,

⁶⁰⁷ The term of *Ghulám*, or slave, has always been given as a title to the personal guards of Eastern monarchs. If the son of the first noble in Persia is admitted among the guards, he claims the title of *Ghulám-i-sháhí* or "the slave of the King."—(Malcolm).

⁶⁰⁸ In Persia, every man is armed with a sword and a dagger, and may have fire-arms.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁰⁹ *Lit.* "But, when they are with the army, or told off and detached for garrison duty in any distant province, or advanced post, they receive pay from the government."

Sákhlu is a Turkí word, meaning "an advanced post, or frontier fort."

Their pay, when employed, (Malcolm states), is from five to seven *túmáns* per annum, and from two to three ass loads of grain.

⁶¹⁰ *Tufangi fatíla*, i.e., a gun with a match.

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armed, and paid by government, and established on a footing quite distinct from the militia of the country.

(195) The disciplined infantry of Persia consists of two great divisions, called the *Sarbáz* (or the resolute), and the *Jánbáz* (or the contempters of life). The former, which consists of twelve corps of one thousand men each, has been raised and is maintained by the Prince 'Abbás Mirzá, the heir apparent. This division is composed of men of particular tribes and districts. There are two regiments of the tribe of Afshár, two of that of *Shahkí*, two of Marandí, one of the inhabitants of Irwán, one of those of Tabriz and its vicinity, one of Karájadághí, one of Kangúlú, one of Mukaddam, and one of Dambálú. All the men, of whom this division is formed, are natives of the province of Ázarbáiján, which is under the immediate government of their royal commander. The Prince 'Abbás Mirzá has also raised a regular brigade of cavalry, consisting of 1,200 men, and a corps of horse artillery, of sufficient strength to man twenty field pieces. Both these corps are formed of men from the different military tribes. The whole of this body of troops was first disciplined by French officers, and afterwards by English. It has, however, chiefly owed the efficiency it has attained, to the character of 'Abbás Mirzá, who has laboured to assimilate it both in appearance and equipments, to the regular armies of Europe. The pay of the troops, of which it is composed, is superior to that of any other class of troops in Persia. The pay of the officers is from 40 to 500 *túmáns* per annum; and the common soldiers receive 10 *túmáns*, besides certain articles of dress, and rations when on service. The different regiments, of which this force is composed, are willing to be commanded by European officers, but are reluctant to grant the same obedience to Persian superiors of a different tribe. It has, however, been the policy of 'Abbás Mirzá to subdue this spirit; and he has placed some of his favourite officers in charge of corps, formed of tribes to which they do not belong. As an additional encouragement to this new branch of the Persian army, crown lands have been granted to the soldiers who serve in it, on more favourable terms than they are given to any other tenants.

The *Jánbáz*, who are more immediately attached to the king, are nominally of an equal number with the *Sarbáz*, but their real strength is not computed at more than eight or nine thousand men. This body of troops is neither so well paid, clothed, nor disciplined, as that under the prince. They are formed, in the same manner, of different tribes. Among these are two regiments of *Bakhtyáris*; and it is a remarkable fact that these rude mountaineers have been reported, by the English officer who was employed to discipline them, as more tractable and intelligent than any other corps in the service.

There is no subject of such essential importance to any country, as the constitution of that army, which is to preserve its national independence. It appears evident that the military force of a kingdom must be of a character congenial with that of the government, or it cannot be efficient for its defence. A barbarous despotism is always in danger of perishing by the means, by which it was created, and is supported; and the very violence, which it must use to preserve its existence, has the effect of keeping its subjects in a rude state; for they will neither labour to produce that which force may wrest from them, nor abandon any of those defences, which their personal habits, their union, or their local situation, afford them, as a shield against the violence of tyrannical power. In civilized communities, military tribes cannot be allowed to exist, as they are constituted upon principles at variance with such an order of society. In such, therefore, the army of the state is indiscriminately formed from all ranks of its subjects; and the force of example, and the severity of discipline, supply the want of those habits and sentiments, which give energy and force to the warlike inhabitants of a ruder government; but it is one consequence of this condition, that a nation almost entirely entrusts its safety to its army. If that be conquered, it falls; for the remainder of the people cannot become soldiers in a day; and they are, from their occupations and peaceful habits, incapable of that irregular, but effective, resistance, which a population of a different character continue to offer to invaders, long after their armies have been defeated and their cities taken.

(196) It continually occurs, that the despotic monarchs of uncivilized countries desire to have all the advantages of those permanent establishments, which give prosperity and strength to a well-regulated government, and hope to attain these, particularly a disciplined army, without any sacrifice of their absolute power. These efforts to obtain objects, which are incompatible, may succeed so far as to add, for the moment, to the internal tranquillity of the country by checking or subduing the turbu-

lent spirit and ambition of feudatory lords, and their warlike followers; but a total change of the government itself must take place before the new system of defence can operate, further than to paralyze the old. An army cannot possibly be maintained in a state of discipline and efficiency for any length of time, unless its pay be regular, and all its equipments complete; and this can never be the case except in a state, where the succession to the throne is settled, where the great majority of the population are of peaceable habits, and where establishments are permanent, and the laws respected and administered upon principles which are understood, and not liable to be altered at the will of the sovereign, and of those to whom he delegates his authority. That a regular army may be instrumental, by the influence of its example, and habits of order, in promoting civilization, there can be no doubt; but this change must coincide with many other reforms, or every effort to render it effectual to the great object of national defence will prove abortive, and terminate in disappointment.

The reigning monarch of Persia (Fath 'Ali Sháh) has been disposed to try this system by an observation of the advantages, which the Russian derived from his discipline, and a belief, that his subjects, if clothed, armed, and trained in the same manner, would be more equal to a contest with that nation; and he has probably seen with satisfaction the growth of a force, which is also calculated, from its formation, to increase his power over the more turbulent part of his own subjects; but it is perhaps fortunate for his kingdom, that this plan has not yet proceeded to an extent, that can have seriously injured either the feelings or the efficiency of that irregular army, to which Persia must (while her government remains unaltered) trust principally for her defence against the attack of any European power. The means, which this nation possesses to resist such an attack, are far from inconsiderable; but they are of a character, which would not be improved by the partial introduction of a new military system. They consist chiefly of natural obstacles, which nothing but a long period of time, and many radical changes, could overcome. The great proportion of the inhabitants of this kingdom must be civilized, before they could be subdued. Neither the soil, nor the productions of the country, are of a nature to invite conquest; and its internal condition, connected with its relative position to the most warlike and barbarous of all the nations of Asia, would place the European nation, which attempted that project, in a situation of more difficulty and embarrassment on the day that it was apparently accomplished, than on that on which it was commenced.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Observations upon the Climate, Productions and Population of Persia, with some remarks on the appearance of its Cities and Villages, and a short notice of the progress which the inhabitants of that country have made in the study of the Sciences, Fine Arts and General Literature.

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After the full account that has been given of the religion of Persia and the mode of the administration of that kingdom, it will be useful, before we proceed to a consideration of the manners and usages of its inhabitants, to offer some general observations upon its climate and productions; the amount of its population; the style and appearance of its cities, towns, and villages; and the progress which the natives of this celebrated country have made in the useful and fine arts.

Climate of Persia.

Persia, now that Georgia is separated from that kingdom, may be said to extend from the 26th to the 40th degree of north latitude, and from the 45th to the 61st degree of east longitude. There is, perhaps, no region, in the universe, of its extent which has a greater diversity of climate. This difference of temperature, however, appears to be more dependent upon elevation and soil, than upon distance from the Equator. In the southern part of this kingdom, which includes those districts of the provinces of Kirmán, Láristán, Fárs and Khúzistán, that lie between the mountains and the shores of the Persian Gulf, the heat in summer is very great; and it is increased by those sandy and barren plains, with which this tract abounds, and which present, to the eye of the traveller, nearly the same prospects as those of Arabia.⁶¹¹

⁶¹¹ The following table of the mean temperature of Abúshahr, which lies about the centre of this tract, is taken from observations made by Mr. Jukes in 1803.

MONTH.	TEMPERATURE.			REMARKS.
	Sun-rise.	Two P.M.	Nine P.M.	
January	58	65	62	Prevailing winds northerly; violent thunder and lightning on the 19th; little rainfall during this month; distant mountains white with snow.
February	62	66	63	An unusual quantity of rain fell this month; very tempestuous weather, with southerly winds.
March	65½	69	67½	Pleasant weather; a good deal of rain.
April	72	76½	73½	Pleasant weather; northerly winds prevailing.
May	80½	85½	82½	Distant mountains no longer covered with snow; on the 31st, the thermometer rose to 110, in a tent with a fly. Some rain fell in this month, and we had thunder and lightning.
June	86½	93	88½	No rain; prevailing winds W.N.W.; light breezes beginning to blow from the land during the night.
July	89½	98	93	No rain; partly regular land winds after 9 P.M. till morning; prevailing winds northerly; dews at night towards the end of the month.
August	85	100	89	No rain; N.W. winds prevailing; dews at night; thermometer, one day in tents, up at 115, with a S.E. wind; exceedingly oppressive weather.
September	82½	95	86½	No rain; heavy dews; N.W. winds prevailing.
October	75½	87½	78	A very little rain on the 12th; mornings and evenings, at the end of the month, pleasant; winds variable, chiefly northerly.
November	63	75	68	Stormy, with thunder, lightning and rain, during this month; distant mountains seen covered with snow; at the end of the month, pleasant weather.
December... ..	54	65½	63	South-easterly winds, and sometimes violent; the weather, however, usually very pleasant.

Mr. Jukes states, that he made observations on the climate of Abúshahr in succeeding years, and found them nearly correspond with the above.—(Malcolm).

The hot winds, which are known under the name of Simûm,⁶¹² are neither frequent nor attended with danger in this region, which is probably owing to the narrowness of the space between the sea and the mountains. During the two first months of summer, a strong north-westerly wind prevails over the whole of this tract, which, at times, blows with such violence that it brings with it clouds of light, impalpable sand, from the opposite shore of Arabia, a distance of more than two degrees. In the autumn, the heat is more oppressive than in summer; but, in winter and spring, the climate is delightful. It is never very cold; and snow seldom falls on the southern side of that range of mountains, by which it is divided from the other parts of Persia. The rains in this quarter, which are not heavy, fall in the winter, or early in spring. The prevailing winds are from the north-west and south-east; and rain is almost always accompanied by the latter, which, though often very violent, hardly ever continues above three or four days at one period. Some parts of the interior of the provinces of Kirman and Lâristân are subject to extreme heats, particularly those districts of the latter which border upon the desert of Sistân.

The town and district of Shîrâz, and the other parts of Fârs above the mountains, enjoy a fine climate, and are neither subject to the oppressive heats of the lower and more southern parts of Persia, nor to that severity of cold, which is experienced in the more elevated and northern provinces of that kingdom.⁶¹³ The temperature of this part of Fârs varies, according to the elevation of the different valleys, with which it is interspersed, but neither the heat nor the cold is excessive.

The soil of the interior parts of Fârs is, in general, rich and productive. There are few large streams, but abundance of rivulets; and while its more mountainous districts afford excellent pasture for the flocks of those tribes by which they are inhabited, the valleys near Shîrâz, and the other towns of the province, produce almost every kind of grain and fruit in the greatest abundance.

As we proceed northwards to the extensive province of Irâk, the climate improves; and Isfahân, once the capital, and still one of the principal cities, of that kingdom, appears to be placed in the happiest temperature⁶¹⁴ that Persia can boast. Its inhabitants are strangers to that heat which is felt during some of the summer months at Shîrâz; yet their winter is hardly more severe; excepting a few weeks in the year, the sky of this favoured region is unclouded and serene. The rains are never heavy; and the snow seldom lies long upon the ground. The air is so pure and corroded by rust. The regularity of the seasons in this part of Persia is quite extraordinary.⁶¹⁵ When spring commences, there is perhaps no spot in the world, where nature assumes a more lovely garb than at Isfahân; the clearness of its streams, the shade of its lofty avenues, the fragrant luxuriance of gardens, and the verdant beauty of wide spreading fields, combine with the finest climate, to render it delightful.⁶¹⁶ A merchant of Persia, who had travelled to every quarter, was residing at Delhi, and we are informed that, on being asked by the Emperor of India, "my own house," the best spot in the world, he answered without hesitation, "the province of Irâk is admitted, I believe, to be the finest on the earth. Your own house," replied the Emperor. "Yes, please your Majesty; you will allow," was the reply, "that the fourth climate⁶¹⁷ is the finest in that climate, and Isfahân is the first city in Irâk. Now Sa'âdatâbâd is undoubtedly superior to every other ward in Isfahân, and my house is the best in Sa'âdatâbâd." The Emperor smiled and approved both of his logic and patriotism.

⁶¹² The Sirocco in Europe.

⁶¹³ The summer at Shîrâz is warm, but the heat is never excessive; and the nights, during the warmest weather, are cool and pleasant. When I was there in 1800, in one of the hottest days of June, Fahrenheit's thermometer was at noon, 94° in the house, and 100° in a tent. In May, 1810, it never rose at noon, above 88, nor was below 74°. In the morning at 8 o'clock, it generally stood about 60°. In autumn, the heat continued; but in winter it became cold, the thermometer falling considerably below the freezing point. As late as March, there was often a hoar frost upon the ground. April is a delightful month, the thermometer at sunrise being generally from 50° to 55°, at 2 p.m. 80° to 81°, and at 9 p.m. about 64°.—(Malcolm).

⁶¹⁴ Mr. Jukes states that "from the average of twenty-seven days, including the end of May and the beginning of June, the thermometer at sunrise, was 56°, at 2 p.m. 87°, and at 9 p.m. 67°."—(Malcolm).

⁶¹⁵ And we are almost disposed, when we view this enchanting scene, to admit, that the hyperbole is not excessive, which describes it as having an intoxicating effect upon the senses.—(Malcolm).

⁶¹⁷ By the geography of the ancients, which is the only system known in Persia, the habitable earth is divided into seven climes. Irâk is situated in the fourth clime.—(Malcolm).

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The northern cities of 'Irāk do not enjoy so favorable a climate as Isfahān. The country about Hamadān is very mountainous, and the winter severe; while the cities of Kāshān⁶¹⁸ and Kum, which are situated on the verge of deserts, are exposed almost to as oppressive heat in summer, as the countries on the shores of the Gulf. Tih-rān, the residence of the king, which lies immediately under those ranges of mountains that divide 'Irāk from Māzindarān, is exposed to great vicissitudes of climate and is not deemed salubrious.

(199) In Āzarbāijān, the summer is warm, and the winter very severe. Tabriz the capital of this province lies in 38° 10' N. lat.⁶¹⁹ The following account of the climate of this city is taken from a journal, kept by Mr. Campbell, who remained there during the winter of 1808. "On the 20th of October, we had a heavy fall of snow, which covered all the surrounding country; but it did not remain long upon the ground, for the weather again became mild, and we had no excessive cold until the middle of December; from which period till the end of January, the thermometer, when exposed to the air at night, never rose above zero, and in our rooms, at midday, it seldom rose above 18°. January was, by far, the coldest month. The water became almost instantly solid in the tumblers upon the dining table. The ink was constantly frozen in our inkstands, although the tables were quite close to the fire. For at least a fortnight, not an egg was to be had; all being split by the cold. Some bottles of wine froze, although covered with straw; and many of the copper ewers were split. Towards the end of February, the weather became comparatively mild; but on the 1st of May, we had a fall of snow, and such cold weather that it destroyed all the vegetation. Afterwards, the weather became very warm, and they began to cut their corn on the 15th July. In parts of Kurdistān, though situated more to the southward, so great is the effect of elevation, that the winter may be said to commence with the autumn of the surrounding country.⁶²⁰

The northern provinces of Persia, Gilān and Māzindarān have, like its southern, a *cold and a warm region*.⁶²¹ The former is the higher or mountainous part, which borders on 'Irāk and Āzarbāijān; and the latter, those plains that stretch along the shores of the Caspian. Both these provinces abound in forests and rivers, which may be said to be rare in almost every other part of Persia. Silk is cultivated in Risht and in some parts of Māzindarān; but the latter country is most celebrated for its culture of rice, which is of very superior quality; and its producing this grain in such abundance is a proof, that its soil and climate are essentially different from that of the other parts of Persia. The rains in both it and Gilān are frequent and heavy; and many tracts of the lower country are described as very moist and unhealthy.

The great province of Khurāsān has, within itself, every variety of climate; but all those districts which border upon the desert that stretches from 'Irāk to Sī-tān are arid and subject to extreme heat; and, in some parts, the inhabitants are, during a few weeks in summer, compelled to avoid exposure, lest they should be destroyed by the pestilential winds, or buried in the clouds of sand,⁶²² with which they are often accompanied;

⁶¹⁸ The mean temperature of Tih-rān in the month of April, as taken by Fahrenheit's thermometer was 66°, at noon. In May, the thermometer was, in the morning 67°, at 2 p.m. 76°, and at 10 p.m. 72°; but the summer at the capital is subject to excessive heats; and the winter is very cold. The climate of this city, however, and its neighbourhood, is subject to more sudden changes than any other part of Persia. When encamped at Dahm, about 68 miles from Tih-rān on the 13th of June 1810, Fahrenheit's thermometer, which had been at noon 92°, fell at 3 p.m. to 60°, and at 8 p.m. when on the march to Sagzīshād, the wind set in from the north-west, and it suddenly became as cold as in winter. The difference of the thermometer from noon to 12 at night was about sixty degrees. The north-west wind, which had caused this great change, is sometimes called Bād-i-Shahyār, but oftener Bād-i-Kākasain, or, the wind from Kākasain, a mountainous district, immediately to the north of Kūzin. This wind is common in winter, but not in summer; and a storm of the kind we experienced, when it lasts any time, destroys all the fruit, and does great injury to the crops of grain. — (Malcolm).

⁶¹⁹ When encamped near this city in June 1810, we found the thermometer sometimes 68° at sunrise, 94° at 2 p.m. and 56° at 10 p.m. The wind at this season blew strong from the eastward. — (Malcolm).

⁶²⁰ When encamped on the plain of Habatū in Kurdistān, on the 17th of August 1810, the water froze, and the thermometer was 25° at sunrise. This plain is in 36° N. lat.

⁶²¹ "Sarghadd" in the Persian is, I think, a mistake; it should be "Sardak."

⁶²² Captain Pottinger, who, in the beginning of April, 1810, in his journey from Irāk to Persia, passed over a part of the desert which stretches into Khurāsān, has the following interesting observation upon the subject:—

"The soil (if such it may be called) is a very light red sand; the particles of which, when taken into the hand, are scarcely more than palpable; the whole is stirred (as it were by winds) into a confused mass of waves of different dimensions, principally running from east to west. Many of these are very remarkable in their formation. On the top of each of these, which the wind blows, where they often rise in nearly a perpendicular line to a great height, they have, at a distance, the appearance of a few brick-bats; these, however, the people from which the wind usually blows (N. W.), slopes off with a gradual declivity to the level of

but notwithstanding this partial evil, Khurāsān may be said to possess a fine and salubrious climate.

From what has been stated, we may pronounce that, with the exception of the provinces on the shores of the Caspian, the climate of Persia, though very various, has everywhere the same quality of dryness and purity of atmosphere. It has been before mentioned that this kingdom has hardly any great rivers and does not abound in lesser streams or springs. The consequence is, that it has few trees, excepting those which are cultivated. It, perhaps, owes some of its salubrity to this cause, as it is more free, than other regions of Asia, from those vapours and exhalations which, though they fructify the soil, are often noxious to animal life; but this want of wood, while it diminishes the general beauty of the country, is felt as a most serious inconvenience by its inhabitants; and an observation of the fact compels us to subscribe to the justice of the remark of an intelligent Indian, who, on hearing some comparison between the countries of Persia and India, which he deemed injurious to the latter, exclaimed: "You, Persians, are continually boasting of your climate; but, after all, you have neither shade to protect you from the scorching rays of the sun in summer, nor fuel to save you from the effects of the piercing cold of winter." Speaking generally, however, we may certainly pronounce that the temperature of the interior provinces of Persia is delightful and healthy; though there are, no doubt, several parts of that kingdom which, are subject to all the extremes of heat and cold, and others are far from salubrious. (200)

The natives of the more arid regions of this country, particularly those provinces which lie on the shores of the Persian Gulf, have, almost all, complaints in their eyes, occasioned, in some degree, by the constant glare of sunshine and the absence of vegetation; but more, perhaps, by that want of cleanliness which, in such climes, is, beyond everything else, conducive to health. Fevers are also frequent in this quarter, quite contrary to the N.-W. provinces of the empire, where they are rare. 'Irāk, Khurāsān and the inland part of Fārs, are among the healthiest parts of Persia; throughout that country, the robust frames and healthy appearance of the natives are proofs in favour of their climate, and there is, perhaps, no nation among whom it is more rare to meet weakly or deformed persons.

The surface of the soil of Persia varies from the sandy and unproductive plains on the shores of the Persian Gulf, to the rich, clayey soil on those of the Caspian; but it, almost everywhere, requires water to render it fruitful; and it is, from this cause, more than any other, that the frequent invasions, to which it has been exposed, have tended so greatly to diminish the produce, and, consequently, to check the population of that country. The destruction of a few water-courses, which have been made with great labour and expense, changes, in one season, a verdant valley into a desert plain. Few countries can boast of better vegetable productions, or in greater variety, than Persia. Its gardens vie in beauty and luxuriance with any in the universe; and an idea may be formed, from what we observe of the parts of it that are highly cultivated, of the prosperity which that country might attain under a just and settled government. Some of its finest and most extensive valleys, which are covered with the remains of cities and villages, are consigned, as pasture grounds, to wandering tribes, to feed their cattle and flocks; and over an extent of a hundred miles, once covered with grain, there now appear only the few scattered fields, which are

Vegetable productions.

near it) of the next or preceding wave, which rises in the same extraordinary manner, so as to leave a hollow or path between them; the waves, which it separates, varying in height above it from 10 to 20 feet on each side. I had considerable difficulty and fatigue," Captain Pottinger continues, "in getting my camels over these waves, especially where we had to ascend the perpendicular, or leeward side of them; indeed, in several instances, we were obliged to desist from the attempt, and go round until a more favourable place or turn in the wave offered. On the sloping or windward side, the camels got up pretty well; and, as soon as they found the top of the wave giving way with their weight (which it invariably did, if of any size) they dropped on their knees, and in that manner gradually descended with the sand, which was, luckily for us, so light and loose, that the first camel made a sufficient path for the others to follow without difficulty. This impediment, however annoying, was nothing to the distress suffered, not only by myself and people, but the camels, from the floating or moving particles of sand; a circumstance which I am quite at a loss to account for. On the first appearance of it, the desert seemed, at a distance of half a mile or even less, to be a flat plain from six inches to a foot higher than the summit of the waves. This vapour, or cloud, appeared constantly to recede as we advanced, and at times was formed completely round us, conveying a most distressing sensation; and at the same time we were imperceptibly covered with small sand, which, getting into our eyes, mouths, and nostrils, caused considerable irritation, and was accompanied by severe thirst, which was gradually increased by the intense heat of the vertical sun, by which the sand was so heated as to blister our feet, (being obliged to walk) though we had shoes on. On inquiry, my guide said, that it was supposed by those who had seen these floating sands, that the violent heat caused the particles to rise, and that they, consequently, moved through the atmosphere; but as it was perfectly still, as far as I could judge, I am in doubts respecting the correctness of the guide's ideas on the subject, although I certainly remarked that this phenomenon was more common during the heat of the day, than either in the morning or evening; so much so indeed, that I cannot say I ever saw it at either of the latter periods."—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XXIV.

Minerals.

deemed sufficient to furnish with food the families, who have the range of the domain, and to give an annual supply of green shoots to fatten their horses.⁶²³

Gems.

Pearls.

(201)

Tame animals.

Oxen.

Camels.

Mules.

Horses.

Persia does not abound in valuable minerals. Iron and lead, however, are found in many parts of the kingdom. The natives boast that there are also mines of both silver and gold; but these have never been worked to any advantage. I have been informed that a mine of gold was discovered in Fârs, and one of silver in 'Āzarbāijân; but these ores were not found in sufficient quantities to pay the expense of working them. Persia has always been indebted to other countries for the precious metals; and it is remarkable that, among a people, whose sovereign deems the right of coining, his highest privilege, foreign coin should form a considerable part of the currency of this kingdom. The Turkish piastre, the réal, &c., are among the coins which are current in Persia. There are no gems of any value found in this country except the turquoise, of which the best are found in a mine in the mountains near Nishápúr, in Khurásán. The Gulf of Persia has several pearl fisheries, particularly that near the Island of Bahrain; but we can hardly consider any of these fisheries as belonging to Persia, for though the monarchs of that nation have always claimed the sovereignty of this sea, they have, at no period, had a navy,⁶²⁴ that enabled them to contend with the Arabian rulers of the opposite shore.

Among the tame animals of Persia, the camel, the mule and the horse are, at once, the most useful and the most excellent. The elephant can, no longer be numbered among the tame animals of Persia, as there are not above three or four in the kingdom, which have been sent as presents to the king. It is not probable that the elephant was ever indigenous to Persia; but there is no doubt that, from the most early times, they were known and used in war by its inhabitants; and we may conclude from the sculpture at the Tâk-i-Bustán, which was, undoubtedly, executed in the reign of Bahrám the 4th, that numbers of these noble animals swelled the pomp of the Sásání monarchs. Oxen, which are only used to till the ground, are not abundant, nor are they remarkable, either for their size or beauty; but in a country, where there are neither navigable rivers, nor wheel carriages, it is natural that those animals, which are aliko essential to promote the intercourse of peace, or to give success to the operations of war, should be the object of the peculiar care of its inhabitants. In all those parts of Persia, where the soil is arid and sandy, and which are exposed to great heat, camels are preferred for carrying burthens to all other animals. The Arab tribes, who inhabit the countries between the Persian Gulf and the mountains, breed a number of camels; but they are of an inferior kind to those produced in Arabia, and many provinces of India. In some districts of Khurásán, they may be said to constitute the chief wealth of its inhabitants; but, in almost all the other provinces of the kingdom, mules are in more general use; and their extraordinary strength and activity, combined with their power of enduring fatigue, places this animal, in the estimation of the natives of Persia, next to the horse, and their breed is hardly an object of inferior care.

A variety of horses are produced in Persia. The inhabitants of the districts, which border on the Gulf, still preserve pure, those races of that animal, which their ancestors brought from the opposite shore of Arabia. In Fârs and 'Irák, they have a mixed breed, from the Arabian and Turkamání; the Arabian, though stronger, is still a small horse, compared with either the Turkamán or Khurásán breed, which are most prized by the soldiers of Persia. Both these latter races have also a great portion of Arabian blood; but, from the original animal of the country, where they are reared, being larger, and the pasture finer, they attain great size and strength. There are, perhaps, no horses in the world capable of enduring more fatigue than the Turkamání; and when trained,⁶²⁵ as they usually are, for predatory incursions, they carry their riders, as I have before mentioned, for days together, the most surprising marches. When I was in Persia in 1806, a horseman mounted upon a Turkamán horse, which he rode the whole way, brought a packet of letters from Shíráz to Tíhrán, which is a distance of 500 miles, within six days. The inhabitants of Persia were taught to value this race of animals, by suffering from the inroads of the tribes, by whom they are bred, and who used to issue, in parties of twenty and thirty, from the plains they inhabit on the eastern shores of the Caspian, and plunder the villages in the vicinity of the cities of Káshán and Isfahán. The price of horses in Persia varies extremely. The common horse is always to be purchased from £15 to £40; fine horses, particularly of the Turkamán or Khurásán breed, are, in general, very dear; a £100 is a common price, and sometimes a much larger sum is paid.⁶²⁶

⁶²³ The first shoots of barley, which are called *Knáf*, and in Persian, *Khawíd*, are cut in early spring and given to their horses to fatten them.—(Malcolm).

⁶²⁴ Lit. "Maritime power."

⁶²⁵ "Sawaghán" means "running and waxing strong."

⁶²⁶ They are more valued from their breed than their appearance.—(Malcolm.)

Sheep are very abundant in Persia. The wealth of the wandering tribes consists in the number of their flocks; but they give no attention to the improvement of the breed of this useful animal, which affords them food and some of the most essential articles of their raiment. Though dogs be deemed unclean by Muhammadans, the qualities of this faithful animal have overcome every prejudice: and we find them in Persia, as in other countries, admitted to a companionship with man. They are chiefly cherished by the wandering tribes. They watch their flocks, guard their tents, and aid them in their field sports; some of the dogs of this country, which are used in the chase, may be deemed among the most beautiful of their species.

Chapter XXIV.

Sheep.
Dogs.

Persia, like every country, of which many parts are desolate, abounds in wild animals, among which may be numbered the lion, the wolf, the jackal, the fox, the hare, the wild ass, the argali, or wild sheep, the mountain goat, and deer of a variety of kinds. We also find in this kingdom almost all the birds that are common to countries which lie in the same latitudes.

Wild animals.

It appears quite impossible to make a calculation of the amount of the population of Persia from any information that we yet possess of that country. The calculations, which the Persians themselves make of the population of their country are exaggerated beyond all credit. In a manuscript, which professes to be taken from state papers in the reign of Sultan Shah Hussain, and which enters into all the details of the numbers of the different tribes and citizens, the total amount of the subjects of the monarch of Persia is gravely stated as upwards of 200,000,000. An European traveller, who made his estimate near a century earlier, expresses his belief that the inhabitants of that kingdom are about 40,000,000; but an eminent geographer, Pinkerton, on the conclusion, that the population of Persia and Kandahar does not exceed that of Asiatic Turkey, computes their numbers at ten millions; of which he thinks, four may be allotted to the provinces of Kandahar, and six, to what he terms Western Persia, or in other words, the limits of the present kingdom: and this estimate is probably not very far remote from truth. It gives about a hundred to the square mile; and though some parts of Persia may far exceed that calculation, there are large tracts of desert, which are wholly uninhabited.

Population.

There are, no doubt, many and powerful checks upon population in Persia: the unsettled state of the government, its oppressions, the continual civil and foreign wars; and, above all others, the neglect of their offspring. But, on the other hand, when we consider the salubrity of the climate, the cheapness of provisions,⁵²⁷ the rare occurrence of famine, the bloodless character⁵²⁸ of their civil wars, their obligation to marry, and the comparatively small number of prostitutes, we may conclude that the population of this country has not diminished so much within the last century, as is generally supposed. Great changes have taken place in the condition of cities, and many numerous tribes have removed from their former spots of residence; but in most cases, they have only been transplanted to other parts of the kingdom. Within the last twelve years, the number of the citizens of Isfahan has nearly doubled. The population of this city, when it was the capital of the Saffavian kings, was, if we can credit the European travellers by whom it was visited, between six and seven hundred thousand. When I went to Persia in 1800, it was not supposed to exceed 100,000, and it is now calculated at nearly 200,000. This, however, is due to the excellent local administration of that city, which has induced its former inhabitants to return from the villages near the mountains, where they had taken shelter from violence and oppression. (203)

In Persia, as in other parts of Asia, male offspring are desired beyond all other blessings, even by the lowest ranks; but female children, though not equally esteemed, cannot be deemed a burden upon their parents, in a country where celibacy is unknown, and where the poorest are seldom in want of food. It is, also, to be remarked, that in all Muhammadan countries, charity is so strictly enjoined as a religious duty, that a considerable proportion of the superfluous means of the rich is always distributed among the poor; and this must have its effect in encouraging population; for there is no fact more certain than this, that it will always keep pace with the means of subsistence. The circumstance of the Persians being allowed to emigrate at pleasure to adjacent countries, where many of them

⁵²⁷ Barley is often sold in Persia at one farthing per pound, and wheat is not on the average more than a third of the price dearer than barley. A cow is sixteen to twenty shillings; a good sheep from six to eight shillings; a goat from two to four shillings; and other articles of provision in proportion.—(Malcolm.)

⁵²⁸ Lit. "Clemency in foregoing slaughter and destruction."

find profitable employment, is also calculated to add, in a small degree, to their numbers, as it removes one check to their increase.

Though the population of Persia has perhaps diminished in a very considerable degree since the invasion of the Afgháns, it has, no doubt, increased within the last twenty years, and may be said to be, at this period, rapidly increasing. But this observation only applies to the Muhammadan inhabitants of that country. The despised Jews are much decreased in numbers, and the persecuted Gahrs, whose residence is confined to a quarter of the city of Yazd, are probably, over-estimated, when computed at 4,000 families. The colony of Armenians, settled, in Jalfá, a suburb of Isfahán, which formerly amounted to 2,500 families, some of whom were of great opulence, do not now amount to 500, none of whom are wealthy; and this race has diminished in a still greater proportion in all other parts of the empire. The whole of the Armenians in Persia are calculated, in an estimate, made of their number by order of the Bishop of Jalfá, to amount to 12,383 souls, which is said to be not more than a sixth of their number before the Afghán invasion.

Magnificence
and splendour of
Isfahán.

Persia has, in all ages been remarkable for the magnificence and splendour of its cities. Isfahán, which was, for several centuries, the capital of this kingdom, is still the most populous. When viewed at a distance, the lofty palaces, and the domes of the numerous mosques and colleges, of this city, derive additional beauty from being half veiled by shady avenues and luxuriant gardens. Though the first impression be weakened by a nearer view and by the contemplation of the ruins of former grandeur, enough remains to excite great admiration. The fine bridges over the Zú'indah rúd are still in good repair; almost all the colleges have been preserved; and many of the former palaces are yet perfect; while some (204) new ones have lately been erected by the present governor, Hájí Muhammad Hussain Khán, as if to tempt the reigning monarch to make this city once more the royal residence.⁶²⁹

The Chár Bágh, or great avenue,⁶³⁰ which has received the name of the Four Gardens, has been already mentioned in the first volume. Several of the private palaces, that are built on the borders of this avenue, though uninhabited for more than a century, are still in good repair.

Every principal market in Isfahán is covered with an arched roof; and, while ample room is left on an elevated space on each side for a display of goods, there is a road in the centre for passengers, whether on foot or on horseback. The principal caravansaries or inns of this city are excellent solid buildings; and many of the public baths are very splendid, being of great size and paved with marble. The private houses are, in general, good; and those, which are inhabited by the governor and other public officers, or opulent merchants, almost vie with the palaces. These, like all Asiatic houses, present outwardly no appearance, but that of high and dead walls, without aperture or window. One large door or gate is usually the one approach. In the interior, there is a court, which, if large, is laid out in walks, the sides of which are planted with flowers, and refreshing fountains. To this court, all the principal apartments of the mansion, which are inhabited by men, open; and adjoining, but completely distinct from this court, is a smaller one, around which are the inner apartments, belonging to the females of the family. To promote a free circulation of air in summer, every house of this description has a Bádگیر, or ventilator, which rises far above the terraced roof and is open at the top; it receives the wind in whatever direction it blows, and by this means, the different apartments are ventilated; in winter, these are warmed by stoves, which are constantly supplied with burning charcoal.⁶³¹ Almost every dwelling of any consequence in Isfahán has a garden belonging to it. This, while it adds to the salubrity and beauty of the city, must greatly increase its extent, and reconciles as to credit the account, which states that, in its more prosperous days, its walls were twenty miles in circumference. Kœmpfer asserts that Isfahán, with its suburbs, was 16 farsangs or about 60 miles; but this is evidently a great exaggeration.

Tíhrán
and Shíráz.

Tíhrán can, as yet, boast no splendid edifices, except the palace of the monarch. The munificence of Karím Khán ornamented Shíráz with a Bázár, or market, which is equal, if not superior, to any at Isfahán; but Shíráz has not many public buildings; and as there are few gardens and no avenues within its walls, its bare mud terraced houses, when viewed at a distance, give it the appearance of a ruined city. The environs of

⁶²⁹ See Appendix G.

⁶³⁰ Built by Sháh 'Abbás in the 17th century.

⁶³¹ Lit. "Every house of this kind is furnished with a bádگیر (wind-catcher, ventilator) which communicates with the chimney inside the house, and in summer cools it, and in winter, as a fire is always kept up, warms it."

Shíráz have always been considered beautiful. The palace and garden of Jahán Numá, and that of Takht-i-Kájáriyya, as well as the gardens at the tombs of Háfidz and Sa'dí, are all places of public resort. The cluster of gardens at Masjidi Bardí, which belong to the inhabitants of this city, extend in length about five miles, and in breadth, nearly two; they abound with every variety of the finest fruit.

The town of Hamadán, once so famous under its ancient name of Ecbatana, has few beauties to attract the attention of the traveller. The small dome, which canopies the remains of Mordecai and Esther,⁶³² and the modest tomb of the celebrated physician, Avicenna, stand near the centre of the city. The former, as has been stated, continues to be an object of veneration to the Jews, and the latter is visited by all travellers, who respect the memory of learning and genius, and prayers are offered by them at his shrine. Many of the other cities of Persia are as remarkable for the excellence (205) of their buildings, as for the romantic beauty of their situation. Their site is usually upon small rivers or streams, and surrounded with gardens. Almost all the towns in Persia have a defence; this is, generally, a high mud wall, which is flanked by turrets, and sometimes protected by a deep dry ditch, and a rude glacis. In every city or town of Persia, there are one or more public caravansaries⁶³³ for the accommodation of travellers. The houses in Persia are almost all built of mud, and have terraced roofs. Their inner apartments are generally better than their external appearance indicates. The smaller villages are, in general, very rudely constructed; and the common huts have often, instead of a terrace, a dome roof, as wood, as has been before stated, is, throughout this country, a very scarce article.

There can hardly be said to be any roads in Persia, nor are they much required, for the use of wheeled carriage has not yet been introduced into that kingdom. Nothing can be more rugged and difficult than the paths which have been cut over the mountains, by which it is bounded and intersected. The great benefits, that would be derived from good roads, have often been suggested to the Persians; but they have a reluctance to adopt an improvement, which they believe, and not without reason, would destroy one of those natural obstacles, by which their country is defended from invasion. The only exception to this observation is a broad road or causeway,⁶³⁴ which has been made, with great labour, over the Káfilán Koh,⁶³⁵ which divides 'Irák from Ázarbáiján; and this labour is attributed to the Turks, who, when in possession of the latter province, desired to facilitate their further attacks upon Persia. The river Kazalúzan winds along the foot of the Káfilán Koh; a bridge has been built over this fine stream. The Káfilán Koh is usually described as the boundary between

Public roads.

⁶³² The sepulchre of Mordecai and Esther stands near the centre of the city of Hamadán. Sir Gore Ouseley, late Ambassador to the Court of Persia, kindly favored me with the following translation of a Hebrew inscription which he found on this dome. "Thursday, 15th of the month of Adar, in the year 4474 from the creation of the world, was finished the building of this temple over the graves of Mordecai and Esther, by the hands of the good-hearted brothers, Eliás and Samuel, the sons of the deceased Ishmael of Káshán." From this date, (which is in numerical figures, and accords with the Jewish chronology) the dome must have been built 1100 years. The tombs, which are of a black-coloured wood, are evidently of very great antiquity; but the wood has not perished; and the Hebrew inscriptions, with which it is covered, are still very legible. These are the following verses, with the alteration of one expression, from the book of Esther.

"Now in Shushan, the palace, there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shemei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite."—Esther chap. II, v. 5.

"For Mordecai, the Jew, was next unto King Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted among the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his brethren and speaking peace to all Asia."—Esther Chapter X, v. 3.

In the Bible, the last phrase of this verse is "speaking peace to all his seed." The more general term, *Asia*, has probably been added by the vanity of the writer of the inscription, but it is possible that it may have been inaccurately translated. The Jews, at Hamadán, have no tradition of the causes of Esther and her uncle being interred at that place. They probably were removed from Susa, after the death of Artaxerxes (Ahasuerus). The Jewish festival of Purim, which is celebrated on the 13th and 14th of the month of Adar, in commemoration of the slaughter, which the Jews made on those days of their enemies, is still kept up; and, at this festival, Jewish pilgrims resort to the tombs of Mordecai and Esther from every quarter, and have done so for centuries.—(Malcolm.)

⁶³³ These edifices, which are also found at every stage on the principal roads of the kingdom, are in general built of stone or brick; their form is square, and the whole of the interior is divided into separate apartments; their walls, which are very high, are usually defended by towers, that they may be secure against the attack of robbers.—(Malcolm.)

⁶³⁴ The following account of the causeway of Mázindarán is taken by Malcolm, from Kinnier's Memoir; "The causeway of Mázindarán is in length about 300 miles, and it runs from Kishzar, in the south-west of the Caspian, several leagues beyond Astarábid in the south-east. The pavement is now nearly in the same condition as it was in the time of Hatway; being perfect in many places, although it has hardly ever been repaired. In some parts it is hardly above 20 yards wide in the middle, with ditches on each side; and there are many bridges upon it, under which the water is conveyed to the rice fields." It was made, at an immense expense during the reign of Sháh 'Abbás, to render Mázindarán, passable for armies and travellers at all seasons of the year.

⁶³⁵ A lofty and romantic mountain.—(Malcolm.)

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the two provinces; but, at present, the district⁶² of Khalkhál, which contains near one hundred and fifty villages, and is situated to the southward of the mountains, is considered as belonging to Ázarbáiján.

Useful and fine
arts.

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The more civilised and peaceable classes of the inhabitants of Persia, who dwell in cities, towns, and villages, have made considerable progress in both the useful and fine arts; but it appears from their productions, and the accounts we have received from European travellers, that they were as far advanced several centuries ago, as they are at this moment. This is not so much to be attributed to the internal distractions of their country, or to their prejudices, as to the form and character of their government. Men, who live under a rude despotism, can only be happy by reconciling themselves to their actual condition: every effort at improvement is attended with danger to the individual by whom it is made. If a new branch of commerce is discovered, the gains of those, who have embarked in it, are likely to be over-estimated; and they become exposed to the cupidity of power. If an individual exhibit superior skill as a manufacturer, his labour is liable to be seized by the monarch, or by the provincial despot, that rules under him; and the promulgation of new principles of science, however just, subjects the person to all the hostility of that formidable class, whose rank in the country is grounded upon their supposed pre-eminence in knowledge,⁶³ and who are disposed to treat a serious attack upon their dogmas as a crime that is hardly less than heresy.⁶⁴ With these obstacles to prevent the progress of improvement, there is nothing to encourage it. Amid the vicissitudes to which they are liable, few persons look further than to provide for their own welfare. The history of Persia affords numerous instances of men being led, by religious sentiments⁶⁵ or a desire of fame, to disburse great sums in charity; and many, even among the lower classes who have acquired wealth, have wished to perpetuate their name⁶⁶ by building caravansaries, baths, and other structures of public utility. But they neither profess nor entertain any feelings connected with the general good of their country; all their views are avowedly personal; and from the character of their government, it is impossible that they can be otherwise. A monarch or a prince may, from the excellence of his disposition or the goodness of his understanding, indulge in plans of improvement; but even his views are limited by his condition; and he desires to effect the work of half a century in one or two years. His precipitation produces failure; for that, which depends upon system, cannot be effected by power. Besides, all great improvements are gradual; and, even when they are introduced, the society must take the shape to which they are suited, or they cannot be permanent. I observed to a very ingenious Persian, who was employed in casting cannon, that some of the guns he had just made, appeared to me to be imperfect, and that one seemed rather crooked. He replied, it was very true, but that it was not his fault; he had been commanded to do the work of a month in ten days. "But why do you not represent the impossibility of doing so?" said I. He shook his head, and said, he knew better. "My master," he added, "is an excellent and just man; but still he is a Persian prince, and his orders, whatever they are, must be obeyed."

The above reasons will account for the inhabitants of Persia having made no essential progress in the arts of civilized life; that country has, for ten centuries, appeared as if on the brink of great improvements, but is still stationary. Its commerce is nearly the same as it was in the most ancient times. The silks of Gílán, the wool of Carmania, the cotton and gall nuts of Írák, and the assafœtida⁶⁷ of Khurísán are still exported. The specie received for these pays for the shawls of Kashmir, the indigo and printed cottons of India, the sugar of Batavia and China, and the woollens of England.

⁶² The word "Julka," which I believe is a corruption of Chakla, is here used to denote an outlying district. It is frequently used in other parts of the translation to denote the suburbs of a town.

⁶³ *Tablah-i-mutashar'ah*, or "the sect skilled in the shara'" are the words used in the Persian to express "that formidable class, whose rank in the country is grounded upon their supposed pre-eminence in knowledge."

⁶⁴ *Lit.* "The promulgation of a new principle in science would result in this, that the person who worked out, or discovered it, would be the object of the hatred of the doctors of the law, for whatever is contrary to their views, is regarded by them as heresy, and they would excite the mass of the public against the unfortunate man, who had dared to give vent thereto."

⁶⁵ *Lit.* "With a regard to obtaining the favour of God."

⁶⁶ "*Barâe Kawwâm-i-ustakhrân-wa-dawwâm-i-nûm*" "to perpetuate their name" is rather peculiar and worth notice. *Kawwâm-i-ustakhrân* refers, I believe, to the building of a mausoleum for the interment of one's remains; these are often built with houses round for travellers and poor attendants to put up in, and their names, are therefore, perpetuated from the place, in which their bones are laid.

⁶⁷ *Ankûza* is a corrupted form of an *Angûzha* "assafœtida."

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Agriculture.

In reading the descriptions of the agriculture of Persia, that have been given by travellers at different periods, we discover little, or no alteration in that important art. The means, which the natives of that country now employ to till the ground, are probably those which were used by their ancestors in the most remote ages. They have, at all periods, been particularly well skilled in the construction of canals and wells, an essential art in so arid a country. But the chief attention of the Persians is devoted to their gardens; and their success has been proportionate to their labours. Their vegetables and fruits, of which they have a great variety, are excellent. The latter may be said to form, during the season, part of the daily food of the lowest classes of the inhabitants of this kingdom. It has been before stated, that extensive fields are appropriated in the neighbourhood of Isfahán for the culture of melons; and the country round that city is decorated with handsome pigeon houses, which are kept up, at considerable expense, to obtain what is deemed the best manure for this favourite fruit.

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Manufactures.

Many of the manufactures of Persia are beautiful, particularly their gold and silver brocades, their silks, and their imitation of Kashmir shawls. They make a variety of cotton cloths, but not of an equally fine texture as those of India. They have also several manufactories of glass, and some of a coarse ware resembling china; but their efforts have not yet succeeded in bringing these wares to any perfection.

Mechanism.

In mechanical arts, the Persians are not inferior to the other nations of the East; but they do not surpass them. They work well in steel; and their swords, though brittle, are of an excellent temper and edge. They also make fire-arms, and cast cannon; and would soon rival Europeans in this branch of manufacture, if their government would give adequate encouragement to men of science and to the ingenuity of its own subjects. In the arts of carving and gilding, few nations are more skilful. They also enamel upon gold and silver in the most beautiful manner; and their ornaments, which are made of these metals and precious stones, often display admirable workmanship.

Chemistry.

Chemistry,⁶¹² as now understood in Europe, is unknown in Persia; but the occult science of alchemy continues to be the favourite pursuit⁶¹³ of some of the most learned of that country. The philosopher's stone, which for ten centuries, occupied the attention of the wisest men of Europe, still deludes those of the East. The Persian alchemists make their experiments with the greatest secrecy, lest others should share in the wonderful discovery, which they hourly expect will reward their labour. This veil of impenetrable mystery, while it gives an importance to the pursuit in the minds of the ignorant, affords an opportunity to impostors for practising the most serious frauds upon the credulous and wealthy. The mountain of Alwand, near Hamadán, is supposed to produce some plants that are essential to the process of finding the philosopher's stone; and the consequence is, that many persons in that city waste their life in the pursuit. A few years ago, one of its rich inhabitants was assured by a poor man, that he had made the glorious discovery; "But," said he, "if I, who am known to be poor, should suddenly exhibit wealth, the secret, from whence I have obtained it, will be guessed, and I shall be seized and tormented, till I reveal it. Now, if you possessed it, the knowledge could be attended with no such danger. I will, therefore, trust you with the communication; and if you are satisfied, after repeated experiments, that I have told you truly, you can give me a small portion of the wealth you must acquire, and I will proceed and end my days in devotion at the shrine of the holy 'Alí, where, from its being under the Turkish government, I shall be safe from that danger, to which my fortune in making this discovery continually exposes me." The whole of this statement appeared so reasonable, that the person, to whom it was communicated, granted a ready belief. He was made acquainted with all the materials, which were to be put into the crucibles, except one termed the "Earth of Bádyús; but this, his informer assured him, was not only obtained at the mountain of Alwand, but in several other parts of Persia, and, being useful for many purposes, was to be found in most markets at the counter of every druggist. He was, however, entreated to send his servants to enquire into the correctness of his statement. They went and brought back some of the earth, which they had purchased at a very moderate rate. When everything was ready, the experiment was made, and gold was produced. The merchant was rejoiced; but, to prevent deception, it was repeated, and with the same result. The man, the relator of this anecdote states, was contented with 2,000 túmáns, and proceeded to

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⁶¹² Lit. "The science and art of melting and making solid."

⁶¹³ Lit. "The goal of the desires and wishes."

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the Turkish province of Baghdád. The merchant, after he was gone, determined to commence to make more gold; but he was not a little surprised to find, that those shop-keepers, who had sold the earth of Bádyús, were gone. He, however, thought it possible that, though that essential ingredient was not at Hamadán, it might be found, as his friend had told him, in other cities. His correspondents at Shiráz, at Tihrán and Isfahán, received letter after letter, desiring them to purchase all the Kháki Bádyús they could. No person had ever heard of its name. After much useless search, the unfortunate merchant discovered that he had been duped. The cunning⁶⁴ fellow, who had made him his dupe, had filed down some pieces of gold into some baskets of earth, which he had dignified with a fine name, and given to some of his associates to sell.

Physic.

In physic, the Persians are still the pupils of Galen and Hypocrates, whom they call Jálínús and Bukrát. They are totally unacquainted with anatomy and the circulation of the blood; and their skill in surgery⁶⁵ is consequently as rude as their knowledge of medicine. They class both their diseases and their remedies under four heads; hot, cold, moist and dry; each may contain one or two of these qualities; and the great principle they maintain is that the disease must be cured by a remedy of an opposite quality. If, for instance, an illness has arisen from moisture, dry remedies must be given; and hot diseases are alone to be cured by cooling medicines. Their classification of diseases appears very arbitrary; but they are, in general, so bigoted to their own practice, that, though disposed to place great confidence in European physicians, they are reluctant to attend to their prescriptions, when in opposition to their favourite system. Mr. Jukes, in a manuscript upon this subject, observes that, when at Isfahán in 1804, ulcerated sore throats were very common; and that he apprehended many patients died, because the physicians had decided that it was a hot disease, and therefore was to be cured by bleeding and all other cooling remedies. He mentions also some cases of dysentery, where he, in vain, recommended mercury. It was a hot remedy, the Persian physician said, and could never be proper, where the disease was also hot; and several therefore died. The Persian physicians are acquainted with inoculation for the small-pox, but it is little practised, though the ravages of that dreadful disease often threaten whole towns with depopulation; and notwithstanding their sufferings from this calamity, all the efforts of humane and skilful surgeons, resident in that country, have not yet succeeded in making them sensible of the great benefit of vaccination; they were defeated more by the apathy of the government towards the general good of the country, than by the prejudices of the people.⁶⁶

(209) What has been said of their knowledge of physic, only applies to the more civilised part of the inhabitants of Persia, who live in cities and towns, and a great proportion of whom have received some education. Those, who dwell in tents, are seldom attended by regular professors of this art; but as their diet is simple, and they take constant exercise, they are subject to few complaints; and for these, every old man and old woman of the tribe has a remedy. When I returned from the Persian court in the winter of 1800, almost every individual of the mission became blind from the glare of the snow, with which the country was covered. The recovery was certain, but tedious; and, when blind myself, I listened with delight to a message from the lady of a chief, in whose house I was a guest, which imported that she knew a certain and a speedy remedy, provided I would consent to permit her servants to apply it. When I expressed my readiness to do so, a large vessel full of snow was put before me, and I was desired to place my face near it; a red hot stone was then thrown into the vessel; and the sudden dissolution of the snow caused a very great perspiration, which was increased by a cloak being pulled at the same moment over my head. This remedy, (which was administered twice) proved effica-

⁶⁴ "Zarank" clever, intelligent, cunning," is not given in Richardson, but will be found in Palmer.

⁶⁵ Lat. "Operations of limbs and surgery."

⁶⁶ Malcolm says: "A chief of a tribe secured an officer belonging to the British Mission, who visited Persia in 1810, that he had been told that some particular pestal illness was exempt from the small-pox; but though he was positive of the fact, he could give no particulars as to the habits of those supposed to be exempt from this disease, but that many of these tribes have a number of cattle, the infection had, perhaps, been communicated to them."

Nothing could exceed the perspiring humanity, with which Mr. Jukes encountered the first steps towards vaccination in Persia. His efforts were attended for several years. The principal men of the kingdom entered with ardour to the accounts they received of this great and important discovery, and appeared at the moment to desire that their country should benefit by its introduction; but then, when it was proposed that the happy and well-known remedy should be often repeated, and sometimes fully, Asiatic rulers, whose harsh expectations are often disappointed, that of Persia, that steady and penetrating and so far the permanent good of the community, which can at no time exempt the rulers from the introduction of this great and extraordinary blessing."

cious and my sight was completely restored. It appears that they have a similar remedy in North America, when the eyes are affected by the snow.⁶⁴⁷

Sometimes, like the ignorant and superstitious of other countries, they trust more to their saints than to their doctors. When the British mission, that visited Persia 15 years ago, was in 'Irák, the English gentlemen belonging to it were shown a few pieces of bread, covered with oil, which were laid upon a rock, as an offering to a saint; and they were told that they might, by these pieces of bread, compute the exact number of sick in the black tents that were pitched near, as this offering was the usual, and almost the only, effort made to obtain their recovery from many diseases with which they were attacked. When passing through Kurdistán in A.D. 1810, I was told by a chief of a rude tribe in that country, that his followers had only one medicine, which was a purgative, in which the chief ingredient was the fat of a sheep's tail. "This was boiled," he said, "and given, sometimes in small, and, at others, in large doses. It answered very well in all complaints; and it saves us a great deal of trouble and the expense of doctors."

In cases of surgery, the treatment is very rude, but the abstemious habits, and consequent healthy state of body, of the patient often obtain extraordinary credit to the untutored practitioner.

Though the regular physicians in Persia generally adhere strictly to the dogmas of their Grecian master, as explained and enlarged upon by Abú 'Alí Síná (the Avicenna of Europeans) they boast the discovery of many new remedies. Salivation is quickly produced by inhaling, through the common pipe of the country, a lozenge made of cinnabar and flour; and this speedy mode of affecting the system is universally practised, where the case is deemed of a nature to require it.

In this country, as in all others, there are many quacks in medicine, who obtain money or respect by pretending to cure all complaints.⁶⁴⁸ Some of these boast an hereditary right to certain nostrums. The chiefs of a tribe among the mountains, which divide the territories of Persia from those of the Páshalik of Baghdád, assert the possession of power, descended through many generations, of curing the ague, which is a common complaint in that country, by beating the patient in a very unmerciful manner. Their success in this practice is said to be great.⁶⁴⁹ It must remain with those, who are skilled in the medical art, to determine how far it is possible that this rude treatment can have the effects ascribed to it. I visited Kirrand twice, in 1800 and 1810. When first there, the (210) chief of that place, whose name was Hidáyat Kulí Khán, saw one of the

⁶⁴⁷ It is stated in the travels of Captains Lewis and Clarke that they sweat the part affected, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁴⁸ I find in Mr. Juke's Journal the following remarks upon the supposed practice in Persia of cold immersion for fevers:

"Dr. Currie" that gentleman observes, "in the 2nd Volume of his Medical Report relates the case of Sir John Chardin, when treated by a Persian physician at Lár. During my residence in Persia, I had never heard of Dr. Currie's system being adopted there; upon reading the case of Chardin, therefore, I was naturally induced to make enquiries if cold water was ever applied to the body in fevers by the physicians of the present day in Persia. The first person, to whom I applied for information, was a well informed man, who had made medicine his particular study, and was at least acquainted with all the theories of disease, if he had not a very extensive practical knowledge. He told me, that he had never heard of the application of cold water to the body in fever, and spoke confidently of its not being the general practice of the modern physicians in Persia; tepid water to drink, and warm water, in which the leaves of the willow had been infused, to bathe the hands and feet, was more agreeable to their system of treating fevers; except, in *quartain fevers*, when he informed me, that cold water was sometimes dashed unexpectedly upon the patient, and cured him. In continued fevers, however, he told me, that he had never heard of it; but, in very hot weather, he said it was admissible and even proper to keep the patient cool; and that cold water, in which the willow leaves had been infused, might be sprinkled round where the patient lay. When I mentioned to him the case of Sir John Chardin, and the manner in which he had been so successfully treated at Lár, he seemed quite astonished, and said: 'It could only have been had recourse to by knowing that Sir John was an European from a cold climate, and that cold, therefore, was congenial with his nature; for if,' added he, 'the same person had been a native of a warm climate, the physician would, in all probability, have ordered him the warm bath.' I have heard, however, of one physician in Persia, who allowed his patients with continued fever to eat as much ice as they chose; but the use of the cold affusion seems to be quite unknown at the present day. According to the theory of the Persian physicians, Mr. Jukes adds, it would appear to be very admissible; for it is a favourite maxim of theirs, that diseases are to be cured by remedies directly opposite in their qualities to those of the disease. Now, as in fever the sensible qualities are *heat* and *dryness*, water, which is *cold* and *moist*, ought to be its antidote. Their theories, however, as I have before remarked, are occasionally very arbitrary, and very erroneous. Ice and snow, for instance, possess very different qualities, according to their belief. They assert that ice is *cold* and *moist*, and that snow is *cold* and *dry*."

⁶⁴⁹ Lit. "It is commonly reported that it has often been tried and has not been found unsuitable." Nakhirard, unsuitable, is not given in Richardson, but Khirard, suitable will be found.

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gentlemen belonging to the mission; lying down in the tent, ill of a quar-tain ague, he anxiously begged I would allow him to cure the gentleman; and, being interrogated as to the remedy, he said he would beat him with sticks till he was well. The invalid declined the experiment, at which the chief was not a little offended, and brought numbers of his followers to swear that they had been recovered by his blows. Hidáyat Kuli, when I last visited this place, was dead. He had left ten sons, of whom the eldest, Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, was chief of the tribe. I enquired of this young man, if he had succeeded to the knowledge of his father in medicine. His practice, he said, was equally successful.⁶⁵⁰ I asked him how he treated his patients, "I tie them up," said he, "by the heels, when the cold fit is on, and bastinado them most severely, scolding them at the same time, so as to produce heat and terror, instead of a cold fit." "And you succeed?" "Always." "Have you any other patients but your own followers?" "A few; those in the neighbourhood, who have any sense, come to me when they are ill of the ague." "Can any of your brothers cure fevers?" "No! no!" replied he quickly, "that is a gift or privilege, confined exclusively to the head of the family."

Higher branches
of science.

In the higher branches of science, the modern Persians know no more than their ancestors. They have a limited knowledge of mathematics, and they study astronomy chiefly for the purpose of becoming skilled in judicial astrology; a science in which the whole nation, from the monarch to the peasant, have the greatest faith. The system of Ptolemy, both with respect to the forms and motions of the heavenly bodies, is that in which they believe. Efforts have recently been made to convey better information to them upon this important branch of human science. An abstract of the Copernican system, and the proofs, which the labours of Newton have afforded of its truth, have been translated into Persian, and several individuals of that nation have laboured to acquire some knowledge of it; but it is not probable that these rays of light will soon dissipate the cloud of darkness, in which a prejudiced and superstitious nation have been, for centuries, involved.

Geography.

The Persians can hardly be said to understand geography as a science; for, independent of their erroneous impressions regarding the form of the earth, their knowledge of its surface is limited to an imperfect acquaintance with the territories of those kingdoms that are in their immediate vicinity; nor do they understand the art of surveying in a degree that can enable them to lay down, with any exactness whatever, that portion of the globe, which they themselves inhabit.

Literature.

We can add little to the various accounts which have been given of the literature of the Persians. With the introduction of the Muhamḥadan religion, that nation received all the learning of the Arabians of the seventh century; and we find that, soon after that period, their writers, in every branch of literature, attained an excellence which has not been surpassed by their descendants. Their works on theology are very numerous; and it has been shown, in a former chapter, that they are well skilled in all the arts of polemics.⁶⁵¹ The character of their histories has been already given. The style⁶⁵² of their most esteemed writers in this branch, though often hyperbolic, is generally correct, and sometimes eloquent. The Persians, like all eastern nations, delight in tales, fables and apophthegms; and the reason of it appears obvious; for where liberty is unknown, and where power, in all its shapes, is despotic, knowledge must be veiled to be useful. The ear of a despot would be wounded by the expression of direct truths; and genius itself must condescend to appear in that form, in which alone its superiority would be tolerated.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵⁰ Lit. "I asked him if the curing of the sick by blows and bastinadoing, was inserted in him like his father. He replied certainly; then wittily saying: 'The son has the secret of his father' is an evident proof in my case, that I have a full portion and complete share of my father's wisdom."

⁶⁵¹ Lit. "After accepting the Muhamḥadan faith, this nation acquired all the literature and sciences of the Arabs of that period, and very soon afterwards, their writers, in every branch of literature, in prose and poetry, history and grammar, logic and rhetoric, theology and lexicology, and all the sciences, raised the standard of excellence to such an exalted state, that their descendants and progeny have never surpassed them. They have written many compositions and works on theology, and, as has been stated in a previous chapter, they have acquired great honour and high rank in the art of polemics (disputing and controversy.)"

⁶⁵² Lit. "Facility of style and dexterity in writing."

⁶⁵³ Lit. "For in a country where liberty is unknown, and power in all its shapes is despotic, the ear of him, who indulges in violence and oppression, would be hurt by hearing the plain and simple truth; genius and learning are, therefore, obliged to appear in this garb, in such a form as to make a brisk market for themselves, and soften the iron (heart) of others."

The Persians boast of the great good which their most eminent moralist, Sa'fí, has produced, by the rare union of fancy, learning, urbanity and virtue; his tales which are appropriate to almost every event that can occur, convey the most useful lessons; and his maxims have acquired an authority among his countrymen that render them almost equal to laws. The object of this poet and philosopher was to recommend good works to men, and justice

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Ethics.

The Persians derive their knowledge in ethics from the Grecian school. They deem Aristotle their master; and the principles of the Stagyrite are laid down as tenets, which it would be almost sacrilege to doubt. One of their most able writers in this branch of philosophy is Nasir-ud-din,⁶⁵¹ who has been before mentioned. His celebrated treatise on morals contains a series of philosophical dissertations upon wisdom, propriety of conduct, happiness, virtue, and the means of averting and remedying evil; but this eminent and learned man, though he has acquired great local fame for his skill in every science, was, like all his countrymen, a stranger to those wonderful improvements, which have resulted from the study of experimental philosophy.

It has been already stated that the Persians, as a nation, devoted to poetry. In the opinion of Persians, Firdausi⁶⁵² excels all in his description of combats and battles; and they hold the Sikandar Nāma of Nidzāmī⁶⁵³ next in rank to the Shāhnāma of Firdausi. Among the didactic poets of Persia, Sa'dī,⁶⁵⁴ certainly, ranks the highest; but it is difficult to class the numerous candidates for superiority in those mystic and lyric compositions

Poetry.

and clemency to their rulers. In one of his admonitory odes to the former, he beautifully exclaims:—

"Haif bar ān ki raft o kār na sikh't;
Kaus i rahlat zad o bār na sikh't."

"Alas! for him who has gone and has done no good work;

The drum for marching has sounded, but his load was not bound on."

In his lessons to monarchs, he has the following impressive stanza:—

"Ra'au kun o bi fauj dar tashkīr bāsh.
Dilhāyī ālam gir o shāh i 'ālamgir bāsh."

"Be merciful and learn to conquer without an army;

Seize the hearts of the world, and be a world-seizing sovereign."

⁶⁵¹ His name was Muḥammad Bin Hasan. Nasir-ud-din, which was his title, may be translated "the champion, or defender of the faith." He was deemed one of the first mathematicians, astronomers, and philosophers, of Asia.—(Malcolm). Further mention of him will be found at the end of Appendix B.

⁶⁵² Abul Kāsim, Mansūr, Firdausi-i-Tausi, was born about 338 A.H. near Taus in Khurāsān. His father was Fakhr-ud-din Ahmad, who was by profession a gardener; and some accounts attribute his name of Firdausi to this circumstance. All that is known of his early life is, that when a boy, he was very industrious, and that "he loved to sit for days, alone, on the bank of a river. When between 30 and 40, he went to Ghazni, where Sultān Mahmūd, a great admirer and patron of poetry and the arts, generally resided. Ere long, Firdausi had an opportunity of displaying both his talent, and his extraordinary knowledge of ancient Persian history and legendary lore before the Sultān; who was so pleased with the story of Sijūwāsh, written by Firdausi at the king's order, that he at once paid him a gold dirham for each couplet, and shortly afterwards sent him a great number of fragmentary ancient chronicles and histories of Persia, that he might turn them into verse, and thus carry out the task once attempted by Dabīkī, viz., to write a poetical history of the Persian kings from the creation of the world to the end of the Sāsāni dynasty (636 A.D.); the reward to be a dirham a line. Firdausi spent thirty years over the work, and produced his famous Shāhnāma, consisting of 60,000 couplets. But while Firdausi had been thus employed, his enemies had not been idle. Unable to attack his genius and honesty, they attacked his religious opinions; and the Sultān, inflamed by bigotry and avarice, sent 60,000 dirhams of silver, instead of gold. Firdausi was at a public bath, when the messenger arrived with the money. On discovering that it was silver, and not gold, he divided it into three portions, and gave one to the attendant at the bath, another to the messenger, and the third to a man who brought him some sharbat. He then burned several thousand verses, which he had written in praise of the Sultān as a sequel to the Shāhnāma, and composed one of the bitterest satires against him, which he handed over, after having carefully sealed it, to the king's favourite slave, to give to him when he might be seized with one of his fits of despondency, as it contained a beautiful panegyric on him. Dreading the king's rage, however, he fled to Taus; and, having been much persecuted there, he went to Baghdād, where the Caliph received him with all honour. But the unrelenting anger of Mahmūd followed him thither, and he had again to flee to Tabaristān, but he had to leave that also after a short time. After eleven years of restless wanderings, he was at last allowed to return to his native place, a broken wretched old man. Mahmūd is said to have repented his cruelty at last, and to have sent a caravan loaded with the costliest goods to Firdausi, to entreat his forgiveness, and to induce him to become once more the star of his court. But while the king's messengers entered one gate of the city, Firdausi's bier was being carried to its last resting place by the other. He died A.H. 411 (A.D. 1020). He left an only daughter; his son died before him at the age of 37. The girl refused the Sultān's presents, and certain buildings were erected in honour of the poet, instead with the proceeds. See Appendix I.

⁶⁵³ See Appendix K.

⁶⁵⁴ Shaikh Mas'ud-ud-din Sa'di Shirāzi was born at Shirāz about 1184. His father's name was 'Abdulla, a Sayyid or descendant of 'Alī, Muḥammad's son-in-law. He lost his father when yet a child. He was educated at Baghdād; and thence, in company with his master, he undertook his first pilgrimage to Makka, which he subsequently repeated fourteen times. He was a great traveller, and is said to have visited parts of Europe, Barbary, Abyssinia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia, Tartary, Afghanistan and India. Near Jerusalem, where according to his own account, "he associated with the brutes," he was taken prisoner by the crusaders, not while fighting against them, but while practising religious austerities in the desert. He was ransomed for ten dinārs by a merchant of Aleppo, who recognized him, and gave him his daughter in marriage; this union however, did not prove happy. He married a second time, and lost his only son of that marriage. The latter part of his life Sa'di spent in retirement near his native town, and died at a very old age in 690 A.H. (1293 A.D.). In person, he is described as being of rather insignificant appearance, short, thin, and spare, nor is much said in favour of his personal prowess. He is said to have been of a contemplative, pious, and philosophical disposition. The years of his retirement from life, he occupied in composing those numerous works, the Gulistān, Bustān, &c., which have made him justly famous through the East and West. His own countrymen say, that he was "the most eloquent of writers, the wittiest author of either modern or ancient times, and one of the four monarchs of eloquence and style." A magnificent mausoleum, with a mosque and college attached to it, was erected in his honour at the gates of Shirāz.

Chapter XXIV.

in which this nation has in all ages delighted. The *Mathnawí* of Jalál-ud-dín (known as Mullá-i-Rúm,) the poems of Jámí, and the odes of Háfídz,⁶⁵⁸ which have been already noticed, are perhaps the most popular; but the names of Rudakí, Anwari⁶⁵⁹ and several others, are nearly on an equal rank.

Among the innumerable volumes of Persian poetry, we do not meet with any one of length that can be entitled a satire. Firdausí wrote some satirical verses upon Mahmúd of Ghazní.⁶⁶⁰ Anwari and several other eminent poets have also written satirical epigrams, but even these have no title to the name of a satirical poem.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ Muhammad Shams-ud-dín Háfídz, was an eminent Persian divine, philosopher and grammarian, and one of the greatest poets of all times. He was born in the beginning of the 14th century at Shíráz, and early applied himself to the pursuit of science and learning. His proficiency in various branches of knowledge brought him under the notice of the monarch, and he was not only appointed teacher to the royal family, but a special college was founded for him. His spirit of independence, however, stood in the way of his worldly advancement; and, notwithstanding many offers of princely favour, he remained during his whole life in the humble condition of a Darwesh. The burthen of his poetical compositions is for the most part wine, love, flowers, in fact beauty in every form; he occasionally also sings the praise of God, and the prophet, and utters reflections upon the instability of life and its joys; through all of them there runs, however, a withering contempt of all professional piety, mock humility, and sanctified abhorrence of all the good things of the world. These poems are of such exquisite sweetness, that the poet has also received the name *Shakarlab* (sugar lip); and his contemporaries speak of his having drunk from the fountain of life; a draught of which was brought to him, in reward for his untiring perseverance in study, and his power of self-abnegation by Khizwar himself.

Háfídz was married, and appears to have reached a happy old age. He died 1388 A.D. (791 A.H.) The enmity, however, which had been provoked in the breasts of the zealous defenders of religion by the freedom of his manners, and more than Súfistic contempt for the outward forms of godliness, broke out undisguisedly at his death. The ministers of religion refused to repeat the usual prayers over his dead body, and, after long altercations between the members of his family and his enemies, it was agreed that the question should be decided by lot. The result was favourable; whereupon he was buried with great honour. His tomb is situated about two miles to the north-east of Shíráz. See further Appendix L.

⁶⁵⁹ Anwari, was born in the province of Khurásán, and educated at the college of Mansúr at Taus. He emerged from obscurity in a night. The story of his sudden rise to fame is highly romantic. The Seljookian Sultán, Sanjar, happened on one occasion to visit Taus, when the imagination of the youthful poet was so excited by the presence of the monarch, and his glittering retinue, that he resolved to write a poem in his praise. By next morning it was finished and presented to Sanjar, who was so pleased with the production, that he instantly placed the fortunate youth among his courtiers. Anwari had now ample time to cultivate his art, and wrote many beautiful love songs and several striking, but lavishly ornate, panegyrics, besides elegies and satires. He also began to devote himself to astrology, which was his ruin; for he predicted that, in 1185 or 1186 A.D., a hurricane would burst over all Asia, overthrow the most solid edifices, and shake the very mountains, but nothing of the sort occurred; on the contrary, it was a year of remarkable tranquillity. He fell into disgrace, and retired to Balkh, where he died in 1200 A.D.

⁶⁶⁰ See Appendix M.

⁶⁶¹ The portion regarding "poetry" has been greatly abbreviated by Mirzá Hairat. As the whole is most interesting, as given in Malcolm, I give it complete:—

It has been already stated that the Persians are, as a nation, devoted to poetry. They appear at that stage of civilization, when the minds of men dwell with the most enthusiastic rapture on that enchanting branch of literature; and they can boast of poets, who are worthy of all the admiration, which they are so forward to grant them. In the noble epic poem of Firdausí, the most fastidious European reader will meet with numerous passages of exquisite beauty. The narrative of this great work is generally very perspicuous; and some of the finest scenes in it are described with simplicity and elegance of diction. In the opinion of Persians, this poet excels in his description of the combats and battles of his heroes; but, to those whose taste is offended with hyperbole, the tender parts of his work will have most beauty, as they are freest from this characteristic defect of Eastern writers. It is, however, to be observed, that the most extravagant flights of Firdausí do not excite that disgust, which we receive on a perusal of his countless imitators; for so many of his characters are endowed with supernatural powers, that the mind is almost reconciled to hear their deeds related in a language, which appears mere bombast, when used to describe the actions of beings of an inferior order.

As an epic poet, Nizámí is deemed next in rank to Firdausí; and the subject of his principal work, the life of Alexander the Great, has afforded him an ample scope for all the vigour of his genius, and the richness of his imagination. Among the didactic poets of Persia, Sa'dí certainly ranks the highest; but it is difficult to class the numerous candidates for superiority in those mystic and lyric productions, in which this nation has, in all ages, delighted. The *Mathnawí* of Jalál-ud-dín, the poems of Jámí, and the odes of Háfídz are perhaps the most popular. The author of the *Mathnawí* is generally called the Mullá of Rúm; while Háfídz is usually known by the title of Khuríja. The Persians conceive that the former far surpasses the latter in penetration and judgment. I have heard their opinion of these two celebrated Súfí poets illustrated by the following anecdote: "A learned person," they say, "was asked how it came that the author of the *Mathnawí* and Háfídz, two Súfís, had expressed themselves, in the commencement of their works, so oppositely on the subject of divine love; Háfídz having said, 'the path of love appeared at first easy, but afterward full of difficulties';—while, according to Jalál-ud-dín 'Love at first appeared like a hard rock, that he might alarm all who were without his pale.' The learned man replied, with a smile, 'That which the Mullá saw at first was only found out at last by the Khuríja.'"

The names of Rudakí, Anwari, and several others, are nearly on an equal rank; and even more modern writers have attained great eminence in this favourite theme of eastern poets. Many of these poems are remarkable for harmony of numbers and luxuriance of imagination; but they all abound with the most extravagant and hyperbolical passages, and the extravagant descriptions of their visionary authors can only be excused by the curious and extravagant notions they possess with that of the poet, whom they deem inspired, and who is almost always often contradicted by their enthusiastic admirers as the gleaming of a mad fire, which is far beyond the comprehension of the profane and uninitiated. Many dozens of satires upon the mad and egotistical mannerings of the writers of this class, and particularly of Háfídz, whose odes are charged as being, to witte the extravagance and disorder of his verses, and recited as hymns, to remind the old and the devout of the rapacity of these poets. It has been shown in a former chapter that, among many classes of Súfís, the retired sect of the

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Music.

The Persians deem music a science; but it is one, in which they do not appear to have made much progress. They have a gamut and notes, and a different description of melody, that is adapted to various strains, such as the pathetic, voluptuous, joyous and warlike; the voice is accompanied by instruments of which they have a number; but they cannot be said to be further advanced in this science than the Indians, from whom they are supposed to have borrowed it. Their strains are often pleasing, but they are always monotonous, and want that variety of expression, which gives much of its charms to this delightful art.

Painting.

In painting, the Persians appear to have advanced little within the last three centuries, for we observe several of the figures in the palaces at Isfahán, which were built in the reign of Sháh 'Abbás, that appear as well executed as those of the most eminent of their modern artists. Their colours are very brilliant; and when they draw portraits, they usually succeed in taking likenesses. Some of their lesser drawings⁶⁶² display equal industry and taste; but they are yet unacquainted with the rules of perspective, and with those principles of just proportion, which are essential to form a good painting. (212)

From what has been said regarding the actual condition of the useful and fine arts in Persia, we can neither pronounce that the present inhabitants of that country are in a state of progressive improvement, nor assert that they are less advanced than their forefathers. All, that men have gained under a powerful and wise monarch, has been lost under his weak or barbarous successors. If a period of peace has invited intelligent strangers to the shores of this kingdom, they have been soon banished by returning war. Knowledge in Persia has hitherto ebbed and flowed with the changes in the political situation of that empire, and must continue to do so, as long as its inhabitants are under the depressing influence of a despotic and unsettled government.

which man has on earth, and the immortal longings of the soul after its creator, are deemed inseparable; and, with a poet of this persuasion, it was likely that the subjects should be so blended, as to render it impossible to distinguish when he meant to sing of earthly, or of heavenly, joys.

Among the innumerable volumes of Persian poetry, we do not meet with any one of length that can be entitled a satire. This is, no doubt, to be referred to the condition of the society, which will not admit of that freedom of observation and expression, which can alone give excellence to this species of composition. Firdausi, under the impulse of rage and disappointment, wrote some satirical verses upon Mahmúd of Ghazní, which are only remarkable, as they show the keenness, with which he felt neglect, and the bitterness of his resentment. Anwari, and several other eminent poets, have written satirical epigrams, many of which are remarkable for their point and severity. An unknown author has written a satire of some merit upon money, as the universal passion of the human mind; but this even has no title to the name of a satirical poem. I have seen a copy of this poem, in which almost every condition of life is described. The satirist, after giving the professed liberal objects of the persons labouring in their different vocations, concludes every character he draws with the following line:—

"Hama az pao ín ast ki zar mí kharáhad."

"It is all from this, that the man wants money."

Some of the Persian songs are very beautiful; they are chiefly composed on local subjects. Many of the lesser odes of the most celebrated poets of that country may be included among their songs, as they are set to music, and sung in all assemblies.

⁶⁶² Which are highly glazed and painted on wood; especially their kalamdāns, or ink-horns, to hold both ink and pens. The kalamdān is in length about ten or twelve inches, and three or four round. It is generally beautifully painted, and is still worn by ministers in Persia, as an insignia of their office. It is stuck in the girdle, in the same part in which military men wear their daggers. Some of these kalamdāns are quite pieces of art, and sell for very high prices.—(Malcolm).

CHAPTER XXV.

Observations on the manners and usages of the Inhabitants of Persia.

Chapter XXV.

In an attempt to describe the manners and usages of a nation, we must commence with those exalted ranks, whose example has always so powerful an influence upon the other branches of the community. The customs and ceremonies of the Court of Persia have, within the last three centuries, undergone no substantial change. The circumstance of the reigning family being hereditary chiefs of a warlike tribe, and still preserving many of the usages of that condition, constitutes almost the only essential difference we find between their personal habits and the customs of their court, and those of the Sûffavian kings, whose manners and usages have been minutely described by the numerous European travellers,⁶⁶³ who visited Persia, when they occupied the throne of that kingdom.

Education of the royal princes

It has been before stated that, from the period of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great, the princes of the blood were immured in the *haram*, where their education was entrusted to women and eunuchs; and, until the death of the king, his destined successor was unknown. It has also been observed that the son of the lowest slave in the *haram* was deemed, at that period, equally eligible to succeed to the throne, as the offspring of the proudest princess. The usage of the families of Tartary has always been different. Great respect has invariably been paid by them to the birth of the mother. The cause of this is obvious. Intermarriages are deemed one of the principal means of improving the friendship, and terminating the feuds, between the tribes of that nation; and the fulfilment of this object has required, that the descendants of a high born mother, who was a legitimate wife, should have prior claims to those of a common concubine, otherwise the relations, which were established by those ties, must have proved sources of discord, instead of union.⁶⁶⁴ The Kájárs, who are proud of their Tartar, or as they term it, Turkî original, maintain, in this particular, (213) the usages of their ancestors. Muhammad Hasan Khân, the grandfather of the present king, when he took refuge with a Turkamâa chief, proudly refused the daughter of his protector,⁶⁶⁵ because she was not of sufficient high descent to give birth to a race, that were to contend for a throne: and the present king, as has been before mentioned, has declared his second son, 'Abbâs Mirzá, the heir of his crown, on the express ground of his claims by his mother, who is a high born female of the same tribe as the sovereign. The mother of the eldest of the king's sons, Muhammad 'Ali Mirzá, was a Georgian.

According to the modern usage of Persia, the princes of the blood are not immured within the walls of the *haram* beyond that period, in which they require female attendance and maternal care. They early learn the forms of their religion; and, at three or four years of age, can repeat a few short prayers, and are perfect in their genuflexions and mode of holding their hands, when occupied in devotion. They are also most carefully instructed in all that belongs to external manner. They are taught how to make their obeisance to a superior, how to behave to a person of equal rank, or an inferior, as also the manner, in which they are to stand in the presence of their father and monarch; and the way in which they are to seat themselves, if desired, and how to retire. These forms are deemed of great consequence at a court, where every thing is regulated by ceremony; and it is not unusual to see a child of five years of age, as perfect in his manners, and as grave in his deportment, in a public assembly, as the oldest person present. When the young prince is between seven and eight years of age, he begins to read Arabic and Persian.

⁶⁶³ Chardin and Kœmpfer have both minutely described the forms and manners of the court of Persia during the period that the Sûffavian kings ruled that country.—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁶⁴ Lit. "Otherwise the ties of relationship, the object of which is the unity of the tribe, being disturbed by spurious claims, their mutual friendship would be turned into mutual enmity."

⁶⁶⁵ It is a common saying among the Tartar tribes, that "a man should choose his wife from a noble family, that his sons may emulate their maternal uncles."—(Malcolm.)

As soon as he understands the alphabet of the former language, he learns the *Qur'án*; after which he learns the essential tenets of his religion. His mind is early imbued with the importance of those doctrines, which distinguish the *Shí'a* faith from that of the *Sunni*; and one of his first lessons teaches him to regard the latter with abhorrence. When the royal pupil is considered to be well grounded in religion, Persian books are put into his hands, and the works of *Sa'á'di*, while they give him an early taste for fables and poetry, are expected to inspire his young mind with a desire of virtuous fame. He is also put through a superficial course of grammar, syntax, logic, sacred law and philosophy; but his progress in these higher branches of a Persian education depends chiefly upon his own disposition. He seldom learns more than to write and read with ease and fluency, unless inclined to study, which is not unfrequently the case, for superior attainments as a scholar always add to his reputation. The reigning king is said to be a good scholar. He is also a poet. I am in possession of a *Diwán*, (a book of odes), of which he is the reputed author. The greatest care is invariably taken to instruct Persian princes in all their bodily exercises. They are trained, while yet children, to the use of arms, and ride, when six or seven years of age, with grace and boldness. They are often betrothed when very young, and sometimes married long before they attain the age of puberty; after that period, the number of their wives and females depends upon the means which they have of supporting them. When a prince is raised to the throne, his time is divided between his public duties, the pleasures of the *haram*, and his amusements; the period he bestows on each of these is regulated by his peculiar inclinations, his age, and his habits. No general description, therefore, can exactly explain usages, which are liable to continual changes; but a short sketch of the manner, in which the reigning monarch passes his time, will convey a full idea of those habits, which are deemed suited to his elevated condition.

An attention to religious duties, which no king of Persia can openly neglect, requires him to rise early. As he sleeps in the interior apartments, to which no male approaches, his attendants are either females or eunuchs. After he is dressed with their aid, he sits from one to two hours in the hall of the *haram*, where his *levées* are conducted with the same ceremony, as in his outer apartments. There are numerous female officers in the *haram*, whose name and duties nearly correspond with those who have the care of ceremonies, and the charge of maintaining order, in the public court. Female officers arrange the crowd of his wives and slaves,⁶⁶⁰ with the strictest attention to their order of precedence.⁶⁶¹ When the king is seated on his throne in the public hall of his *haram*, no one but the most favoured and highest born of his legitimate wives are allowed to sit in his presence. It is said that two only of the wives of the present king enjoy that privilege; the mother of the heir apparent, 'Abbás Mirzá, and the daughter of 'Ibráhím Khálíl Khán, chief of *Shíshán*.

Manner in which
the king passes his
time.
(214)

After hearing the reports of those entrusted with the internal government of the *haram*, and consulting with his principal wives, who are generally seated, the monarch leaves the interior apartments. He is met, the moment he comes out, by officers in waiting, and proceeds to one of his private halls, where he is immediately joined by some of his principal favourites, with whom he enters into familiar conversation; and all the young princes of the blood attend this morning *levée* to pay their respects.⁶⁶² After this is over, his majesty calls for breakfast.⁶⁶³ The viands are put into dishes of fine china,⁶⁶⁴ with silver covers, and placed in a closed tray, which is locked and sealed by the steward, or *Názár*. This tray, after having been covered by a rich shawl, is carried to the king, in whose presence the steward breaks his own seal, and places the different dishes before him. Some of the infant princes are generally present, and are indulged with a participation in this repast. The chief physician is invariably in attendance at every meal.

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His presence is deemed necessary, the Persian courtiers observe, that he may prescribe an instant remedy if anything he eats should disagree with the monarch; but this precaution, no doubt, originates in that suspicion, which continually haunts the minds of those who exercise despotic power.

A description of the manner, in which the king of Persia discharges his ordinary public duties, has been already given.⁶⁷¹ When these are performed, he usually retires to the *haram*, where, sometimes, he indulges in a short repose. His majesty always makes his appearance in the outer apartments sometime before sunset, and either again attends to public business or takes a ride on horseback. His dinner is brought between eight and nine, and the same precautions and ceremonies are used as at breakfast. He eats, like his subjects, seated upon a carpet, and the dishes are placed on rich embroidered cloths, that are spread for the occasion. It was the usage of some of the former kings of Persia to indulge openly in drinking wine; but none of the reigning family have yet outraged the religious feeling of their subjects by so flagrant a violation of the laws of Muhammad. Bowls, filled with sherbet made of every species of fruit, furnish the beverage of the royal meals; and there are few nations, where more pains are bestowed to gratify the palate with the most delicious viands. After dinner is over, the king retires to the interior apartments, where, it is said, he is often amused till a late hour by the singers and dancers of his *haram*.⁶⁷²

(215) The present king of Persia is an expert marksman and an excellent horseman; few weeks pass without his partaking in the pleasures of the chase. The favourite game in Persia is the deer,⁶⁷³ of which there are several kinds. That which is usually hunted, is the antelope; an animal that may be termed the fleetest of quadrupeds. A common mode of hunting them is with hawks and dogs, which are trained to aid each other. Two hawks are flown when the deer is at a great distance; they soon reach it, and strike repeatedly at its head. This annoys and interrupts the rapid flight of the animal in so effectual a manner, that the dogs come up and seize it. It is also usual to surround the antelope with a number of horsemen, each of whom holds a dog in a slip. When the antelope tries to escape, the object is to intercept it; and though no dog, however swift, can reach this species of deer at the commencement of the chase, it is tired out by fresh ones being continually slipped. In this mode of hunting the antelope, the object is to bring the game near the king, who usually holds, in a slip, a favourite dog. Hawking is a favourite amusement in Persia. Bustards, hares, herons and partridges⁶⁷⁴ are the usual game. When engaged in this sport, the king generally carries a hawk on his hand. Shooting game is also very common. It has been before stated, that the Persian soldiers are excellent marksmen. This is an accomplishment, which it is a disgrace not to possess.

The King's historiographer and poet.

The monarch of Persia has always a historiographer, *Wakáí nigár*, and a chief poet, *Mahk-ush-shu'ará*. The one writes the annals of his reign, and the other, who has a higher rank at court, composes odes in his praise, and celebrates, with grateful ardour, the munificence of his royal patron. An indispensable part of the royal establishment is a jester.⁶⁷⁵ *Karím Khán*, as has been before stated, belonged to one of the native tribes of Persia, who speak a language, which, from its rudeness, is universally denominated by the other inhabitants of that nation, "the barbarous

⁶⁷¹ See the commencement of Chapter XXIII.

⁶⁷² It is, however, impossible to speak of his occupation from the moment he passes the threshold of his inner apartments. He is there surrounded by a scene calculated, beyond all others, to debase and degrade the human character. He only sees emasculated guards, and their fair prisoners. He hears nothing but the language of submission, or of complaint. Love cannot exist between beings so unequal as the monarch and his slave; and vanity must have overcome reason, before the fulsome adulation of pretended fondness can be mistaken for the spontaneous effusions of real attachment. The harems of the monarchs of Persia are governed by the strictest discipline; and that must be necessary to preserve the peace of the community, where all the arrogance of power, the pride of birth, the ties of kindred, the intrigues of art, and the pretensions of beauty, are in constant collision.

The usual routine of the life of a king of Persia is often interrupted by the urgency of public affairs, and sometimes by pursuits of amusement. The reigning family have hitherto disdained those enervating and luxurious habits, which led the last monarchs of the *Súffavian* dynasty to confine themselves to their harems. They not only, as has been stated, attend personally to public affairs, but continually practise manly exercises, and pursue field sports, with all the ardour of a race of chiefs, who cherish the habits of their Tartar ancestors.—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁷³ Or rather, mountain goat.

⁶⁷⁴ *Lit.* "Partridges, quail, and other water and land birds."

⁶⁷⁵ A giant and a dwarf were, at one period, part of the royal establishment; and that is never without a jester, who enjoys a very extraordinary latitude of speech, and assumes, both in his dress and manner, the habit and appearance of Folly. It is usual to laugh at the witticisms of these jesters, even when they are most severe; and the sovereign himself professes to respect their privilege.—(Malcolm.)

dialect," (Kajzabán, or the crooked tongue). This prince, as he was one day sitting in public, commanded his jester to go and bring him word, what a dog, who was barking very loud, wanted. The jester went as desired; and after appearing to listen for some time with profound attention, he returned, and said, with a grave air, "Your majesty must send one of the chief officers of your own family to report what that gentleman says; he speaks no language but the barbarous dialect, with which they are familiar, but of which I do not understand one word." The good-humoured monarch, we are told, laughed most heartily at this ridicule of the rude dialect of his tribe, and gave the wit a present, as the reward of his retort. This anecdote, to which many similar might be added, will show that there is little difference between the office of jester at the modern court of Persia, and that which, some centuries ago, existed at every court of Europe. A resemblance of even trifling forms merits attention, as it leads to conclusions on the progress of knowledge, and the condition of society; and we may, perhaps, judge, as correctly from the character of their amusements, as from their more serious occupations, of the degree of civilization that a people have attained.

In the court of Persia, there is always a person who bears the name "Nakkál-i-Sháh"⁶⁷⁶ or story teller to his majesty, and the duties of this office require a man of no mean acquirements.⁶⁷⁷ The Persians, though passionately fond of public exhibitions, have none that merit the name of theatrical entertainments,⁶⁷⁸ but though strangers to the regular drama, the frame of their stories is often romantic; and those, whose occupation is to tell them, sometimes display so extraordinary a skill, and such varied powers, that we can hardly believe, while we look upon their altered countenances, and listen to their changed tones, that it is the same person who, at one moment, relates in his natural voice a plain narrative, then speaks in the hoarse and angry tone of offended authority, and next subdues the passions he has excited by the softest sounds of feminine tenderness.⁶⁷⁹ Darwesh Safar, of Shíráz, is one of the best narrators of stories, that I have known in Persia. But the art of relating stories is, in Persia, attended both with profit and reputation.⁶⁸⁰ The person, whose peculiar office it is to amuse His Majesty with his stories, is always in attendance. It is equally his duty to beguile the fatigue of a long march.⁶⁸¹ When I last visited Persia, I had the good fortune to be accompanied, during a part of my journey to court, by Múlla Ádína, the story teller to the king. He proved a most agreeable companion, and the fatigue of the longest marches was forgotten in listening to his tales.

His story-teller

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There is no court where a more rigid attention is paid to ceremonies, than at that of Persia. The looks, the words, the motion of the body, are all regulated by the most strict observance of form. When the king is seated in public, his sons, ministers and courtiers, stand erect, with their hands crossed, and in the exact place of their rank. They watch the looks of the sovereign, and a glance is a mandate. If he speaks to them, you hear a voice reply, and see their lips move, but not a motion nor gesture betrays that there is animation in any other part of their frame. If the king desires to speak to a person at a distance, he commands him to

Forms of the court.

⁶⁷⁶ Royal mimic.

⁶⁷⁷ *Lit.* "The holder of this post must be a person, with a thorough knowledge of history, and well up in all the news of the day, in poetry, all wonderful events, in witticisms and subtleties, and very fluent in thought and speech."

⁶⁷⁸ See Appendix N.

⁶⁷⁹ *Lit.* "But their story-tellers, who, in their narrations, represent in one person the whole of the characters, by their changes of gesture and voice, imitate, through the one individual, various persons in various phases, viz., wrath, gentleness, wisdom, love, joy, grief, royalty, beggary, nobility, servitude, rule and submission."

⁶⁸⁰ Great numbers attempt it, but few succeed. It requires considerable talent, and great study. None can arrive at eminence in this line, except men of cultivated taste and retentive memory. They must not only be acquainted with the best ancient and modern stories, but be able to vary them by the relation of new incidents, which they have heard or invented. They must also recollect the finest passages of the most popular poets, that they may aid the impression of their narrative by appropriate quotations. The person, whose peculiar office it is to amuse his majesty with these stories, is always in attendance. Darwesh Safar, of Shíráz, is one of the best narrators of stories, as well as reciter of verses, that I have known in Persia. In 1800, when he was one day on the point of commencing a tale, two gentlemen rose to go away. On seeing him look disappointed, I observed to him, that the cause of their wishing to depart was owing to their inability to enjoy his story, from being unacquainted with the language in which it was to be told. "I beg they will stay," he exclaimed "and you shall see my power will reach them in spite of their want of knowledge of Persian." They remained; and the changes of his countenance, and the different tones in which he spoke, had the effect he expected. They were delighted with the humorous part of his narrative, and moved with the pathetic.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁸¹ Or to soothe the mind when it has been disturbed by the toils of public duties; and his tales are artfully suited to the disposition of the monarch, and the humour he is in at the moment. Sometimes he recites a fable of the genii; at others he speaks of the warlike deeds of the former sovereigns of Persia, or recounts the love of some wandering prince. A story of more coarse materials is often framed, and the ear of the king is entertained with a narrative of low and obscene adventures.—(Malcolm).

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advance; but this command must always be repeated several times, for the person addressed, as if fearful of coming too near, stops at every three or four steps. The monarch, in speaking, often uses the third person, commencing his observation with, "the king is pleased," or "the king commands." His ministers, in addressing him, usually style him "The object of the world's regard." (Kiblah-i-Jilam)⁶⁸²

On extraordinary occasions, nothing can exceed the splendour of the Persian court. It presents a scene of the greatest magnificence, regulated by the most disciplined order. There is no part of the government, to which so much attention is paid, as the strict maintenance of those forms and ceremonies, which are deemed essential to the power and glory of the monarch; and the high officers,⁶⁸³ to whom this duty is allotted, are armed with the fullest authority, and are always attended by a number of inferiors, who carry their commands into the most prompt execution.⁶⁸⁴

Ceremonies at the reception of foreign ambassadors.

The arrival of a foreign embassy is deemed one of those occasions, on which the king of Persia should appear in all his grandeur. The ceremonies, with which these were received, appear to have been substantially the same at every period of the history of that kingdom. The present monarch has endeavoured to vie with the most magnificent of his predecessors in his reception of those ambassadors of the European nations, by whom his court has been visited. The foreign minister advances, with his suite and escort, to one of the interior gates of the palace. The moment that he reaches the precincts of the royal abode, all is complete silence. The horses even, as if trained to the scene, hardly move their heads.⁶⁸⁵ When he dismounts, he is conducted into a small apartment, where he is met by one of the principal officers of government. (217) After being seated there for some minutes, the king is announced to be upon the throne, and the ambassador proceeds to the hall of audience. That splendid room, the floor of which is raised about eight feet from the ground, is situated in a garden, intersected by regular walks and fountains; along which, from the throne to the entrance of the garden, the princes, ministers, nobles, courtiers and royal guards are arranged in their respective ranks; but the splendid appearance of these officers, who are robed in their richest habits, is eclipsed in a moment, when the eye glances at the sovereign, whose throne and dress are covered with the richest jewels. As the ambassador advances between two officers, he is twice required to make an obeisance. The Persian officers made a very low bow, at two appointed places, before they came to the hall, in which the king was seated. I took off my hat at each of these places, and made a low bow to his majesty, when I entered the hall. When near the throne, the lord of requests (the *Ashik ákási bási*) pronounces his name, and that of the ruler by whom he is sent. The king says in reply, "You are welcome (*Khúsh ámadí*)"; and the ambassador proceeds to take his seat in the same room, but at some distance from the king. After the ceremony of delivering the letter, or credentials, of the envoy is past, the polite monarch of Persia repeats, that he is welcome (*Khúsh ámadí*), and generally enters into a conversation that is calculated to make his visitor feel perfectly at ease, and to substitute more pleasing impressions for those, which the imposing pomp of the surrounding scene had inspired. I have exactly described the ceremonies, which occurred on my first visit to the king of Persia in 1800. After I had been seated a short time, the king, with a smile on his countenance, said; "We will talk of business hereafter; but you must now satisfy me, Captain Malcolm, of the correctness of a report I have heard, but cannot believe. Is it true that the king of England has only one wife?" I told him, it was true, and no Christian monarch could have more. "But he has mistresses then?" he said. I replied, that the king of England was remarkable for his attention to virtue and morality, and had none. He laughed

⁶⁸² They are as particular in their forms of speech as they are in other ceremonies; and superiority and inferiority of ranks, in all their shades, are implied by the terms used in the most common expressions.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁸³ The names and duties of these officers are little altered since the period of Chardin and Kämpfer; and both these travellers have given minute accounts of them.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁸⁴ *Lit.* "On extraordinary occasions, the heavenly court, with all its glory, cannot vie with the grandeur of the court of Persia. It is an occasion for the greatest display of splendour and magnificence, and the greatest order and precision; and no part of the administration receives such attention as is paid to the observance of forms and customs, and the display of the royal state and wealth, as is shown when the sovereign wishes to set forth his power and riches; and for such occasions there are nobles and other officials specially told off."

⁶⁸⁵ *Lit.* "After the usual ceremonies of meeting on the road, and appointing a time for his reception on a fixed date, he is brought to the king. The foreign minister, with his suite and escort, accompanies him to the gates of the palace; and thence to a place in the inner court near the precincts of the king's abode, where they dismount. Everything is so exactly arranged that not a breath escapes a single person, and all are, as it were, spiritless bodies; and even the horses scarcely move their heads."

heartily, and said, he should not like to be a king, where such usages prevailed. This sally of the monarch was intended to place me at my ease, and to do away the formality of a visit of introduction.

If the ambassador has any presents to offer, they are, however rich, received without any appearance of gratification. The forms of his condition require that he should display an apparent indifference to such offerings, and that he should conceal any joy or wonder, that has been excited in his mind, till he can indulge in it without witnesses. When I visited Persia in 1810, I made the king a present of a handsome curriole, with which he was, at the moment, much delighted.

It has been before stated that there are no wheel carriages in Persia. The monarch almost always rides on horseback, and occasionally on an elephant, unless he be prevented by indisposition; and then, if forced to move, he is carried in a litter, that is suspended between two mules. It is in this kind of conveyance, which is called *Takht-i-rawán*, and upon large panniers, called *Kajáwáhs*, which are carried by camels, that the ladies of the king, who attend him when he takes the field, are conveyed. The tents and portable pavilions of the king of Persia are very magnificent. They are surrounded with a high tent wall, which encloses both the outer and inner apartments. The same forms and the same usages are observed, when he is in the field, as when at his capital; but it is to be supposed that, on active service, his female train must be greatly reduced. The severe discipline of *Nádir Sháh* prohibited the chiefs of his army from encumbering its march with their numerous females; and he, himself, set an example of moderation. According to a manuscript in my possession, he limited his chief officers to one wife, when in the field, and was, himself, content with two. (218)

The dress of the *Súfiávan* kings was as splendid as that of the present monarch, but the costume is much changed. It is now universally the fashion in Persia to wear the beard long; and the head is covered with a cap instead of a turban. The upper part of their garments are made to fit the body very close, but the lower is invariably loose.⁶⁸⁶

The dress of the King of Persia.

There is no part of the establishment of a monarch of Persia, to which more attention is paid, than his horses. They are placed under the charge of an officer of rank who is styled *Mír Ákhúur*, or the lord of the stable. The finest colts from every part of the kingdom are sent to the king, and from these he selects what are deemed the best, for his own riding. The charger, on which he is mounted, is richly caparisoned; and a number of others, with gold embossed saddles and bits, are led before him, and form, when he is travelling, the most magnificent part of his state. Every officer of rank in Persia has one, or more, led horses. It is, indeed, a point by which relative ranks are distinguished in that country. The stable of the king is deemed one of the most sacred of all sanctuaries (bast)⁶⁸⁷

His stables.

The kings of Persia have always been very observant of the forms of religion. They say their prayers at the appointed hours; and no impression⁶⁸⁸ could tend more to weaken their authority, than a belief that they were irreligious. They sometimes attend worship in the principal mosque of the capital; and, like their subjects, pay their devotions, whenever they have an opportunity, at the sepulchres of those sainted persons, who are buried within the limits of their dominions. As *Shí'as*, they profess great veneration for the memory of 'Alí and his sons; but, not being able to visit their tombs, which are within the Turkish territories, they content themselves with sending rich presents to ornament these shrines. It is also an object of ambition to be buried at these sacred places. The body of *Áká Muḥammad Khán*, the late King of Persia, was sent to *Karbalá* to be interred.⁶⁸⁹

His observance of the forms of religion.

⁶⁸⁶ The Persians are much disgusted with the European usage of uncovering the head, and of wearing the lower garments tight.—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁸⁷ This usage continues in force; and, during the present reign, a nobleman of the first rank (the late *Sulaimán Khán*, *Kájúr*, who was first cousin to the reigning king, and who had aspired to the throne), took refuge in the royal stable, and remained there till he obtained pardon for his offence. The military tribes in Persia have always regarded this sanctuary with the most superstitious reverence. "A horse," they say, "will never bear him to victory, by whom it is violated." In one Persian manuscript, all the misfortunes of *Nádir Mírzá*, the grandson of *Nádir Sháh*, are attributed to his having violated the honour of the stable, by putting to death a person who had taken refuge there. The same writer remarks, when speaking on this subject, "The monarch, or chief, at whose stable a criminal takes refuge must feed him as long as he stays there; but he may be slain the moment before he reaches it, or that on which he leaves it; but when there, a slave, who has murdered his master, cannot be touched. The place of safety is at the head of the horse: and if that is tied up in the open air, the object of him, who takes refuge, is to touch the head-stall."—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁸⁸ As it is the habit of *Muḥammadans* to perform this sacred duty in an open and public manner, its neglect would produce observance.—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁸⁹ Near the sacred precincts of the dome, which canopies the remains of the sainted *Imáms*, *Hussain* and *Hasan*.—(Malcolm.)

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The observance
of the Nauroz.

It has been before stated that the 'Id-i-Nauroz, or the feast of the vernal equinox, is to this day observed, as it was by the ancient inhabitants of Persia. The Turks continually upbraid the Persians with their observance of a feast instituted by the worshippers of fire,⁶⁹⁰ but the Muhammadans of Persia have discovered another reason for celebrating this day; it is the anniversary of the elevation of the ir favourite 'Alī to the high dignity of the caliphate. There are many fabulous accounts regarding the origin of the feast of Nauroz. The Gabrs, or worshippers of fire, who were the former inhabitants of Persia, computed by the solar, and not by the lunar, system; their year was divided into twelve months, and every day of the month, as well as the month itself, had a name taken from those which they give to the presiding angels. It was a custom of the ancient kings of Persia, we are told, to dress in a particular robe each day. Scarlet, richly embroidered or rather woven with gold, was the appointed dress for the Hurmuzd, which was the Nauroz. Many reasons are stated to show why the Nauroz is kept as a festival. God, one author says, on that day began the creation, and ordered the different planets to move in their various orbits. Another writer affirms, that Jamshīd built the palace of Persepolis,⁶⁹¹ and entered it on this day, which he ordered in future to be kept as a joyous feast.⁶⁹² These and many other equally fabulous accounts are given of the origin of this festival; but the fact is, it is the opening of the spring, the day on which winter is over, and the season of gladness commences. It is the custom of the king of Persia to march out of his capital on the Nauroz,

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⁶⁹⁰ Lit. "The Sunīs reproach this custom, and look upon it as an usage of infidels."

This single institution of former days has triumphed over that intolerant bigotry, which destroyed the religion, on which it was grounded; and the Muhammadans of Persia have chosen rather to be upbraided with the impious observance of what their enemies term "an usage of infidels," than abolish a feast, which was so cherished by their ancestors.—(Malcolm.)

⁶⁹¹ Persia abounds with remains of her forgotten splendour; for, to use the elegant and emphatic words of a poet (Firdausi) of that nation:—

The spider weaves the web in the palace of Cæsar!

The owl stands sentinel upon the watch tower of Afrāsiyāb!

Pardādāri mikanad dar kasr-i-kaisar 'ankabūt,

Būn naubat mizanad dar gumbad-i-Afrāsiyāb.

The ruins of the palace of Persepolis are by far the grandest that yet remain; and, from what is left of this proud edifice, we may pronounce, that it once rivalled the noblest fabrics of Greece, or of Rome. Persian authors ascribe this palace to Jamshīd; and they name it his takht or throne. They add that Humāy, the daughter of Ardishir, greatly improved this royal mansion, which she made her constant residence; and that it was destroyed by Alexander. The city of Istakhr, near which it stood, long survived the destruction of the throne of Jamshīd; and we learn from historians, on whom we can depend, that its inhabitants were distinguished by their inveterate hatred of the conquerors of their country, and, as if inspired by those fragments of former glory with which they were surrounded, they maintained a character for pride and courage that was not entirely subdued till several centuries after the Arabians first overran Persia. Not only the palace of Persepolis, but the face of the mountain at the foot of which it is situated, and many of the rocks in its vicinity, are ornamented with sculpture, in which we may trace a connection with the page of Firdausi; and there is ample evidence to prove, that the Persians were in the habit of describing by sculpture, both their religious ceremonies, and the principal events of their history. Several of the figures at Persepolis are represented as adoring fire.

The author of the "Zinat-ul-Majlis" gives the following short account of Persepolis, which, I can state from personal observation, is not much exaggerated in the descriptive parts: and it is curious as it shows what Persians believe regarding these famous ruins.

"Jamshīd," this writer states, "built a fortified palace at the foot of a hill, which bounds the fine plain of Mardasht to the north-west. The platform, on which it was built, has three faces to the plain, and one to the mountain. It is formed of a hard black granite. (It is a hard lime stone.) The elevation from the plain is ninety feet; and every stone used in this building, is from nine to twelve feet long, and broad in proportion. There are two great flights of stairs to this palace, so easy of ascent, that a man can ride up on horseback; and on the platform, a palace has been erected, part of which still remains in its original state, and part in ruins. The palace of Jamshīd is that now called the Chihil Sitūn, or forty pillars. Each pillar is formed of a carved stone, is sixty feet high, and is ornamented in a manner so delicate, that it would seem difficult to rival this sculpture upon hard granite in a carving upon the softest wood. (In these measures, the author has used the word, guz, which I have translated guz-i Shāh, or royal yard, "three feet"; there are other guz, shorter. The author of the Fārs Nāma is quoted, who says, it is almost impossible to break this granite: and that, if broke and ground, it is excellent to stop the bleeding of wounds.) There is no granite like that of which these pillars are made, to be now found in Persia: and it is unknown from whence it was brought. (The pillars here mentioned are evidently cut out of the rock at the foot of which it stands, as more pillars, half finished, lying on the mountain, attest.) Some most beautiful and extraordinary figures ornament this palace; and all the pillars which once supported the roof (for that has fallen) are composed of three pieces of stone, joined in so exquisite a manner, as to make the beholder believe that the whole shaft is one piece. There are several figures of Jamshīd in the sculpture: in one, he has an urn in his hand, in which he burns benjamin, (benzoin) while he stands adoring the sun. In another, he is represented as seizing the mane of a lion with one hand, while he stabs him with the other."—(Malcolm).

⁶⁹² According to another account, equally fabulous, Jamshīd, the fourth king of the Peshdādī dynasty, whose name was originally "Jam," one day pitched his jewel-ornamented throne on an eminence, in the province of Āzarbāijān; and, after placing the crown upon his head, sat down with his face toward the rising sun, the reflection of which, from the jewels of his crown, shed a lustre which dazzled all around, and they exclaimed, "Shīd," which means "lustre." This title of "Shīd" was added to his name; and the day on which the Nauroz took place, the 22nd of March, was termed Nauroz, and kept as a feast. It is, unfortunately for the author of this popular etymology, that "Jam" should be an original Arabic word, and "Shīd" a Persian term; and their combination, therefore, to form one name or title, is very improbable.—(Malcolm).

attended by his ministers, nobles and as many of his army as can be assembled. The ceremonies of the day commence with a review, and then the tribute and presents of all the rulers and governors of the different provinces of the kingdom are laid at the foot of the throne, which is placed in a magnificent tent, that is pitched for the purpose in an open plain. The king remains in camp several days, which are passed in joy and festivity.⁶⁹³ Horse races are among the amusements at this period, and the monarch, whose favourite horses generally win, gives presents to the fortunate riders.⁶⁹⁴ Horse racing has always been deemed an amusement worthy of the particular patronage of the kings of Persia, and there are annual races, not only at the capital, but at all the principal cities of the kingdom. The distance they have to run is according to the age of the horses, but it is seldom less than seven miles, or more than twenty-one. The object of these races is not so much to try the speed, as the strength, of the horses, and to discover those that can be depended upon for long and rapid marches. Mares never run at the races in Persia, nor are they used in that country for military purposes, except by the Arab tribes.⁶⁹⁵ The king also confers dresses of honour on all the chief nobles and officers of his government, who, imitating his example, give similar marks of their regard to their servants and dependents.⁶⁹⁶ This feast is kept with equal demonstrations of joy over every part of the kingdom. It continues⁶⁹⁷ nearly a week; but the first day is the most important. On it, all ranks appear attired in their newest apparel; they send presents of sweetmeats to each other; and every man kisses, or rather embraces his friend, on the auspicious morning of the Nauroz.⁶⁹⁸ There is, perhaps, no country, where the inhabitants live so much upon sweetmeats as in Persia. Among these, the finest is that called Gazangabin, which is made of the Gaz,⁶⁹⁹ tamarisk tree, mixed with some flour and sugar. This honey is produced by an insect or small worm, which resembles a white thread. It lies on the leaf of the tree and appears inert. During forty days in summer, the insects are brushed off the leaves every three days, and they always collect again in astonishing numbers. The Gazangabin is chiefly found in 'Irâk.

The Persian kings have always attached great importance to the royal privilege of having a band of musicians,⁷⁰⁰ and of displaying, at their festivals, and when encamped with their army, particular banners. It has been mentioned in the first volume that one of the standards of the ancient monarchs of this kingdom was the apron of Kâwa, the celebrated blacksmith.⁷⁰¹ Subsequent to the introduction of the religion of Muhammad,

Banners and arms of Persia.

⁶⁹³ *Lit.* "The king's tent is pitched in a large open plain, and his throne placed therein; on the first day of the passing of the sun into Aries, the offerings of the rulers of provinces and the tribute of the dependent states are presented, and some days are passed in joy and festivity."

⁶⁹⁴ The horses are always ridden by boys between the age of twelve and fourteen.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁹⁵ Who, like their brethren in Arabia, give them the preference.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁹⁶ *Lit.* "In short the king exalts and honours all the officers of his court by giving royal dresses of honour and princely robes to each, according to their rank. All the nobles, also, in like manner, rejoice, and gladden their attendants by giving them rewards and presents, according to their positions."

⁶⁹⁷ The exact time of the continuance of the festival of Nauroz does not appear fixed. The rejoicing sometimes lasts six days, at others, only three; and those, who have neither money nor time to waste in display and idleness, are content with an observance of the first day, which is that of the vernal equinox.—(Malcolm).

⁶⁹⁸ *Lit.* "And they embrace each other, breast to breast, and shake hands, and send sweetmeats to each other's houses."

⁶⁹⁹ The tamarisk is a shrub, which generally grows along the banks of rivers; in Hindî, it is called *jhûo*, and is much used by the natives of India as a tonic.

⁷⁰⁰ The right of having certain kinds of music is, in almost all Asiatic countries, carefully preserved, and different high ranks are designated by the kind of instruments and the numbers of musicians they are permitted to have. A royal band is peculiar, and its sounds on all great occasions. The loss of an instrument, belonging to such a band, in battle, is considered of as much importance as the loss of a royal standard would be in Europe.—(Malcolm).

⁷⁰¹ Who rebelled against Zuvhâk and placed the virtuous Farîdûn upon the throne. There are various accounts of the descent of Zuvhâk. According to some historians, he was an Arabian, but descended from Kiyâmârth; others trace his descent to Shîdâd and term him a Syrian; and it has even been conjectured that he was the Nimrod of the Hebrews. All agree in one fact, that he was of a cruel and sanguinary temper. He is described as having had two dreadful cancers on his shoulders, which the Persian fabulists have changed into snakes, whose hunger nothing could appease but the brains of human beings. Two of Zuvhâk's subjects were slain daily to furnish the horrid meal: till the manly indignation of Kâwa, a blacksmith of Isfahân, whose two sons were on the point of being sacrificed, relieved the empire from this tyrant, and raised Farîdûn to the throne. We are told by Firdausî that the devil first persuaded Zuvhâk to murder his virtuous father: and afterwards tempted him to eat flesh, which was, in those days, considered a great sin. As a reward for the enjoyments he had obtained him, Satan entreated Zuvhâk to permit him to kiss his shoulders; which his lips no sooner touched, than a hissing serpent appeared on each. These were expected to produce his immediate death; but the monarch was assured by the devil, who had assumed the garb of a physician, that if the voracious serpents were fed with the brains of human beings, he need apprehend no danger. The

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a variety of colours or flags, have been adopted, the penons of which have, in general, been ornamented with symbols allusive of the deeds of that prophet or his descendants. Among these, a representation of the *zulfakár*, or two-edged sword of 'Alí, has been the most common; but, notwithstanding the attachment of the Persians to this sacred banner, the sovereigns of that kingdom have, for many centuries, preserved, as the peculiar arms of their country, the sign or figure of Sol in the constellation Leo. The causes, which led to the sign of Sol in Leo, becoming the arms of Persia cannot be distinctly traced, but there is reason to believe that the use of this symbol is not of very great antiquity. We meet with it upon the coins of one of the princes of the Seljukian dynasty of Iconium; and when this family was destroyed by Halkú,⁷⁰² it is not improbable that that prince, or his successors, adopted this emblematical representation as a trophy of their conquest; and that it has remained ever since among the most remarkable of the royal insignia of Persia. A learned friend, who has a valuable collection of oriental coins, and whose information and opinion have enabled me to make this conjecture, states his belief that the emblematical representation of Sol in Leo was, first adopted by Ghiyáth-ud-dín Kai Khusrú, the son of Kai Kubád, who began to reign, A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236), and died A.H. 642 (A.D. 1244) and this emblem, he adds, is supposed to have reference either to his own horoscope, or to that of his queen, who was a princess of Georgia. The device⁷⁰³ has not only been sculptured upon their palaces, and embroidered upon their banners, but has been converted into an order, which, in the form of gold and silver medals; has been given to those who have distinguished themselves against the enemies of their country. Over the gate, which forms the entrance of the palace, built by Sháh 'Abbás the first at Ashraf in Mázindarán, are the arms of Persia, "being a lion and the sun rising behind it." The emblem of the lion and sun is upon all the banners given to the regular corps of infantry lately formed in Persia; these are presented to the regiments with great ceremony. A mullá, or priest, attends and implores the Divine blessing on them. The order, with additional decorations, has been lately conferred upon several ministers and representatives of European governments in alliance with Persia. The medals, which have been struck with this symbol upon them, have been chiefly given to the Persian officers and men of the regular corps, who have distinguished themselves in the war with the Russians. An English officer, who lately served with their troops, informs me, that those, on whom these medals have been conferred, are very proud of the distinction, and that all are extremely anxious to obtain them.

Sacred character of the power of the monarch.

The nature of absolute power requires that it should be supported by a continual revival of the impression of its high and almost sacred character. Many of the usages of Persia are calculated to produce this object; everything, connected with the royal name or authority, is treated with a respect that is increased by the form which attends it. If the king sends an honorary dress, the person, for whom it is intended, must proceed several miles to meet it, and clothe himself in his robes of favour with every mark of gratitude and submission. The princes of the royal family are not exempted from paying this mark of respect. There is, in general, a place in the vicinity of the provincial capitals, called *Khila't poshán*, which means, "putting on the honorary dress." The *Khila't poshán* near Shíráz is a distance of four miles on the Isfahán road. If a *farmán* or mandate is written by the monarch to one of the officers of government, it is also met at a distance by the person to whom it is addressed; who, after raising it to his head, gives it to his *Mírzá*, or secretary,

remedy was tried, and proved successful; and Persia, but for the courage of Káwa, would have been depopulated by this diabolical device.

Faridún had escaped in almost a miraculous manner from *Zrahák*, when that prince had seized and murdered his father. At the age of sixteen he joined Káwa, who had collected a large body of his countrymen; these fought with enthusiasm under the standard of the blacksmith's apron, which continually reminded them of the just cause of their revolt; and the presence of their young prince made them invincible. *Zrahák*, after numerous defeats, was made prisoner, and put to a slow and painful death, as some punishment for his great crimes. Faridún's first act on his accession to the throne was to convert the celebrated apron into the royal standard of Persia. As such, it was richly ornamented with jewels; to which every king, from Faridún to the last of the Pahlaví monarchs, added. It was called the *Dírafsh-i-Káwání* (the standard of Káwa), and continued to be the royal standard of Persia till the Muhammadan conquest, when it was taken in battle, and sent to the Caliph 'Umar. We are informed by D'Herbelot, that this famous standard was so richly ornamented, that it was divided into many portions, and enriched all who shared in it. Major Price, in his valuable history of the Muhammadans is more particular; he states, that for the tribe of Bani Timín "was reserved the additional good fortune of seizing the celebrated standard of the Persian empire; which, from the original dimensions and shape of a blacksmith's apron, had been, by this time, enlarged to the length of two and twenty feet, by about fifteen feet in breadth, enriched with jewels of great value."—(Malcolm).

⁷⁰² The grandson of Changiz.—(Malcolm).

⁷⁰³ Which exhibits a lion couchant, and the sun rising at his back.—(Malcolm).

to read, and all stand in respectful silence till the perusal is finished. If a minister has occasion to mention the king, it is not unusual, after inserting all his titles, to leave a blank, and to write the royal name at the top of the letter, lest it should be degraded by having even a word above it. A short time ago, a picture of the reigning monarch was sent to the ruler of Sind. It was enclosed in a case, and nailed down on a litter, carried by two mules; but though not visible, it was deemed entitled to the respectful homage of his subjects in those countries through which it passed. On the approach of this picture to Abúshahr, the governor of that port, with all his troops and attendants, went a stage to pay his obeisance.⁷⁰⁴ When it came near, they dismounted from their horses, and walked forward to meet it on foot; the governor kissed the conveyance, and accompanied it to Abúshahr; and the inhabitants of that town were commanded to show every demonstration of joy upon this happy occasion. (The trousers and shifts of the females)⁷⁰⁵ were exhibited on almost every house at Abúshahr as a sign of their joy. This extraordinary custom prevails among all the tribes of Arabians settled in Persia. There can be no doubt that the whole of these ceremonies were conducted in exact conformity to orders from court, for so great is the attention to minute forms in Persia in all points, connected with the king or his family, that it is usual, when they depute an officer on any public service, for some person in authority to direct, by letter, the exact ceremonies and attentions with which he is to be received and treated. The following is a translation of a letter from Muḥammad Nabí Khán, wazir to the prince at Shiráz, to his brother, Ja'far Khán, governor of Abúshahr, conveying instructions for his reception and treatment of the nobleman who was appointed Mihmándár, or entertainer to the mission under my charge. "My dear brother, Hussain Khán, Kájár, who is appointed Mihmándár to General Malcolm, is a nobleman of the first rank and family; he will keep you informed of his progress. When he arrives at Dalkí, 50 miles from Búshahr, he will send on this letter, and write you on the subject of his waiting upon the general. The day he comes to camp, you will proceed to meet him, attended by all the garrison of Búshahr, as far as the date trees on the border of the desert; you will accompany him to General Malcolm's tent, and when he leaves that, you will proceed with him to his own tent, which must be pitched, as the general desires, on the right or left of his encampment. If Hussain Khán, Kájár, arrive in the morning, you will stay and breakfast with him; if in the evening, you will dine with him. Your future attentions to him will be regulated by your politeness and good sense, and you will always consider him as a noble guest, who should be entertained in a manner suitable to his rank, and the distinguished situation to which he is appointed, of Mihmándár to General Malcolm."

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The mode of introduction of a foreign minister at the Court of Persia has been mentioned. The forms, observed in his intercourse with the viceroys of provinces and governors of cities, before he reaches the capital, are deemed equally important. The manner of meeting him before he enters a town, and his mode of reception at the different houses that he visits, are subjects of the most serious discussion, and minute arrangement. The rank and number of persons sent to welcome him, the distance they go, and period at which they dismount, are all of importance, as they mark the exact degree of respect and consideration, in which he is held; and, at his interviews with princes of the blood, or nobles of high rank, the inclination of the head, the rising from the seat, the advancing to the edge of the carpet, to the door or even beyond it, and the place where he is to be seated, are considered as forms of the utmost consequence, and are, therefore, always settled by previous arrangement. Ceremonies of this kind have everywhere some importance, but they are most attended to by nations, who, like Persia, have no correct knowledge of the character and condition of distant countries, and whose impressions are chiefly formed from the appearance and conduct of those by whom they are represented. If an ambassador assumes great state, the nation he represents, is considered to be wealthy and powerful; if he exacts attention, and resents the slightest neglect, his monarch is believed to be lofty and independent, and worthy of friendship; while a contrary proceeding, on the part of a public representative, is certain to lead to opposite conclusions. It is not unusual to hear a Persian nobleman or minister pass an eulogium on the extraordinary knowledge, firmness, and spirit of an ambassador of his own country or of a foreign state; and when you expect to be

Ceremonies observed by viceroys, governors, &c., at the reception of a foreign ambassador.

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⁷⁰⁴ This occurred in January 1810. Major C. Paisley, who was, at this period, residing at Abúshahr in a high public station, was requested to aid at this ceremony, but he declined the invitation.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁰⁵ The Persian words for these articles of female attire have been omitted by Mírzá Hairat through modesty.

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told of some remarkable negotiation, or treaty, that he concluded, you are informed that his great knowledge was displayed in not being overreached in some point of form, and that his firmness had withstood every effort to make him contented with one shade less of attention, than he thought his due. The conduct of individuals on these occasions is deemed connected, not only with their own fame, but that of their country; and the best Persian historians have recorded, with honour, the names of the ambassadors, who have been most alive to what their station demanded on these essential points of etiquette. We may complain of all this, and deem it at variance with sound reason, but it would be as rational to expect, that the Persians should understand, on first hearing it, the beauties of our language, as that they should appreciate, at the first stages of our intercourse with them, the superior value of our customs. Besides, in a community, where every thing is personal, high rank must, to support itself, always assume an imposing attitude. The natives of the East term the gorgeous magnificence⁷⁰⁶ which surrounds their kings and chief rulers, the "clothing of the state" (*libās i daulat*). "You may speak to the ears of others," was the reply of a very sensible Persian to an European gentleman, who asked him some questions upon this subject; "but if you desire to be understood by my countrymen, you must address their eyes."

The princes, nobles, ministers, and high public officers of Persia, imitate the king in many of their usages. All the respect they pay to him, they exact from their inferiors. Each of them, in his rank, has what may be termed a petty court; the forms of which are regulated in nearly the same manner, and by officers bearing the same names, as those who attend the monarch. Every chief, or officer of elevated station, in Persia has his *haram*, his *mīrzās* or secretaries, his officer of ceremonies, his master of horse, and sometimes his poet and jester; and, in his house, all matters of ceremony are regulated with as strict an attention to punctilio, as at the palace of the sovereign. This class of men, sensible of the precarious nature of their condition, appear alike desirous of obtaining money and of spending it. Women, horses, rich arms and dress are the principal objects of their desire. Their splendid apartments are ornamented with rich carpets, and are generally so situated as to be perfumed by flower gardens and refreshed by fountains. One of their pleasures is to sit in these apartments, to enjoy their coffee and tobacco, and feast their friends. It is the habit with the ministers of the Persian Court to breakfast and dine, almost every day, in a large party. Their meals are always abundant, and sometimes sumptuous; and it is not unusual to invite persons of the most unequal condition, to partake of them. I have dined with the prime minister of Persia, when nobles of the highest rank, inferior *mīrzās* or clerks, merchants, mendicant poets and astrologers have been of the party. When Captain Stewart, Secretary to the British Mission, that visited Persia in 1810, was sitting with the present minister, *Hājī Muhammad Husain Khān*, in his tent, a poor old countryman brought three combs for sale. The *Hājī* examined them, and was settling the price, as breakfast was served up; he left off making the bargain; but, with that condescending affability for which he is celebrated, desired the peasant to sit down and take his breakfast, which he did at the same *farsh* (or cloth on which the dishes are placed) with the minister.

(223) The higher ranks among the inhabitants of Persia are, in general, educated in exactly the same manner as the princes of the blood; and they are most carefully instructed in all that belongs to exterior manner and deportment. Nothing can exceed their politeness; and, in their social hours, when formality is banished, their conversation is delightful. It is enlivened by anecdotes; their narratives and observations are improved by quotations of beautiful passages from their best poets.

The chiefs of military tribes may be termed the hereditary nobility of Persia. The monarch, as has been stated, may, by his influence or direct power, alter the succession, and place an uncle in the situation of a nephew, or sometimes put a younger brother in the condition of an elder; but the leader of the tribe must be of the family of their chiefs. The title of *Khān*, or lord, is conferred upon such persons, as a matter of course.⁷⁰⁷ This class of men are most tenacious of their descent; and the succession is regulated by attention to the rank and birth of the mother.⁷⁰⁸ The man-

⁷⁰⁶ *Lit.* "The great noise and stamping of feet, i.e., pomp and magnificence." *Kabkaba* is a very rare word, brought into use by *Mīrzā Hairat*, for onphony with *dabkaba*.

⁷⁰⁷ When a son is born to a noble of high rank, he is often honoured with this title, when his birth is announced at court. The younger sons, or nephews, of a chief seldom receive it, till they are enrolled in the king's guards, or have performed some service.

⁷⁰⁸ The son of a *Khān* of a military tribe by a concubine is never placed on a footing with his legitimate offspring; an attempt, made by parental fondness to do so, would be resented by the relations of his legitimate wives, and would outrage the feelings of his tribe. I

ners of this class, even when softened by long residence at court always retain a good deal of haughtiness. They are (with some remarkable exceptions) not so polished and well educated as the civil officers at the court.⁷⁰⁹ Much of their time is devoted to martial exercises and field sports.

The ministers of state in Persia, and the secretaries of the various departments of government, generally bear the name of *Mirzá*. This term,⁷¹⁰ which is a contraction of two words, signifies the son of an *Amír* or lord; but at present, it does not, when prefixed to a name, denote high birth. When it follows the name, instead of being prefixed, *Mirzá* always denotes a prince of the blood royal. The fact is, every person who has received the slightest education, becomes a *Mirzá*. Every officer in the army, every magistrate of a village, has his *Mirzá*. This class are usually distinguished by wearing a *Kulandán* and a roll of paper in their girdle; and they seldom, however wealthy, dress with equal splendour, or assume the same state and equipage, as the chiefs of tribes. The monarch often raises them to the dignity of *Khán*.

The priesthood of Persia have few distinct usages. Their occupation enjoins plainness of dress, and forbids the variety and display, to which other persons in this country are too much attached.⁷¹¹ It has been before stated, that the lower ranks of this class are seldom so much entitled to respect as the higher; and the order of priesthood in Persia is degraded by a crowd of persons, who are, or pretend to be, *Sayyids*, assume the name of *Hájí* (a term, which denotes a pilgrim to Makka) as also that of *Mullá* (or learned man) and beg or demand alms, on the ground of their holy character. These persons, who are remarkable for their low cunning and impudence, may be said to live upon the charity of the other classes of the community, by whom they are, in general, feared and despised. In every tale, in which rognery is described, we meet with the name of a *Mullá*, *Sayyid* or *Hájí*.⁷¹² A Persian writer relates that a man purchased a fine bunch of grapes of a person, who sat behind a window; after he had paid his money,

had an opportunity of observing this custom on many occasions. In 1810, when I visited *Míhráb Khán*, the chief of a small branch of the *Afshárs*, at his family residence, two of his sons, very richly dressed, were introduced, the eldest was between eight and nine years of age. When we were seated, a fine boy, between twelve and thirteen, in plain clothes, seated himself at a distance below the other boys. I asked the *Khán*, who he was. "He is my son," said he, "and he is a fine lad; but his mother was only a jeweller's daughter, to whom I was not regularly married. The other boys are descended from a high born mother, and are consequently my heirs."—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁰⁹ *Lit.* "The manners and intercourse of this class, with a few exceptions, are generally blended with haughtiness and ferocity." *Tanammur* (from Arabic root *Namar* or *Namir*) signifies "being angry, ill-humoured, resembling a male panther when enraged."

⁷¹⁰ It may be translated civilian, as it implies civil habits; all who assume it are understood to have been well brought up, and to devote themselves to those duties that require education. A *mirzá* may be called a man of business. Some of this class are men of learning, which is certainly not required to qualify them for their occupations; learning and science, which always imply a knowledge of Arabic, are deemed more necessary and appropriate accomplishments for the *mullás*, or higher classes of priesthood. *Mirzá*s should be able to read and write well, to keep accounts, and be thoroughly versed in all the rules and forms of epistolary correspondence, which are considered by men of rank in Persia to be as essential as the ceremonies that regulate their personal intercourse. *Mirzá*s are in general citizens, though sometimes they belong to warlike tribes. The fact is, every person, who has received the slightest education, and who prefers, for any reason, civil occupation to military, becomes a *Mirzá*, and is a candidate for the employments usually given to persons of this description. These employments are very numerous; for every officer in the army, and every magistrate of a village, has his *mirzá*. This class, who may be said to fill the highest and the lowest offices in the government, are usually distinguished by wearing a *Kulandán* (or small case which contains pens and ink) in their girdle; and they seldom, however wealthy, dress with equal splendour, or assume the same state and equipage, as the chiefs of tribes. Their manners are, from their occupation, mild and polite; and we meet with some of them, who are highly polished and accomplished. The *mirzá*s of Persia are, generally speaking, careful not to offend the rude arrogance of the tribes of that country, by an adoption of their habits. It is unusual for them to follow the sports of the field, or to practice martial exercises; and they hardly ever pretend to military skill; but their modesty does not prevent their being treated with slight, if not contempt, by haughty nobles, to whom their relation appears not dissimilar to that, in which the clerks of ancient Europe stood to the knights and barons under the feudal system. To relieve them from this degradation, the monarch often raises them to the dignity of *Khán*; but they are looked upon as a mere court nobility; and the lowest chieftain of a class considers himself superior in real rank to the most favoured *Mirzá*.—(Malcolm.)

⁷¹¹ They are almost all *Sayyids*, an appellation, which marks their claim to a descent from the prophet of Arabia. (Malcolm.)

⁷¹² *Lit.* "Their occupation requires plainness in their outward garb, and a disregard to worldly matters and attachments. It has been before stated that the lower orders of this class do not get much respect; they are, indeed, treated with contempt; for a number of impudent debauchees and cunning ruffians shew themselves off in the garb of this class, and take the name of *Sayyid*, or *Hájí*, or *Mullá*; their occupation is, if they are true, to oppress the people, otherwise they generally take to demanding alms. The indignation of the community have reached such a stage that, whenever men wish to denote poverty and rognery, the tale is founded on some *Hájí*, or *Mullá*, or *Sayyid*."

The words *Kallásh* and *kallásh* and *ta'addi* are much used. I think *Kallásh*, cunning, and *ta'addi*, violence, are both from the same root. *Takaddi* is evidently formed from the trilateral *kadd*, import, to be angry, to quarrel, to quarrel, to quarrel, but *Kallásh* I cannot find in any Dictionary. The Persian word, *Kallásh*, is extremely sharp.

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he took hold of the end of the bunch, but in pulling it through the lattice, every grape fell on the inside, and he held nothing but the bare stick. "O Sayyid, O Mullá, O Hají," he exclaimed.⁷¹³ The man within instantly opened the door, and said: "You know me then, my friend?" "I never saw you before," said the person to whom he addressed himself. "but I was quite convinced no one, that had not a right to all these sacred titles, could ever have played me such a trick." Anecdotes of this character are repeated in every company in Persia, and this circumstance alone proves, that though many of their priesthood are respected on account of their personal merit, they do not, as a body, enjoy consideration.⁷¹⁴ The estimation, in which the principal Mujtahids, or high priests, of Persia are held, has been before noticed. The most powerful, as well as the weakest, of the monarchs of that country have equally sought to conciliate their good opinion. We read in the history of 'Abbás the Great, that a person complained to Mullá Ahmad, the Mujtahid of Ardabil, that the king had taken his sister by force into his harem. The holy man immediately gave him a note to the following effect; "Brother 'Abbás, restore to the bearer, his sister." The king commanded the woman to be instantly given up: and, showing the note he had received to his courtiers, said aloud, "Let this be put into my shroud; for, on the day of judgment, having been called brother by Mullá Ahmad will avail me more than all the actions of my life." The most cruel of the successors of 'Abbás were often merciful at the solicitation of the chief priests of their kingdom. 'Aká Muhammad Khán allowed them to approach him, when no others dared to come near: and they sometimes pleaded with success for those whom he had doomed to destruction. The reigning monarch has shown them even greater attention than his predecessor; and as long as they continue to abstain from any concern in political affairs, and to disregard worldly honours and wealth,⁷¹⁵ they will, in all probability, preserve the influence which they have established.

There are a number of persons in Persia, who pursue their studies, till they are entitled to the name of Mullá, and to all the honours of a Persian college, without classing themselves with the priesthood. Some devote themselves wholly to study: and to the most eminent of those, who follow literary pursuits, a very high rank in society is assigned. An author, who has acquired any fame as a historian, an astronomer or a poet, is respected by all ranks and has a place of distinction given him in every company in which he mixes. Every prince and noble in Persia desires to be considered a patron of genius;⁷¹⁶ men of learning are not only esteemed on account of their real, or supposed, talents as authors, but as agreeable companions. Their reading furnishes them with anecdotes, which amuse and instruct. Even the common pretenders among this class, who are very numerous, are in general men of good manners and ready wit.

A very slight knowledge of astronomy is sufficient to allow a Persian student to profess the occult science of judicial astrology. If a person can take an altitude with an astrolabe, knows the names of the planets, and their different mansions, declensions, and ascensions, and a few technical phrases, and understands the astrological almanacks that are annually published, he deems himself entitled to offer his services to all who wish to consult him.⁷¹⁷ Nothing is done by a man of any consequence or property, without reference to the stars. If any measure is to be adopted, if a voyage or journey is to be commenced, if a

⁷¹³ Lit. "A Persian writer relates that a person, sat behind a wooden lattice proper. Another person paid his money and bought a fine looking bunch which he saw; when he had paid the price, the seller took hold of the stem of the bunch, and passed it through the lattice, and gave it into the hand of the purchaser. The purchaser wish to draw it through, but all the grapes fell inside, and the dry stick alone came out; seeing the state of affairs, he involuntarily exclaimed "O Sayyid! O Mullá! O Hají!"

⁷¹⁴ But the respect, which is denied to the order as a body, is granted to individuals—(Mahomed.)

⁷¹⁵ It has been before stated, that this class avoid intercourse with persons distinguished by rank; and they are not forward to cultivate the acquaintance of foreigners; but this does not always arise from the motives of bigotry to which it is usually imputed. When I was at Shiráz in 1800, I enquired that the Shaikh-ul-Islám, or Chief Judge of that Court of Second, or written law, in that city, had weak sight, and wish to have a pair of spectacles made; he immediately made him a present of a pair handsomely ornamented; but they were returned with a request that one of less value might be sent. The desire of the Chief Judge, was complied with, and, when I sometimes afterwards met him by accident, he said to me "You must have been a spiteful at my giving you as good a present as I could; and I fear you will think that I showed an unwelcome regard to the spectacles; but the spectacles I had, in my situation," he added, "were very troublesome, and I found it more the slightest service to be for shedding of my burden; and he said, that he found it difficult to see, and was obliged to try spectacles. It is a very common complaint of well-to-do Persians, that he presented my spectacles as a present to him, and he desired."

⁷¹⁶ And this is further proved by a number of poems, and a very full share in the social and domestic of the community, among which they live. (Mahomed.)

⁷¹⁷ And that includes every person in Persia, who has the means to afford such aid. (Mahomed.)

new dress⁷¹⁸ is to be put on, the lucky or unlucky moment must be discovered, and the almanack and the astrologer are consulted. A person, wishing to commence a journey, will not allow a fortunate day to escape, even though he is not ready to set out. He leaves his own house at the propitious moment, and remains, till he can actually proceed, in some inconvenient lodging in its vicinity, satisfied that he has, by quitting his house, secured all the benefits, which the influence of good stars can afford him.

The following occurred in 1806. I write from the manuscript journal of Mr. Jukes, who was upon the spot, and an eye witness of all that is stated. When a Persian ambassador was about to proceed to India, he was informed by his astrologer of a most fortunate conjunction of the stars which, if missed, was not likely to occur again for some months. He instantly determined, though he could not embark, as the ship was not ready that was to carry him, to move from his house, in the town of Abúshahr, to his tents, which were pitched at a village five miles off to receive him. It was, (225) however, discovered that he could neither go out of the door of his own dwelling, nor at the gate of the fort, as the constellation Sakiz Yaldoz⁷¹⁹ was exactly opposite, and shed dangerous influence in that direction. To remedy this, a large aperture was made in the wall of his house; but that only opened into his neighbour's; and four or five more walls had to be cut through, before the ambassador and his friends, (which included the principal men who were to accompany him), could reach the street. They then went to the beach; where it was intended to take a boat, and proceed two miles by sea, in order that their backs might be turned on the dreaded constellation; but the sea was rough, and the party hesitated encountering a real danger to avoid an imaginary one. In this dilemma, the governor was solicited to allow a part of the wall of the town to be thrown down, that a mission, on which so much depended, might not be exposed to misfortune. The request, extraordinary as it may appear, was complied with, and the cavalcade marched over the breach to their tents. The astrologer rode near the ambassador, that he might continually remind him of the great importance of keeping his head in one position.⁷²⁰ The ambassador's conduct in this instance, while it satisfied his own mind, met, no doubt, with the highest approbation of the court, and it gave confidence to his attendants;⁷²¹ for, as has been before stated, the natives of Persia, from the highest to the lowest, have faith in this delusive science. It is, however, to be remarked, that many of those, whose occupation is to observe the aspect of the stars, and to calculate nativities, are not the dupes of their own knowledge. Their object is gain only.⁷²² The poets of Persia are

⁷¹⁸ When at Tihrán in 1800, I was surprised to see the prime minister, Hájí Ibráhim, with whom I lived, consulting a Persian regarding a fortunate moment for putting on a new dress. On seeing me smile, he said, "Do not think, Captain Malcolm, I am such a fool as to put faith in all this nonsense; but I must not make my family unhappy, by refusing to comply with forms, which some of them deem of consequence."—(Malcolm.)

⁷¹⁹ Sakiz Yaldoz signifies, in Turkish, "eight stars." The constellation consists of a cluster of eight stars, and hence its name. It is said by the Persians to be invisible, and is considered most unlucky.

⁷²⁰ And, by his aid, he reached his tents without any occurrence that could tend to disturb the good fortune, which was argued to result from his having departed from home at the propitious moment.—(Malcolm.)

⁷²¹ When I visited Tihrán in 1800, I found that almost all the Persians in my camp were satisfied that the success or failure of my mission would depend, in no slight degree, upon my entering the capital at a fortunate moment. One of my Persian secretaries, who had consulted an astrologer, rode near me, as I approached the gateway, with a watch in his hand; and as I did not refuse to gratify him, by moving, in a slight degree, quicker or slower as he wished, my horse stepped over the threshold of the gateway at the very instant desired. The circumstance gave great joy to all the Persians, who were friendly to the mission, as they anticipated more success from my attention to this trifle, than from all the other efforts I could make.—(Malcolm.)

⁷²² And they make their art subservient to that object. They flatter the ruling passion of those who consult them; and if apparently compelled to forebode misfortune, it is often with no other view, than to point out how it may be averted. When on my return from Tihrán in 1800, I accidentally fell into company with an astrologer, who insisted upon taking my horoscope, and foretelling my destiny. After the usual forms and calculations, he acquainted me, that, on my voyage to India, I should meet with a violent storm; and, after escaping it, should be made a prisoner. I observed, that it was fortunate I had no belief in his skill, otherwise I should be unhappy, from that moment, in contemplating misfortune, from which I concluded there was no escape. There I was mistaken, he said; and, to satisfy me of the manner in which misfortune was to be averted, he would relate an anecdote. "Jesus," said he, "when sitting at the gate of Jerusalem, beheld a wretched man, pressed out of Mary to his disciples. 'That poor fellow, who appears so happy now, will to-day perish in the wood' when evening came, however, the man returned, singing louder than before. The disciples looked at each other and at their master. Jesus, reading their thoughts, said 'O ye of little faith! you doubt my knowledge; but know, that this man, whom you see, carried only one small loaf of bread for his dinner; and when entreated by a person in distress to afford him relief, he gave him half his loaf. God, pleased with this act, saved his life. But go, 'added the prophet,' and examine the bundle of wood that he carries, and you will find there the very snake, which was appointed to cause his death.' They went and saw with wonder the snake, which was appointed to cause his death, and you will find himself to me, 'how it is possible to avert the decrees of the stars.' The astrologer, addressing that trifling reward to my companion's ingenuity, which I had been prepared to deny to his pretended skill.—(Malcolm.)

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still greater flatterers than the astrologers, but their occupation, for it may be termed one, is less profitable. A few fortunate votaries of the muses enjoy the smiles of fortune; but the great majority of poets in Persia, as in other countries, are poor; and, from their numbers, it is impossible it should be otherwise. Every person, who has received a moderate education, may, if he prefers a life of idleness to one of industry, assume the name of a poet; and the merest rhymers receive some respect from being called by that honoured appellation. Some favoured poets of Persia chant the wonderful deeds of the king or of the principal chiefs, and pass their days in peace under their protection.⁷²³ The facility, with which a Persian can obtain a certain degree of education at the colleges in the principal cities of the empire, and that indulgence, to which the usages of these seminaries invite, produces a swarm of students who pass their useless lives in indolence and poverty. Isfahán, in particular, abounds with these literary mendicants; and it is chiefly from the scholars, educated at its colleges, and those at Shíráz, that the kingdom is inundated with vagrant poets, who lie in wait, not only for the high officers and wealthy men of their native country, but for all strangers, whose rank or appearance affords them the slightest prospect of a return for their venal lays. A professed ignorance of their language, or the expression of dislike for their productions, is no defence against their craving importunity and unconquerable assurance. A poet, who came 50 miles from Shíráz to welcome me, (this occurred on my first mission to Persia in A.D. 1800) with a complimentary ode, beautifully written upon ornamented paper, was told in order to evade his purpose,⁷²⁴ that the person he had so praised could hardly comprehend his lines, and had no taste for such compositions. "I must tell him a story then," said the unabashed poet, "which will show him how little necessary the knowledge, which he wants, is to the fulfilment of my object. Some years ago," said he "when the Afgháns had possession of Persia, a rude chief of that nation was governor of Shíráz; a poet composed a panegyric upon his wisdom, his valour and his virtues. As he was taking it to the palace, he was met by a friend at the outer gate who enquired where he was going. He informed him of his purpose. His friend asked him, if he was insane, to offer an ode to a barbarian who hardly understood a word of the Persian language. 'All that you say may be true,' said he, but 'I am starving, and have no means of livelihood but making verses. I must therefore proceed.' He went and stood before the governor with the ode in his hand. 'Who is that fellow,' exclaimed the Afghán lord 'and what is that paper, which he holds?' 'I am a poet,' replied the man, 'and the paper contains some poetry.' 'What is the use of poetry?' said the chief. 'To render great men like you immortal,' he replied, making, at the same time, a very profound bow. 'Let us hear some of it.' The poet, on this mandate, began to read his composition aloud; but he had not read the second stanza, when he was interrupted. 'Enough,' said the governor 'I understand it all. Give the poor man some money; that is what he wants.' The poet received his present,⁷²⁵ and retired quite delighted. He met his friend at the door, who, the moment he came out, accosted him again 'You are, no doubt,' he observed, 'now convinced of the folly of carrying odes to a man, who does not understand one word of them.'⁷²⁶ 'He has beyond all men I ever met,' he said, 'the quickest apprehension of a poet's meaning.'" This story produced, in part, that effect, which the travelling poet had expected from his ode; but the notice he received had the common effect of exciting, instead of allaying, cupidity; and the wily rhymers made several ingenious, but unsuccessful, efforts to obtain further liberality.⁷²⁷

The art of printing is unknown in Persia: and beautiful writing therefore is considered a high accomplishment;⁷²⁸ those, who excel in it, are almost classed with literary men. They are employed to copy books; and some have attained to such eminence in this art, that a few lines, written by one of these celebrated penmen, are often sold for a considerable sum.⁷²⁹

⁷²³ Some compose *Díváns*, or "collections of odes" on the mystical subject of love; while others are contented with writing panegyrics on the virtues, wisdom, bravery, and discernment, of all those, who bestow their bounty upon them, or allow them to partake of the good things of their table. They also make epigrams to amuse their patrons; and are alike ready to recite their own verses, or to show their knowledge by quoting the finest passages of the poetry of their countrymen (Malcolm).

⁷²⁴ Lit. "For the sake of removing the pain in his head." This allusion is worth notice.

⁷²⁵ The word "sháh" used for "present" is peculiar, and should be noted.

⁷²⁶ Lit. "Asking the state of affairs."

⁷²⁷ Lit. "His relating this story resulted in something being given him; after this, he made several further attempts, but victory did not attend his assaults."

The word "fatáh" victories, also signifies "money received gratuitously."

⁷²⁸ It is carefully taught in the schools (Malcolm).

⁷²⁹ I have known seven pounds given for four lines written by Durrach Mollá, a celebrated penman, who has been dead some time, and whose beautiful specimens of a singular now scarce—(Malcolm).

The merchants of Persia are all taught to read and write, and some of them are men of learning. Their better acquaintance with foreign countries, while it renders them free from prejudice, adds greatly to their knowledge and their manners; though not so highly polished as those of the principal nobility and courtiers, they are, in general, equal, if not superior, to the other classes of the community in which they live. Though the society of merchants of information and education is courted by the first nobles and the highest officers of the Persian government, the former, in general, endeavour to avoid⁷³⁰ any political connection; and the observance of this rule is recommended by the almost invariable ruin of all those, who are deluded to forsake the path of profit to pursue that of ambition.⁷³¹

It is a peculiar usage of the principal merchants in Persia to carry on all their mercantile correspondence in cypher,⁷³² and every person has a different one. The causes for this extraordinary precaution are obvious. In a country, where there are no regular posts, they are under the necessity of trusting their letters to couriers, whom a small sum would bribe to betray their secrets to commercial rivals; and it is of great consequence to their interests, that they should have first intelligence of political changes, respecting which their correspondents would fear to write in an open manner. In Persia, the authenticity of a merchant's letter, as well as of his bills, depends entirely upon the seal.⁷³³ It is the seal, therefore, which is of importance. The occupation of a seal cutter is one of much trust and some danger; he keeps a register of every seal he makes; and if one is stolen or lost by the party to whom he sold it, his life would answer the crime of making another exactly the same. He must affix the real date on which it is cut; and the person, to whom the seal belongs, if in business, is obliged to take the most respectable witnesses of the occurrence, and to write to his correspondents,⁷³⁴ declaring all accounts and deeds, with his former seal, null from the day on which it was lost. (227)

Among the lower classes of the citizens of Persia, there is not much perceptible difference of manner. That, which exists, arises from the nature of their respective occupations, and from the partial diffusion of knowledge. Almost all the tradesmen, and many of the mechanics, have received some education. There are schools in every town and city of Persia.⁷³⁵ The child, who attends at one of these seminaries, after he has learnt the alphabet, is made, as a religious duty, to read the Kurán in Arabic; which he usually does without understanding one word of it. He is next taught to read some fables in the Persian language and to write a legible hand; here his education commonly ends; and, unless he is led by inclination to devote himself to study, or his occupation requires that he should practice what he has learnt, the lessons he has received are soon forgotten. But this course of education, slight and superficial as it may seem, has the effect of changing the habits, and of introducing a degree of refinement, among those who benefit by it, which is unknown to their ruder countrymen.

The Persians of all conditions are fond of society. Their table is, in general, well furnished, as the extraordinary cheapness of provisions of every kind, and the great plenty of fruit, enable the lowest order of citizens to live well. The hog is the only animal, whose flesh they are positively forbidden to eat.⁷³⁶ They are also, as Muhammadans, prohibited from tasting wine; but the rule is often broken; and as, to use their own phrase, "there is equal sin in a glass as in a flagon," they usually, when they drink, indulge to excess. They are, indeed, so impressed with the idea, that the sole pleasure of this forbidden liquor is centred in its intoxicating effects, that nothing, but constant observation, can satisfy them that Christians are not all drunkards. "It is," they often remark, when speaking to a person of that persuasion, "one of the privileges of your religion to be so, and therefore neither attend-

⁷³⁰ Lit. "As far as possible."

⁷³¹ Lit. "Of grandees." The word *Amathil* signifies "eminent, conspicuous, peers, nobles, grandees."

⁷³² Mirzá Hairat's translation, "*khatt-i-rukúm*" for "in cypher" is, I think, a little incorrect. The common word is *khatt-i-ju'li* or *khatt-i-ramzi*. The Turkish word for it is "*jifrah*."

⁷³³ It is not usual to sign either; and they are not often written in the hand of the person by whom they are sent.—(Malcolm.)

⁷³⁴ Lit. "To the neighbouring merchants, and to his agents and partners."

⁷³⁵ In which the rudiments of the language of that country, and of Arabia, are taught. The schools in Persia have been particularly described by Chardin, and other travellers. They are sufficiently reasonable to admit of the poorest tradesman sending his children to them; but are often under the management of ignorant pedants. It is not to be expected that a government, like that of Persia, should ever pay attention to the education of its subjects, though that is evidently the root, from which all improvement must spring.—(Malcolm.)

⁷³⁶ There are several other meats, such as the hare, &c., which are deemed improper to eat.—(Malcolm.)

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ed with shame or disgrace." An English officer, belonging to a frigate had come on shore at Abúshahr, and mounted a high spirited horse to take a ride. The awkwardness of the rider, who was nearly falling at every bound the animal took, amused a great number of spectators. Next day, a Persian, who supplied the vessel with fruit and vegetables, came off and, seeing the officer, said to him: "I have saved your reputation; not a man of those, who laughed at you yesterday, has the least suspicion, that you are a bad horseman." "How have you managed that?" said the gentleman he addressed. "I told them," he replied, "that you, like every Englishman, rode admirably, but that you were very drunk, and that alone was the reason of your not keeping your seat upon the saddle so firmly, as you otherwise would have done." If an endeavour is made to remove these impressions by telling them that, though we are permitted to use wine, excess is always considered as degrading, and often, when it incapacitates for duty, criminal, they listen with a smile of incredulity.

(228) The Persians wear hardly any under-linen; and among the lower classes, the clothes they once put on, are seldom taken off till worn out. Nothing could preserve the health of a people with such habits, but those ablutions, which are enjoined by their religion, and the constant use of the *hamáms*, or hot baths, which are to be found in every city, town and village of Persia. Some of these buildings are very splendid; and they are almost always clean, and well supplied with fresh water. A few pieces of the smallest copper coin of the country enables the poorest traveller or labourer to indulge in this delightful luxury, which, independent of its salubrity, refreshes the spirits and dissipates the effects of the most severe fatigue.

Amusements.

The nature of the public amusements in Persia has been noticed. The lower classes are entertained by the same exhibitions as the higher. Illuminations, fireworks, wrestlers, jugglers, buffoons, puppet shows, musicians,⁷³⁷ and dancing boys amuse all ranks at public feasts; while riding on horseback, visiting, walking in gardens, and sitting in groups at their houses, or under the shade of a tree, to listen to a tale or poem, are the usual occupations of their idle hours. Dancing girls were once numerous in Persia.⁷³⁸ They continued to form a part of the amusement at every entertainment, till the reigning family ascended the throne; but, at present, they are not allowed at court, and are seldom seen, except in provinces at a distance from the capital. Dancing girls are still to be met with in Kurdistán and in parts of Kúrásán.

Condition and treatment of the women of Persia.

There is no consideration of more consequence, as connected with the condition and character of a people, than the laws and customs, which regulate the relative situation and intercourse of the sexes. On it, perhaps, beyond all other causes, depends the moral state⁷³⁹ of a country, and its progress in general improvement. Many nations, who have allowed their women to be publicly seen,⁷⁴⁰ have still remained in a barbarous state; but there is no instance of the inhabitants of a country, in which it was the custom to immure them, and to deny them the benefits of civilization, ever having attained a forward rank in civilized life. The influence of women, where they hold their just station in society, is not more calculated to soften the rough manners, and to subdue the angry passions of man, than to stimulate⁷⁴¹ him to generous, brave and noble actions. The admiration of highly cultivated females is more rarely given to personal beauty than to valour, virtue and talent; and the hope of obtaining it constitutes one of the purest and highest motives to good actions.⁷⁴² It has been before stated, that the religion of Muhammad sanctions, if it does not inculcate, usages, which keep the female sex in a subservient state. The followers of this faith, therefore, may be pronounced to be strangers

⁷³⁷ They are said to have been introduced into Persia by Bahrám the Fifth, who observed a merry troop of his subjects dancing without music; he enquired the cause; "we have sent everywhere, and offered" said one of them "one hundred pieces of gold for a musician, but in vain." The king sent to India for musicians and singers; and twelve thousand were encouraged by his munificence, to enter his dominions. There were, no doubt, always a few of this class in Persia, but since the days of Bahrám, they have abounded. It is a curious fact, that the dancing and singing girls of Persia are termed *Káwuli*, a corruption of *Kábuli* or "of Kábul;" which denotes the quarter from whence they came.—(Malcolm.)

⁷³⁸ The first poets of that country have celebrated the beauty of their persons and the melody of their voices.—(Malcolm.)

⁷³⁹ Lit. "Integrity and rectitude."

⁷⁴⁰ Among the wandering tribes, the females are unveiled. The lower classes among the Muhammadans in India do not veil; and the late Captain Grant, who travelled through Makrán in 1809, states "that it is not the custom in that country for the women to veil."

⁷⁴¹ Two words are used to denote "stimulators" viz., *Muharrík* and *Mushawwík*." The latter is not given in Richardson's Dictionary, but is formed from the Arabic triliteral *shauk*, in the same manner as *Muharrík* is from *hark*.

⁷⁴² Lit. "And to obtain the regard and approbation of such women is one of the best and highest motives for the performance of great deeds and good actions."

to this refined, but powerful, motive of human action. In Persia, the lower classes deem females important, in proportion as they are useful in domestic duties; the higher consider them as born for their sensual gratification. Women have, in fact, no assigned place in this community, but are what their husbands, or rather lords, may choose to make them. A favourite may, by the power of her mental⁷⁴³ or personal charms, establish an influence over her domestic tyrant, or she may obtain peculiar respect on account of her superior birth, and the consequent dread, which her husband entertains of her relations. Other ties may produce still more remarkable effects; and habit and affection combined may lead a son to continue an attention or obedience to his mother, that gives her an importance beyond the walls of the *haram*. But these rare instances, though they sometimes form women of superior knowledge and character, can have no general effect.

The natives of Persia, like all Muhammadans, consider themselves entitled to an unlimited indulgence in the pleasures of the *haram*; and though they are restrained, by religious consideration, from marrying more than four wives, they conceive themselves at liberty to increase the number of females in their family to any extent that suits their inclination or their convenience. The priesthood are expected to be the most moderate in their use of the indulgence granted by their prophet; and we may judge of their habits by the remark of a very grave historian, Sharif-ud-din, author of the History of Kurdistan, who, after an animated eulogium upon the character of a priest of high reputation, concludes by observing that "the continence of this virtuous man was so extraordinary, that it is affirmed that, during his life, he never had intercourse with any other females, except his four legitimate wives."

Indulgence in an unlimited number of females. (229)

The Persians are entitled by law and usage, to take females, not within the prohibited degrees of kindred, in three different ways; by marriage, (*nikáh*), by purchase, (*milk-i-yamín*) and, by hire (*mut'ah*).⁷⁴⁴ Their marriages are made according to prescribed forms. The female is betrothed by the parents;⁷⁴⁵ she may, however, refuse her consent, when the priest comes to require it; and the marriage cannot proceed if she continues averse to it; but this rarely happens, as the parties never see one another before they are united, and seldom hear any reports of each other but what are favourable. A woman has this, and many other, rights according to the Muhammadan law; but a being, who is first immured by her parents, and afterwards by her husband, (whose name it is almost a crime to pronounce), can practically have little protection from these useless privileges. The nuptial ceremony must take place before two or more witnesses.⁷⁴⁶ The contract of marriage is regularly made out by an officer of the law who attends. It is then attested and given to the female, who preserves it with great care, for it is also the deed, by which she is entitled to her dower,⁷⁴⁷ which is the principal part of her provision in the event of her husband's death, and her sole dependence⁷⁴⁸ if she is divorced. Marriages in Persia, as in all Eastern

Ceremonies and usages of marriage.

⁷⁴³ Note the two words "*zaká-o-dahá*" "wisdom and intelligence" used for "mental charms."

⁷⁴⁴ *Milk-i-yamín* is the technical term in *fikh* (or theological jurisprudence) for a slave or a possession (milk) gained by strength, which is a secondary meaning of *yamín*. As Muhammadans, after a conquest, usually obtained a number of female captives and slaves, the term "*Milk-i-Yamín*" was applied to slave girls, and to the purchased wives, who can scarcely be called anything but slaves. "*Milk*" also means "marriage."

Mut'ah literally means "use, enjoyment;" hence its application to marriages on hire, in which a wife is taken to be used and enjoyed, and to be dismissed, if wished, after a few days' cohabitation, or perhaps, even the very next day. With regard to the former, Malcolm says, it has been the invariable usage of all Asiatic conquerors, from the monarch, who subdues kingdoms, to the chief, that seizes a village, to claim some fair females, as the reward of his conquest.

⁷⁴⁵ *Lit.* "The father and the mother are the guardians and representatives on the part of the girl and betroth her in marriage" Persons, both male and female, are often betrothed in infancy. If this is done by their parents, the marriage must be confirmed when they attain the age of puberty; but, if by any other than parents, the most respectable Muhammadan doctors maintain it is null, if either both, or one, of the parties desire that it should be cancelled.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁴⁶ There must be two male witnesses, or one man and two women. These must be free men, sane, adult, and Muhammadans.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁴⁷ *Sadák* is the technical law term for a marriage settlement, or the portion, which a husband engages to give to his future wife, and which she is entitled to receive, if her husband dies, or divorces her.

Malcolm says:—"There is no point deemed of more consequence by the Muhammadan law than the dower. The most learned doctors have, however, disagreed widely regarding its interpretation. A marriage, some hold, is valid, even though there is no dower; but in such cases, as also where an excessive one has been agreed upon, the law may interpose and settle it upon just and rational principles. The lowest dower, that can be legally given, is ten dirhams, or between four and five shillings."

⁷⁴⁸ The right of the female to this settlement is guarded, not only by law and usage, but by the protection of her male relations who are, in general, the witnesses. It is made payable from the property of the husband; and if he has none, the wife's portion is secured upon whatever he may hereafter possess. The dower is made over to the female, or her assigns, before the consummation of the marriage. It becomes her entire right, and it is not unusual for a mother to give, a favourite son, her dower; which he can, when vested with her

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countries, are very expensive. It is not unusual for a man to waste the means, he has spent his life in acquiring, on his nuptial day. They connect their display upon this occasion with their personal reputation, and endeavour to surpass their equals with a ruinous spirit of emulation.⁷⁴⁹

A Persian may purchase as many slaves as he likes; and their condition is, in no degree, altered by the manner, in which they live in the family. The sweeper of his house and the partner of his bed are alike exposed to be sold again, if they have been purchased; but this right is seldom exercised, as it is at variance with that jealous sense of honour, which almost all Muhammadans entertain regarding females, with whom they have cohabited.⁷⁵⁰

Marriage by contract.

The marriage by contract, or for a limited period, called *mut'ah*, is peculiar to the citizens of Persia. It is said to have been a custom in Arabia, when Muhammad first introduced his religion into that country; but though the prophet tolerated it, 'Umar abolished it as a species of legal prostitution, that was inconsistent with good morals. The Turks therefore, and other Sunnis, who respect the decrees of this caliph, hold this practice in abhorrence. The parties agree to live together for a fixed period, which varies from a few days to ninety-nine years. The sum agreed upon as the lady's hire is mentioned in the contract given to her, which is made out by the *Kázui*, or a *Mullá*, and regularly witnessed. The man may dissolve the contract when he chooses; but the female has a right, from the hour the deed⁷⁵¹ is signed, to the whole amount of the sum that was agreed to be paid to her. If the parties are willing, the deed is renewed at the period it expires. The contract conveys no rights to the female beyond the sum specified as her hire.⁷⁵² This species of engagement usually takes place between persons of very unequal condition in life. The woman is generally of a very inferior family; and her condition can only be termed a state of legal concubinage.

Forms of divorce.

A man in Persia can divorce his wife at pleasure; but there is an expense and scandal attending such a proceeding, which renders it very unfrequent. It may, indeed, be said never to occur, but among the lower classes; for a man of rank would consider himself disgraced by taking a step which would expose a woman, who had been his wife, to be seen by others. The forms of divorce amongst the Sh'as differ, in some trifling points, from those observed by the Sunnis. Divorces are never on account of adultery; as that crime, if proved, subjects a woman, who has been legally married, to capital punishment. The general causes are complaints of badness of temper or extravagance, on the part of the husbands; and of neglect or cruel usage, on that of the wives. If the husband sues for divorce, he is compelled to pay his wife's dower; but, if she sues for it, her claim to that is cancelled. The consequence is, that it is not unfrequent, amongst the lower orders, when a man desires to be rid of his partner, to use her so ill, that she is forced to institute a suit for separation; and that, if granted, abrogates all her claims upon her husband.

Animosity between the *Haidari* and the *Ni'amat* wards.

Some peculiar usages of the different cities have been noticed, particularly the right of insurrection, or *Lúti*⁷⁵³ *Bázár*, claimed by the inhabitants of Kazwín. The division of the chief cities into wards, with the names of *Haidari* and *Ni'amat*,⁷⁵⁴ which one author has ascribed to the policy of Sháh 'Abbás the Great, still exists and continues to excite equal animosity, to what it did at former periods. Langles concludes that these opposite sects derive their names from Shaikh *Haidar*, the ancestor of the Súfiavian family, and from *Ni'amat-ulla*, the name assumed by the

authority, compel his father to pay. The law concerning dower constitutes, as was no doubt intended, a considerable check upon the men of every Muhammadan nation; and it is one of which the women of Persia are very jealous. A woman, according to the Muhammadan law, may exonerate her husband from a part, or even from the whole, of the dower. There are, however, rare instances of the whole being restored, though the wife sometimes gives up a part at the earnest solicitation of the husband, or his friends. — (Malcolm.)

⁷⁴⁹ Lit. "And, in the desire to rival others, they ruin themselves."

⁷⁵⁰ Lit. "But this state of affairs rarely happens, for this reason, that their personal honour forbids that they should give the foot of one, who has placed her head on his pillow, into the hand of another."

⁷⁵¹ *Sigha* is really "the form of words used at the marriage ceremony." In modern Persian, it is, however, generally used for "cohabitation."

⁷⁵² She is, under no circumstances, deemed entitled to share in the inheritance of the property of the person, to whom she is contracted. The law provides for the manner, in which children, who are born in this state of legal concubinage, are to be supported; and to prevent abuses, a woman is prohibited, after she has parted from the person to whom she was contracted, forming a new engagement till a period has elapsed, sufficient to prevent the risk of a man being burdened with spurious offspring. — (Malcolm.)

⁷⁵³ The word *Lúti*, it would be as well to mention here, means "rowdy, rascal"; also "joining, uniting, bringing together (friends)"; the latter is evidently the sense in which it is used in the expression "*Lúti Bázár*."

⁷⁵⁴ Hanway terms these opposite parties, *Peleuk* and *Peleuk*, names now unknown. — (Malcolm.)

adherents of the dynasty of the White Sheep, which was destroyed by the sect of *Haidarí*, or descendants of *Isma'il Sáfi*. There is at all times a jealousy between these parties; but, during the ten first days (*'Áshúrâ*) of the *Muharram*, they attack each other with violence. The object, for which they contend, appears to be merely the honour of triumph. If a mosque is decorated by one party, the other, if they can, drive them from it, and destroy the flags or ornaments, which have been put up. If they force their opponents from their houses, they do not enter or plunder them, but make a mark on each door with a hatchet, in token of victory. These frays are often very serious, and many lives are lost; but no effort is made to abolish an usage, which divides those, whose union might make them formidable to the government. I find it stated in a Persian manuscript, which gives a particular account of several of these frays, that a species of account current is kept of the men of the different parties killed. The ward, whose inhabitants have slain the greatest number, are fined the price of blood for the balance, whatever number it may be; and the sum collected is divided among the widows and children of the deceased.

The dress of the citizens of Persia has been often described, both by ancient and modern travellers. That of the men has changed very materially within the last century. The turban, as a head-dress, is now worn by none but the Arabians of that country. The Persians wear a long cap, covered with lamb's wool, the appearance of which is sometimes improved by being encircled with a Kashmir shawl. This custom was very general, but a late mandate has prohibited shawls being worn round the head, except by persons, who have a special privilege from the king to do so. This order was given with a view to encourage the Persian manufactories, and to lessen the importation of Kashmir shawls. The inhabitants of the principal towns are fond of dressing richly. Their upper garments are either made of chintz, silk, or cloth, and are often trimmed with gold or silver lace; they also wear brocade; and in winter, their clothes are lined with furs, of which they import a great variety. It is not customary for any person, except the king, to wear jewels; but nothing can exceed the profusion, which he displays, of these ornaments;⁷⁵⁵ and his subjects seem peculiarly proud of this part of royal magnificence.⁷⁵⁶ There is, perhaps, no monarch in the universe, who possesses jewels of equal value with those belonging to the king of Persia. The finest of these jewels were plundered by *Nádir Sháh* from the monarchs of Delhi.

Modern dress of the Persians.

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The condition of slaves in Persia has been before mentioned; they are not numerous, and cannot be distinguished by any peculiar habits or usages from the other classes, further than that they are generally more trusted and more favoured by their superiors. The name of slave in this country may be said to imply confidence on one part, and attachment on the other.⁷⁵⁷ They are mostly Georgians or Africans; and, being obtained or purchased when young, they are usually brought up in the *Muhammadan* religion. Their master, who takes the merit of their conversion, appropriates the females to his own *haram*, or to the service of his wives; and when the males are at a proper age, he marries them to a female slave in the family, or to a free woman. Their children are brought up in the house, and have, as has been before noticed, a rank only below relations. In almost every family of consequence, the person, in whom the greatest trust is reposed, is a house-born slave; and instances of their betraying their charge, or abusing the confidence that is placed in them, are very rare.

Condition and treatment of slaves.

The general observations, which have been made on the manners and customs of the Persians, apply peculiarly to the inhabitants of cities, towns and villages. Many of those of the wandering tribes are different, and merit a distinct notice. The chiefs of these tribes, during peace, usually reside at court, or at the provincial capital; and leave their followers, whom they occasionally visit, to the direction of the elders of the different branches and families of the tribes. The number, which remains in one body, is regulated by their means of subsistence. They, in general, change their residence with the season, and may be said, throughout the year, to enjoy a fine climate. They pitch their dark tents on the finest of those plains, over which they have a right of pasture, and the encampment is usually on the banks of a rivulet or a stream. It is commonly formed in a square; and the abode of the principal elder is only to be distinguished from that of the lowest man in the tribe by its size. All are made of the same coarse

Manners and usages among the wandering tribes.

⁷⁵⁵ *Lit.* "And when the king adorns himself with his jewels, he may be said to be immersed in them from head to foot."

⁷⁵⁶ They assert, that, when the monarch is dressed in his most splendid robes, and is seated in the sun, the eye cannot gaze on the dazzling brilliancy of his attire.—(*Malcolm.*)

⁷⁵⁷ *Lit.* "farther than that they are generally regarded with trust by their owners, and hey themselves also manifest every proper loyalty and attachment to their lord."

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material, and in the same shape. The horses, mules, and sheep, are turned loose to feed around the encampment. While the young men, if not employed in hunting, are generally seen sitting in circles, smoking and indulging in repose, the women are busily occupied with their domestic duties, or aiding aged men and boys in tending the flocks. It is the usage of these tribes, unless when very strong, to pitch their tents in the vicinity of a range of mountains, that their flocks and families may be within reach of a place of security, on the occurrence of danger. Along the base of those hills, which divide Kurdistán from Ázarbáiján and 'Irák, every valley is occupied, during the spring and summer, by the camps of these wanderers. Small encampments of gipsies are frequently met with in Persia, particularly in Ázarbáiján. The habits and occupations of the families, which we saw in that country, appeared very similar to those of the vagrant tribes, who wander over England. The Persians call them, *Karáchí*, the black people.⁷⁵⁸

Their inattention to religion.

The men of some of the rudest of the tribes of Persia are accused, by the other natives of that country, of paying hardly any attention to the forms of religion, or to its prescriptions, relative to forbidden food; and there is no doubt that the accusation is in some degree just. They openly eat the flesh of the hare, which is classed by Muhammadan divines, amongst meats which, though not legally prohibited, are deemed abominable. On my return from Tíhrán in A.D. 1800, I, one day, ran a hare near the encampment of some Afshár families; a number of young men sprang upon their horses and joined in the chase. One, who was well mounted, and had a fine dog, rode very hard over some rocky ground, and his dog caught the hare, which he immediately tied to his saddle. I asked him, why he did so. "You cannot eat the hare," I said; "as you know it is *makrúh*, or abominable?" "Do you think," he replied, "that I would have hazarded my life, and half killed my horse and my dog, to be deterred after all, by what some fool of a Mullá has said, from eating this hare? I would eat his father,"⁷⁵⁹ he added, laughing, and rode off delighted with his prize. There is reason to believe that many of them are not deterred by the Kurán from feasting, when they have an opportunity, upon swine's flesh. A Kurd of some respectability, when speaking in private to an English gentleman, observed that he thought the tribe, to which he belonged, resembled Europeans more than Muhammadans. He was asked, in what manner. "Why," said he, "we eat of hog's flesh, keep no fasts, and say no prayers." He had seen, among the few Europeans he had met with, no acts of public worship, and he was unacquainted with the maxim of their faith (St. Matthew, Chapter VI, verse 5) which teaches them "not to pray in the streets, that they may be seen of men."

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Though the chiefs of the principal tribes, from being brought up at court, or at the capital of a province, are often as well educated and polished in their manners, as any of the higher classes of the other natives of Persia, and though some of their followers, who accompany them amid scenes comparatively civilized, cannot be distinguished from the inhabitants of the cities,⁷⁶⁰ the bulk of the tribe⁷⁶¹ continue in a state of the most barbarous ignorance. They circumcise their children, when at the proper age, and contract marriages, according to the prescribed customs; but they are said, and probably with truth, to be very neglectful of the other practices of the Muhammadan religion. Though some of them, who desire a character for superior piety, go through the regular ablutions and the forms of prayer, they are, in general, entirely ignorant of the words which they ought to repeat. A Persian writer, who has related some curious facts on the manners of this class, states that, when a young man, he was saving his prayers at the appointed time, before a person of the tribe of Sháhsawan; observing that this man did not do the same, he asked him, if he ever addressed the Almighty according to the forms prescribed by the holy prophet. "I, now and then, bend⁷⁶² my head and raise it again," was his reply, "as I have just now seen you do; but I repeat no prayers, and never, indeed, learnt any." The same writer informs us that a citizen, (who was the guest of a man of one of these tribes, to whom he had been useful in disposing of his sheep,) when he began, one morning according to his usual practice, to read aloud a chapter of the Kurán, was assailed with a stick by his female hostess, who asked him in a rage, if he conceived

⁷⁵⁸ A Turkí term, which has probably been given them, from their complexion being darker than that of the natives. In Turkish they are called *Kibití*.

⁷⁵⁹ *I. e.* "I will eat it, and what's more, I would eat his father."

⁷⁶⁰ Whose manners they adopt, and, among whom, they frequently intermarry and settle.—

(Malcolm.)

⁷⁶¹ Who always remain in tents, or in their villages.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁶² *Dúlá* will be found in Richardson under *lá*, which, he states, is a particle expressive of multiplication.

that one of the family was dead, that he thought it necessary to read that book. Her husband, though he reproved the violence of his wife, told his friend that he should have known better than to anticipate misfortune, by going through a ceremony only used at funerals. This rude race seldom receive any religious instruction. If a priest of a neighbouring village visits their tents and summons them to prayers, they listen to him with impatience; and if any accident happens to their flocks, while they are attending divine worship, they load him with abuse, and reproach him with being the sole cause of the misfortune.⁷⁶³

The wandering tribes of Persia are all plunderers, and they glory in admitting that they are so. They are continually recounting their own successful acts of depredation, or those of their ancestors; and, from the chief to the lowest man in the tribe, they boast openly of deeds, for which men would be capitally punished in a better ordered government.⁷⁶⁴ They often regret the internal tranquillity of their country; and speak, with rapture, of those periods of confusion when every man, who (to use their own expression) had a horse, a sword and a heart, could live in comfort and happiness. I happened, when on the march toward the royal camp at Sultaniya, to ask a chief of one of these tribes, what ruins those were on the right of the road. His eyes glistened at the question. "It is more than twenty years," he said, "since I accompanied my uncle in a night attack to plunder and destroy that village, and it has never been rebuilt. Its inhabitants, who are a bad race and our enemies, have, however, settled near it, and are again become rich. I trust in God," he added with emphasis, "the present tranquillity will not last; and if old times return, I will have another blow at these gentlemen before I die." A still more remarkable instance of this feeling occurred on my first mission to Persia. When hunting one day near the line of march, we came to a deep ravine, and as we were crossing it, an old Persian of the tribe of Lak, who was then in my service, turned round and said to me with a smile. "In this ravine, Sir, about twenty years ago, I and ten others of my own tribe, laid in wait for a caravan. We attacked them, and killed five or six useless fellows of merchants and mule drivers; the rest ran away, and we found plenty of plunder. I lived gloriously," he continued, "for some years on the produce of the shawls that fell to my share; but all my cash is gone, and I am now a poor old fellow. Yet, after all," he added, "it is some consolation to think that a man has had a share of the good things of this world." This race are, as may be concluded from the above remarks, strangers to the causes, which promote civilization and improvement, and insensible to the blessings of that security and good order, which give prosperity to nations. They view everything through the medium, to which they have been accustomed; and power appears only to possess charms, in proportion as it administers to their passions. But this observation may perhaps be applied, with equal justice, to their superiors. The reigning monarch of Persia, when I endeavoured to explain to him the nature and operation of the various checks, which constituted the excellence of the British government, exclaimed, after listening with great attention "Your king, then, appears, to be no more than the first magistrate of the state! So limited an authority may have permanence, but can have no enjoyment; my power," he added, "is very different; it is real enjoyment! I can either elevate or degrade all these high nobles and officers, whom you see around me, at pleasure; but then, it is true, there is no security for my family possessing the throne I occupy. Right, in Persia, always has belonged, and always will belong, to the sword." It is not surprising that the military populace of a country, where the monarch professes these sentiments, should measure their title to consideration, and their power of attaining enjoyments, by their means of pillaging or oppressing others. If a prince, or chief of high rank, evince a contrary disposition, his conduct excites, among his class, very opposite feelings to those of admiration. A man of one of these tribes, who was sent to accompany two English gentlemen through a part of Persia, contended with his companions, that a prince of the royal blood, whom he served, had better claims to the crown, because he was more dreaded than one of his royal brothers, whom they had extolled for his humanity, virtue and intelligence. They were travelling from *Sahna* in Kurdistan to Hamadan in Irak. "You see," he observed, to them as they were riding along, "that small village before us? If the prince you praise were where we are, the inhabitants would be at this moment running to meet him, and be eager to pitch his tents; whereas, if my master were here, so great is the terror of his name, that they would already have fled to the summit of the neighbouring hills.

Their boast of being plunderers.

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⁷⁶³ This was stated to me by a Mullá, who was in the constant habit of visiting these tribes.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁶⁴ Every sentiment, that escapes them, evinces their attachment to their predatory habits.—(Malcolm.)

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Now, I ask you," he added exultingly, "which is the most proper of these two, to govern such a kingdom as Persia?" The same person, who was rather an intelligent man of his class, was very inquisitive to learn from his fellow travellers the condition of England; and, after listening with delight to their account of the richness of its fields, the beauty of its towns, and the great wealth of its inhabitants, he exclaimed: "What a number of plunderers you must have there!" On being informed that the laws restrained men from plundering, he asked with apparent astonishment: "What then can be the occupation of so numerous a population?" This is an extraordinary proof of that strong bias, which the human mind receives from its feelings and thoughts being all directed in one course.

(235) When I returned from Persia in 1801, I brought with me a man of some rank, (belonging to a tribe in Khurásán,) who desired to visit India. I was anxious that he should see and admire Calcutta, and sent a person to show him every part of that city. When he returned, I asked him what he thought of the capital of British India, "‘Ajáb jáe baráe chapáo ast!" was his reply. "It is a noble place to plunder!"

Their abhorrence of the name of thieves.

Though the highest of the military tribes of Persia are proud of being called plunderers, they hold in abhorrence the name of thieves. The cause of this distinction is obvious. The difference between force and fraud implies that between strength and weakness. There are, however, some of the lesser clans, whose occupation is avowedly theft; but even these pretend to honour. When the British mission passed through Kurdistán, the camp was one day pitched in the vicinity of the lands of some families of the tribe of Kishkái. The women were employed in baking, spinning, and weaving carpets; while the men were, as usual, wandering idle, or in search of game. The English gentlemen, who had been told that this tribe were remarkable for being the greatest thieves in Persia, and that the children were beaten daily by their mothers to accustom them to pain, that when they were caught stealing, they might not be alarmed by blows, into a confession of their accomplices, asked an old man if these accusations were true. "We are abused," he said, "more than we deserve; for, after all, our theft is only a species of war. We never either rob or steal, except from those, with whom our ruler, the Wálí of Sakna, is on bad terms. When Persia is in confusion," he added, "then is our harvest; but, now, these Kájárs, (meaning the royal family) have everything their own way, and we are likely to be ruined." On hearing some suspicion expressed as to the truth of his statement, the old man observed with animation, "that his tribe had been appointed to guard the English camp, and that we should have an opportunity of judging of their honesty, when trust was reposed in them, by the manner in which they performed that duty." He had a right to boast that they were faithful guards, for not an article was lost during the period they attended the mission.

Their hospitality and attention to strangers.

The inhabitants of Persia have always been famed for their great hospitality to strangers; but the chiefs of the warlike tribes of that country are, beyond all others, remarkable for the manner in which they perform this courteous duty. The conduct of Muhammad Hasan Khán, the Khán of the tribe of Karágúzálú, to the British mission, which, some years ago,⁷⁶³ visited his government at Hamadán, may be adduced as a proof of this fact. The cold was, at this period, excessive, and the whole country was covered with snow, about four feet deep. He had prepared, for their accommodation, his own house in the town, and removed to a country seat, which was at some distance. To this residence, he, one day, invited the whole party, and, at his particular desire, every person, from the highest to the lowest, went. The train of the English envoy was increased by that of a Persian ambassador and his suite, who were proceeding to India. The cavalcade reached the Khán's abode at an early hour, and stayed till near midnight; nothing could exceed the magnificence of their entertainment. They were not, however, aware, till they had taken their leave, of the extent of the attention with which they had been treated. When they mounted to return home, they were informed that, during the time they had been at dinner, a sudden and severe frost having come on, every horse and mule, belonging to the party, amounting to nearly 200, had been rough shod, to prevent any accident occurring to the guests of the Khán.

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Boast that their word is inviolable.

The tribes of Persia, as well as those of Arabia, boast, that when once they pledge themselves to give protection, their word is inviolable; but the faithless barbarity of a chief, Kalb 'Alí Khán, of the tribe of Fáiíl, has injured, if not destroyed, the claim. This villain invited two English officers, who were travelling near his camp, to be his guests, and he became their

⁷⁶³ I left Tíhrán in January 1801, and arrived at Hamadán, on my way to Baghdád, on the 11th of February.—(Malcolm.)

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is paid by inferiors to a superior of elevated rank. All, who come into his presence, sit below him. (If the governor of a province were to attend the marriage ceremony of his servant, he would, on that occasion, sit below him.) Offerings are brought to the bridegroom from his relations; and these are received with great ceremony by some of his friends, who act on that day, as his servants. Two persons, generally near relations, are appointed to carry his orders into execution; these are termed his right hand man (*Sâkdosh*) and left hand man (*Soldosh*); and if the bridegroom is a child, or bashful, these men act for him, and increase the mirth of the wedding by a thousand tricks, which they play on his relations and friends.

They pretend to receive the bridegroom's commands, as those of a monarch, to seize one person; to fine another, and to flog a third. These marriage pranks⁷⁶⁹ never give offence. The joys in the house of the bride are more moderate; the lady is bathed, perfumed, and dressed in the richest clothes her family can afford. She also sits in state, and, before she leaves her own house, or tent, she receives presents from a number of her friends. When this ceremony is over, she is covered with a scarlet veil, is mounted upon horseback, and conveyed to her husband's dwelling, who receives her at the threshold. The above usages are now almost as common among the citizens, as among the wandering tribes, of Persia. It remains to speak of those customs, which are more peculiar to the latter, and several of which, from their character, probably existed among this class, long before the introduction of the Muhammadan religion.

On the morning that the bride is to be conveyed to the house of the bridegroom, her friends assemble. If she is the daughter of a chief, or of an elder of a tribe, she is accompanied by all the horsemen, whose attendance he can command; the party proceed, accompanied by dancers and music: and if the place of their destination is near, they take a circuitous road to it. When they appear at a distance, the bridegroom mounts his horse, and, attended by his friends, proceeds to meet the cavalcade. He holds an apple, or an orange, in his hand, and, when sufficiently near to be certain of his aim, he throws it at her with considerable force.⁷⁷⁰ This usage of throwing the apple or orange is also common among citizens, who throw it at their brides from the threshold or balcony of the house. All is silent attention from the time the parties come near each other till this act, which is the signal for general uproar and confusion. The bridegroom wheels his horse round, and rides at full speed to his place of abode. Every horseman of the bride's party endeavours to seize him, and he, that succeeds, has his horse, saddle and clothes as a reward.⁷⁷¹ This, however, is only the case, where the party is wealthy. Among the poorer classes, a few pieces of silver are paid as a fine to the successful pursuer. The bridegroom, however, is not often taken; for, as it is a point of honour to escape, he rides the fleetest horse of his tribe, and his friends endeavour by every means to favour his retreat.

When the bride arrives at her future residence, the women, by whom she is attended, entreat her not to alight. The husband's relations crowd around her, and beg that she will. Every male of the family, into which she is about to enter, brings her presents, proportionate to their ability, or their feelings of regard to her husband. They also solicit her to give up part of her dower, and their entreaties are afterwards repeated by the husband; but the women of Persia are naturally tenacious of the only security they have against bad usage or accident; and, though they sometimes return a part, they usually reserve enough to render it a check upon those, to whom they entrust their future comfort and happiness.⁷⁷² At these marriages, the men and women of the tribe stand in a ring and dance⁷⁷³; and the most polished chiefs, though they may conform in the marriages of their own families with the usages of the inhabitants of the cities in which they live,⁷⁷⁴ are in the habit of visiting the tents of their followers, on these joyous occasions; and contributing, by their munificence, and their example of unreserved hilarity,⁷⁷⁵ to the mirth of these wedding feasts.

Usage of divorce among the wandering tribes.

The usage of divorce among the tribes is the same as among the inhabitants of cities, but it is of still rarer occurrence. This may be ascribed to

⁷⁶⁹ They are usually preconcerted; but even, when not, they never give offence as instances of bad humour at a nuptial festival are of very rare occurrence.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁷⁰ He is encouraged to throw the apple with all the force he can, as it is deemed fortunate to do so.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁷¹ In the Persian "shat" is, I think, a misprint for "mashallat, tell, trouble."

⁷⁷² Lit. "Enough to keep the husband's hand under a stone."

⁷⁷³ They stand in a line or ring, and join hands, while the music plays, and a person sings in just cadence with it. The whole party join in a rude chorus.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁷⁴ Lit. "Nation." The one word "Kaum" thoroughly translates the words "inhabitants of the cities in which they live."

⁷⁷⁵ Lit. "Cheerfulness and joviality."

various causes. The virtue of the females is more strict; they are, from their labour, more valuable to their husbands; and the poorer class have seldom the means of paying a dower to a wife whom they divorce. We may also conclude, that it is dangerous, in such a community, to offend the relations of a female of a respectable family; for they are her strenuous supporters as long as she is innocent of that crime.⁷⁷⁶ We are told by an intelligent Persian that the deepest pledge, which they can give,⁷⁷⁷ is to go through the ceremony of a conditional divorce of their wives. "In former days," he observes, "a man would have been deemed despicable, who out-lived defeat after this ceremony; but it is now," he adds, "too often an empty boast; and men are not ashamed to fly the moment after they have uttered a vow, which their ancestors deemed the most sacred, that a man of honour could make."

The time of the male part of the tribes in Persia is passed in riding, practising their military exercises, and hunting. They now and then feast upon meat; but their general diet is a hard black bread, sour milk, and curds. They do not often indulge in intoxicating liquors; their chief delight is in sitting together, smoking their pipes, and in listening to songs and tales; or in looking at the tricks, grimaces, and witticisms of buffoons,⁷⁷⁸ who are to be found in every quarter of Persia; and some of whom are perfectly skilled in their art. A Persian chief of a Kurdish tribe, who remained several days with the British mission, when it was in the vicinity of Kirmánsháh, had in his train a jester, who possessed very versatile and extraordinary talents.⁷⁷⁹ (This occurred in 1801. The name of the chief was Mahdí Khán Kalhur; he is chief of a tribe who can mount 4,000 horses. This nobleman possessed more accomplishments than any I met with in Persia. He was not only a scholar, but a poet and a painter; and he added, to his other qualities, the reputation of being a good soldier.) One day upon the march, his jester, addressing the British envoy, said: "You are, no doubt, very proud of the discipline you have established among your Persian servants, who march in your front in as regular a style as your own soldiers. How long," said the wit, "has it taken you to introduce this order among my countrymen?" "About six months," was the reply. "Now," said he, "if you will permit me, you shall see that I will, in less than six minutes, destroy all that you have done in six months." On leave being granted, he immediately rode near the Persian horsemen, who were leading the state horses, and who had strict orders not to leave their ranks. He had noticed that these men were almost all of the Lak and Fáilí tribes, whose chief residence is among the mountains of Luristán; and he began to sing, as if to himself, a song, which commenced—

"Attend to me, ye sons of Luristán! for I
Do sing the glorious deeds of your forefathers."

Before he had finished his song, to which all were listening with attention, the whole cavalcade was thrown into confusion by the kicking of horses, caused by the Persians having broken the line of march, and crowded round to hear him more distinctly. The jester laughed most heartily at the success of his joke; and, addressing the envoy, said: "Do not be distressed at the fate of your fine discipline, for I have heard of a man, who, with no other means than the song I have just sung, collected an army, and was called a king for several weeks." This, I am assured, was the fact. A chief of no pretensions had, during the confusion that followed the death of Nádír Sháh, gone about Luristán with some musicians and singers, who continually played and sang this favourite provincial air; and he had actually, by this means alone, collected about five thousand followers, and proclaimed himself king.

The men of the wandering tribes delight to tell or listen to romantic tales; some of them not only make themselves masters of this art, but learn to recite verses, particularly those of Firdausí. A person, who has cultivated this talent, enjoys a great share of the respect of his associates, who frequently call upon him to amuse an idle hour.

It has been already stated, that the women of the tribes of Persia, who dwell in tents, are seldom veiled; their usual occupations have also been des-

Condition of the females of the wandering tribes.

⁷⁷⁶ Though they are prompt to be her executioners, if she be proved guilty of adultery.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁷⁷ Of their resolution to conquer or perish in any enterprise, in which they are engaged. They pronounce them divorced, unless success crowns their efforts. This is not an uncommon usage among Mahammadans, when they undertake any desperate enterprise. They pronounce the conditional divorce with every solemnity; and they cannot give a more sacred pledge of their determined resolution in the cause in which they engage.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁷⁸ The Persians say that a good Lúti, or buffoon, ought to be able to laugh, cry, weep, sit still, and dance, at the same moment: Some of these jesters approach very near this idea of perfection.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁷⁹ Lit. "Who was an accomplished tutor in his profession, and a perfect adept in the art of trickery."

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cribed. They are more respected than the females who dwell in cities, because they are more useful to the community, of which they form a part. They not only share the bed, but the fatigues and dangers, of their husbands. Their masculine habits, which they acquire, do not displease, for they seem suited to the condition of life. If they are not of high rank, they perform all the domestic and menial offices of their own home; and strangers, who visit their houses and huts, are certain to receive the kindest and most hospitable welcome from them. But there is nothing in the manner of these women that can be mistaken; it is fearless, but not forward; and evidently proceeds from the consciousness of security, not the absence of shame. Though, in general, their complexion is dark and sunburnt, they have sometimes, when young, a considerable share of beauty; and they often add to fine features, a very graceful form. But, among the lower orders of this class, their beauty is soon destroyed by hard labour, and continual exposure to the climate.

(240) A Persian gentleman, Mahdí 'Alí Khán, who was sent by the government of Bombay on a mission to the Court of Persia in A.D. 1808, and was remarkable for his polished manners and the gaiety of his disposition, describes his entertainment by the females of one of these tribes, in a very natural and characteristic manner. "When I arrived," he observes, "at the village of Sakna,⁷⁸⁰ which is inhabited by the Turkí tribes of Khazál and Afshár, I was invited to take up my abode in the house of one of the chiefs of the latter, and received, while I stayed, the greatest attention from all his family. The ladies, who, according to custom, were unveiled, were particularly kind. The daughter of my host, who was about fifteen years of age, was more beautiful than I can express. When I said that I was thirsty, she ran and brought me a cup of pure water. It was a draught from the fountain of life, brought by an angel; but it increased, instead of extinguishing, the flame, which her bright dark eyes had kindled in my breast." After describing the pain, which it gave him to depart from this dwelling without daring to show, even by a look, the nature of that passion, which he entertained for this young beauty, he very sensibly observes: "A vain and uninformed man might have mistaken the manner of my fair cup-bearer; but I had experience of these Íliyát ladies, and well knew that nothing was meant, but that kindness and hospitality with which they treat all strangers, who visit their tents or their houses. I believe," he concludes, "they are virtuous beyond all other women in Persia; and the man, who should even attempt seduction, would be sacrificed to the implacable honour of their male relations." The habits of these females fit them for the scenes, to which they are occasionally exposed. When riding near a small encampment of Afshár families, I expressed my doubts to a Persian noble, who was with me, regarding their reputed boldness and hardihood, and particularly of their skill in horsemanship. He immediately called to a young woman of a handsome appearance, and asked her in Turkí, if she was not a soldier's daughter. She said she was. "And you expect to be a mother of soldiers," was the next observation. She smiled. "Mount that horse," said he, pointing to one with a bridle but without a saddle, "and show this European envoy, the difference between a girl of a tribe and a citizen's daughter." She instantly sprang upon the animal, and, setting off at full speed, did not stop, till she had reached the summit of a small hill in the vicinity, which was covered with loose stones; when there, she waved her hand over her head, and then came down the hill at the same rate she had ascended. Nothing could be more dangerous than the ground over which she galloped, but she appeared quite fearless.⁷⁸¹

The poverty and usages of the wandering tribes often prevent the men from marrying even the number of wives, allowed by the law. Many of them have only one; and unless she is old, barren, or unfit to work, they do not marry another. The reason is, that they can seldom afford to support more than one wife; and, from the liberty which the females enjoy, their quarrels, where there are several in a family, would become a constant source of discord and contention. The practice of hiring wives for a certain period, which prevails in the cities and towns of Persia, is held in abhorrence by the females of tribes; and these have frequently been known to attack priests in the most violent manner, whom they believe to have sanctioned an usage, which they deem so degrading.⁷⁸² Though we may conclude from

The practice of hiring wives is held in abhorrence among them.

⁷⁸⁰ This village is in 'Irák. The name is the same as that of the capital of Ardalan.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁸¹ And seemed delighted at having had an opportunity of vindicating the females of his tribe from the reproach of being like the ladies of cities.—(Malcolm.)

⁷⁸² Lit. "The practice of hiring wives (munt'ah) does not prevail amongst the females of the wandering tribes, for they have a great abhorrence for this proceeding; and it has often happened that they have attacked their mullás on this account."

what has been stated, that these women enjoy more freedom and consideration than the other females of Persia, they are still remote from that rank, which has been assigned to the sex among the civilized nations of Europe; they toil, while their lordlike husband spends his hours in indolence or amusement, and are regarded more as servants than as associates. If a man of a wandering tribe has not as many wives and slaves, as the religion he professes permits, or as his brother Muhamadan of the city, it is merely, as has been stated, because his poverty or the condition of the society, to which he belongs, limits his desires. The moment that his situation alters, he is prompt to riot in every species of dissipation; and the partner, who more than shares his toils, has no chance of an equal partition in any good fortune that may attend him. If he is raised to a high station, he deems an increased indulgence of his sensual appetites one of the chief pleasures of advancement; and when he becomes an inhabitant of a city, he at once adopts the habits of a citizen.⁷⁸³ Among these tribes, however, maternal claims are always respected. The mother's influence over her son usually continues through life.⁷⁸⁴ It is her duty to preside over his family: and if he is rich, he usually entrusts to her not only the choice of his female partners, but their management. An anticipation of the enjoyment of this power makes the women in Persia anxiously desire to have male children; the birth of a daughter is always a disappointment.

Their respect for maternal claims.

These observations on the usages of the wandering tribes chiefly apply to those of Persian and Turkí origin. The Arabian tribes subject to Persia, who inhabit the shores of the Gulf, are more assimilated in their habits, to the people from whom they are derived, than to those amid whom they dwell. They continue to speak Arabic, and preserve almost all the customs, and the dress, of their original country.⁷⁸⁵ The manners of this race, though less rude than those of the other tribes of Persia, retain much of the wildness and independence of their ancestors.

Condition of the Arabian tribes in Persia.

The diet of the Arabian tribes in Persia is more frugal⁷⁸⁶ than that of the other inhabitants of the kingdom. It consists chiefly of dates. But what others would consider a hardship, habit, with them, has converted into an enjoyment; and the Arab deems no food more delightful than that upon which he lives. Some years ago, a woman, belonging to one of the Arab families settled at Abúshahr, had gone to England with the children of the British resident at that place. When she returned, all crowded round her to hear the report of the country she had visited. She described the roads, the carriages, the horses, the wealth and splendour of the cities, and the highly cultivated state of the country. Her audience were full of envy at the condition of Englishmen, and were on the point of retiring with that impression, when the woman happened to add, that the country she had visited only wanted one thing to make it delightful. "What is that?" was the general inquiry. "It has not a date tree in it," said she; "I never ceased to look for one all the time I was there, but I looked in vain." The sentiments of the Arabs, who had listened to her, were, in an instant, changed by this information. It was no longer envy, but pity, which they felt for men, who were condemned to live in a country, where there were no date trees.

Diet.

The Arabian tribes in Persia possess the power of flying from oppression, when they cannot resist it. The sea is always open to them, and they are accustomed to that element. Not only the islands of the Gulf, but the neighbouring territories of Turkey and the opposite coast of Arabia, are inhabited by their brethren; and these circumstances, combined with their original habits, give a freedom of sentiment and expression to this race of men, that is very striking. When a party of English gentlemen, who were hunting near Abúshahr, were preparing to slip an English, and an Arabian, greyhound at a deer, to see which was fleetest, one of them stated his belief that the English dog would beat. The moment this observation was made, a poor Arab, who had accompanied the party in hopes of obtaining a trifling present for leading a dog, sprang forward, and exclaimed with all the native energy of his race: "You are wrong, Sir! by Heaven, the Arab dog will win!"

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⁷⁸³ His first wives, if he has more than one, are compelled to sacrifice the liberty they before enjoyed, and to endure that neglect, which is the natural consequence of his power to obtain younger and more beautiful females.—(Malcolm.)

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cribed. They are more respected than the females who dwell in cities, because they are more useful to the community, of which they form a part. They not only share the bed, but the fatigues and dangers, of their husbands. The masculine habits, which they acquire, do not displease, for they seem suited to their condition of life. If they are not of high rank, they perform all the domestic and menial offices of their own home; and strangers, who visit their houses and huts, are certain to receive the kindest and most hospitable welcome from them. But there is nothing in the manner of these women that can be mistaken; it is fearless, but not forward; and evidently proceeds from the consciousness of security, not the absence of shame. Though, in general, their complexion is dark and sunburnt, they have sometimes, when young, a considerable share of beauty; and they often add to fine features, a very graceful form. But, among the lower orders of this class, their beauty is soon destroyed by hard labour, and continual exposure to the climate.

(240) A Persian gentleman, Mahdí 'Alí Khán, who was sent by the government of Bombay on a mission to the Court of Persia in A.D. 1808, and was remarkable for his polished manners and the gaiety of his disposition, describes his entertainment by the females of one of these tribes, in a very natural and characteristic manner. "When I arrived," he observes, "at the village of *Sakna*,⁷⁰ which is inhabited by the Turkí tribes of *Khazál* and *Afshár*, I was invited to take up my abode in the house of one of the chiefs of the latter, and received, while I stayed, the greatest attention from all his family. The ladies, who, according to custom, were unveiled, were particularly kind. The daughter of my host, who was about fifteen years of age, was more beautiful than I can express. When I said that I was thirsty, she ran and brought me a cup of pure water. It was a draught from the fountain of life, brought by an angel; but it increased, instead of extinguishing, the flame, which her bright dark eyes had kindled in my breast." After describing the pain, which it gave him to depart from this dwelling without daring to show, even by a look, the nature of that passion, which he entertained for this young beauty, he very sensibly observes: "A vain and uninformed man might have mistaken the manner of my fair cup-bearer; but I had experience of these *Iliyát* ladies, and well knew that nothing was meant, but that kindness and hospitality with which they treat all strangers, who visit their tents or their houses. I believe," he concludes, "they are virtuous beyond all other women in Persia: and the man, who should even attempt seduction, would be sacrificed to the implacable honour of their male relations." The habits of these females fit them for the scenes, to which they are occasionally exposed. When riding near a small encampment of *Afshár* families, I expressed my doubts to a Persian noble, who was with me, regarding their reputed boldness and hardihood, and particularly of their skill in horsemanship. He immediately called to a young woman of a handsome appearance, and asked her in Turkí, if she was not a soldier's daughter. She said she was. "And you expect to be a mother of soldiers," was the next observation. She smiled. "Mount that horse," said he, pointing to one with a bridle but without a saddle, "and show this European envoy, the difference between a girl of a tribe and a citizen's daughter." She instantly sprang upon the animal, and, setting off at full speed, did not stop, till she had reached the summit of a small hill in the vicinity, which was covered with loose stones; when there, she waved her hand over her head, and then came down the hill at the same rate she had ascended. Nothing could be more dangerous than the ground over which she galloped, but she appeared quite fearless.⁷¹

The poverty and usages of the wandering tribes often prevent the men from marrying even the number of wives, allowed by the law. Many of them have only one; and unless she is old, barren, or unfit to work, they do not marry another. The reason is, that they can seldom afford to support more than one wife; and, from the liberty which the females enjoy, their quarrels, where there are several in a family, would become a constant source of discord and contention. The practice of hiring wives for a certain period, which prevails in the cities and towns of Persia, is held in abhorrence by the females of tribes; and these have frequently been known to attack priests in the most violent manner, whom they believe to have sanctioned an usage, which they deem so degrading.⁷² Though we may conclude from

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⁷⁰ This village is in *Íríl*. The name is the same as that of the capital of *Adábil* (*Mashhad*).

⁷¹ An anecdote related at Isfahán by a young gentleman of a handsome and liberal character, from the report of a friend in the *Íríl* of a similar case (*Mashhad*).

⁷² *Íríl*. The practice of hiring wives (though it does not prevail among the females of the most liberal tribes, for they have a great abhorrence to the prostitution of their persons) appeared that they have attacked their mollifiers (the *Íríl*).

what has been stated, that these women enjoy more freedom and consideration than the other females of Persia, they are still remote from that rank, which has been assigned to the sex among the civilized nations of Europe: they toil, while their lordlike husband spends his hours in indolence or amusement, and are regarded more as servants than as associates. If a man of a wandering tribe has not as many wives and slaves, as the religion he professes permits, or as his brother Muhamadan of the city, it is merely, as has been stated, because his poverty or the condition of the society, to which he belongs, limits his desires. The moment that his situation alters, he is prompt to riot in every species of dissipation: and the partner, who more than shares his toils, has no chance of an equal partition in any good fortune that may attend him. If he is raised to a high station, he deems an increased indulgence of his sensual appetites one of the chief pleasures of advancement; and when he becomes an inhabitant of a city, he at once adopts the habits of a citizen.⁷⁸³ Among these tribes, however, maternal claims are always respected. The mother's influence over her son usually continues through life.⁷⁸⁴ It is her duty to preside over his family: and if he is rich, he usually entrusts to her not only the choice of his female partners, but their management. An anticipation of the enjoyment of this power makes the women in Persia anxiously desire to have male children; the birth of a daughter is always a disappointment.

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The manners of some of the mountain tribes, who inhabit the great ranges of the southern part of Persia, cannot be described, for they are hardly known; but we may conclude, that their usages are as little changed since the time of Alexander, as their relations to the sovereign of the country, which, from the description given of them by the historians of the Grecian conqueror, appear to have been exactly the same at that period, as they are at present. Alexander is represented as having pursued the same policy toward them, which the modern kings of Persia are necessitated to adopt. He endeavoured to make them husbandmen and feeders of cattle, that they might, when they had property of their own to defend, refrain from encroaching upon their neighbours.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁷ The rude tribes, who have been described, are not envious of that civilization, of which we are so proud. We may wonder at their ignorance and prejudice; but we must recollect that men are formed by habit, and that all their sufferings and enjoyments are comparative. How often we do see them rejoicing under hardships and bondage, and repining at their lot, when courted by liberty and fortune. The feelings we receive, from living in one state of society, disqualify us from judging of those of another; but he, who has travelled over the greatest space, will be most struck with the equal dispensation of happiness and misery; and his value for knowledge will not be decreased by observing, that those are not always the most happy who possess it. It is proper and just that we should be grateful for the blessing of civilization; but we should not assume too great a superiority over those, who continue in a more barbarous state. A study of their manners, of the causes of their misery, and the sources of their happiness, may teach us many useful and important lessons. Human nature is always the same, in whatever garb it is clothed; and there can be none to whom it is of more consequence to contemplate society in its rudest state, than a nation who continues, amid scenes of luxury and refinement, to cherish an individual independence, and a political freedom, that are grounded upon the institutions of a race of brave, but turbulent, warriors; and which cannot be maintained, but by the constant recollection of those rights which belong to him, who is ready to suffer every privation, rather than become a slave.— (Malcolm.)

never been, among those who professed this religion, one effort made for national freedom, nor a desire shown, to impose any salutary and permanent check upon the absolute authority of their sovereign. If his cruelty occasions revolt, the only use, which they make of success, is to place themselves at the mercy of another tyrant; and his first exercise of that power, which they bestow upon him, is to subdue the spirit of turbulence, to which he has owed his elevation.

The history of Persia, from the Arabian conquest to the present day, may be adduced as a proof of the truth of these observations; and while the causes, by which these effects have been produced, continue to operate, no material change in the condition of that empire can be expected. Its prosperity will continue to depend upon the personal character of its monarchs; and this the best of kings cannot do more than promote, during the uncertain period of his own life. The consequences, which the recent approximation of a great European power, Russia, may have upon the future destiny of this empire, cannot easily be foretold; but the natives of Turkey, warped up in the habits of their own ancestors, and defended by their religious prejudices, have, for ages, resisted the progress of that civilization, with which they are surrounded; and, if we were to draw an inference from this example, we should conclude, that vicinity of territory and consequent collision of opposite habits and faith have more likely to increase, than to diminish, those obstacles, which have hitherto prevented any very intimate or social intercourse between Muhammadan and Christian nations. "But the knowledge thereof is with God."

Before we conclude a work, in which an effort has been made to convey to the reader fuller information than he has hitherto possessed of the past history, and present condition, of Persia, it appears desirable to offer some reflections on the general character of the different classes of its inhabitants.

General character and condition of Persia.

(244)

The personal characters of the kings of Persia have been given in the course of this history. What remains to be said relates more to those qualities which appear to be connected with their condition, than to their personal disposition or talents. Almost all the sovereigns of this country have been religious, or were, at least, punctual observers of the forms of the faith which they professed. This is essential (even if they were not sincere) to the support of their power; and its necessity is inculcated from infancy. Lessons of morality are not thought to be so important. Every monarch of Persia is considered at liberty to indulge from his earliest youth in the grossest sensuality. The boundless gratification of his passions is deemed a privilege of his condition; and we may, perhaps, trace to this, beyond all other causes, that constant change of dynasties, which we meet with in the history of this country. Families are elevated to power by the efforts of some great and extraordinary man; his immediate successors, stimulated by his example, and by the necessity of exertion to maintain and extend the dominion that his courage and talents have acquired, pursue the same path; but their descendants are destroyed by the fame of their forefathers. Instructed to believe themselves born to rule, they conceive that they have only to enjoy the power which they inherit. They give themselves up to the luxury, by which they are courted, and listen to the flatterers by whom they are surrounded, and giving themselves up to these, they are continually employed in repeating these lines:—

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A monarch of Persia acknowledges nothing as obligatory upon him, he admits to be virtues; but considers them as royal qualities, not duties. Accustomed to have every look obeyed, and to complete submission to his authority, he is as impatient of any obstacle to the fulfilment of his desires, as he is insensible to the value of devoted service. We discover from their history, that the kings of Persia have, with some remarkable exceptions, almost always chosen their personal companions from among men of low birth and mean attainments. Those, who exercise absolute power, and whose only title to be called great is derived from the splendour of the station which they occupy, hate to be approached, in their unreserved moments, by men who have high pretensions, either from hereditary rank, or superior talents and virtue. They feel happier and more at ease, when surrounded by a

Chapter XXVI.

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The history of Persia, from the Arabian conquest to the present day, may be adduced as a proof of the truth of these observations; and while the causes, by which these effects have been produced, continue to operate, no material change in the condition of that empire can be expected. Its prosperity will continue to depend upon the personal character of its monarchs; and this the best of kings cannot do more than promote, during the uncertain period of his own life. The consequences, which the recent approximation of a great European power, Russia, may have upon the future destiny of this empire, cannot easily be foretold; but the natives of Turkey, wrapt up in the habits of their own ancestors, and defended by their religious prejudices, have, for ages, resisted the progress of that civilization, with which they are surrounded; and, if we were to draw an inference from this example, we should conclude, that vicinity of territory and consequent collision of opposite habits and faith was more likely to increase, than to diminish, those obstacles, which have hitherto prevented any very intimate or social intercourse between Muhammadan and Christian nations. "But the knowledge thereof is with God."

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A monarch of Persia acknowledges nothing as obligatory upon him, but the ritual observances of his religion. Mercy, generosity, and justice, he admits to be virtues; but considers them as royal qualities, not duties. Accustomed to have every look obeyed, and to complete submission to his authority, he is as impatient of any obstacle to the fulfilment of his desires, as he is insensible to the value of devoted service. We discover from their history, that the kings of Persia have, with some remarkable exceptions, almost always chosen their personal companions from among men of low birth and mean attainments. Those, who exercise absolute power, and whose only title to be called great is derived from the splendour of the station which they occupy, hate to be approached, in their unreserved moments, by men who have high pretensions, either from hereditary rank, or superior talents and virtue. They feel happier and more at ease, when surrounded by a

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Of the governors of provinces and cities.

virtues and their talents, have been forced, in some degree, to accommodate their principles to their station; and, unless when the confidence of their sovereign has placed them beyond the fear of rivals, necessity has compelled them to habits of subserviency and dissimulation, which are at variance with that truth and integrity, that can alone constitute a claim to the respect, which all are disposed to grant to good and great men.

Of the religious orders.

The character of the governors of provinces and of cities may be said to be, in a considerable degree, formed on that of the reigning sovereign; but the system of the government must always dispose this class to abuse the brief authority, with which they are vested. They are, however, from the situation in which they are placed, in general more manly and open, both in their manner and conduct, than the ministers and courtiers, and are, therefore, as a body, entitled to more respect; for habits of violence and injustice do not debase the nature of man so much, as those of deceit and falsehood.

Of the inhabitants of cities and towns.

The religious orders in Persia are divided into several classes. The character of the few, who have attained very high rank, has been before noticed. They are usually men of learning, of mild temper and retired habits. They are very careful to preserve the respect they enjoy, by cherishing those impressions that are entertained of their piety and humility. It is rare to see them intolerant, except in cases, where they deem the interest of that religion, of which they are the head, in danger. The lower classes of the priesthood in Persia are commonly of a very opposite character to their superiors. With little knowledge and great pretensions; they demand a respect, which they seldom receive; and are, in consequence, among the most discontented of the community. The general disposition of the Persians to treat strangers of a different religion with kindness and hospitality is a subject of constant irritation to them, and causes them to rail at all communication with infidels, and to endeavour to obtain an importance with the lower orders of the people, by a display of their bigotry and intolerance. This class of men are often accused, by their countrymen, of indulging in the gratification of the worst passions of the mind. To say, a man hates like a Mullá, is to assert that he cherishes, towards another, sentiments of the most inveterate hostility.

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There is a considerable difference of character among the inhabitants of the various cities and towns of Persia, which originates in the opposite feelings and habits, which they have derived from their ancestors. The natives of Kazwín, Tabriz, Hamadán, Shiráz and Yazd are as remarkable for their courage, as those of Kúm, Káshán and Isfahán, are for their cowardice. The former are chiefly descended from martial tribes; while the forefathers of the latter, have, for many centuries, pursued civil occupations. But, though some of the citizens of Persia are less warlike than others, the different shades of character, which this occasions, are not of so much consequence, as to prevent their being included in a general description. The whole of that community may be deemed, as far as regards their personal appearance, a fine race of men⁷⁹³; they are not tall; but it is rare to see any of them diminutive, or deformed, and they are, in general, strong and active. Their complexions vary from a dark olive⁷⁹⁴ to a fairness which approaches that of a northern European; and if they have not all the bloom of the latter, their florid healthy look often gives them no inconsiderable share of beauty. As a people, they may be praised for their quickness of apprehension, their vivacity, and the natural politeness of their manners. They are sociable, and cheerful; and, with some remarkable exceptions, as prodigal of disbursement, as they are eager of gain.⁷⁹⁵ The higher classes of the citizens of Persia are kind and indulgent masters; and the lower ranks are, as far as respects the active performance of their duty, and the prompt execution of the orders they receive, the best of servants.⁷⁹⁶

The falsehood of the Persians.

The falsehood of the Persians is proverbial; nor are the inhabitants of that country forward to deny this national reproach; but they argue, that this vice appertains to the government, and is the natural consequence of

⁷⁹³ Lit. "The whole of the inhabitants of Persia, as far as regards their bodily forms and exterior, are double in excellence to other races of men."

⁷⁹⁴ Lit. "Wheat green."

⁷⁹⁵ The lower classes of merchants in Persia are often very avaricious and sordid. Some of them, indeed, from indulging in the habit of acquiring money, become perfect misers.—(Malcolm.) See Appendix H.

⁷⁹⁶ In countries, where the law grants equal protection to all ranks of society, and where servitude does not imply dependence, the master and servant are much more separated, than in despotic states. In the latter, where there are no middle classes, the servant is often the humble friend, and lives in habits of intimacy that could only exist, where the actual distinction is so great, as to remove all danger of either forgetting the inequality of their condition.—(Malcolm.)

Chapter XXVI

Of the governors of provinces and cities.

virtues and their talents, have been forced, in some degree, to accommodate their principles to their station; and, unless when the confidence of their sovereign has placed them beyond the fear of rivals, necessity has compelled them to habits of subserviency and dissimulation, which are at variance with that truth and integrity, that can alone constitute a claim to the respect, which all are disposed to grant to good and great men.

The character of the governors of provinces and of cities may be said to be, in a considerable degree, formed on that of the reigning sovereign; but the system of the government must always dispose this class to abuse the brief authority, with which they are vested. They are, however, from the situation in which they are placed, in general more manly and open, both in their manner and conduct, than the ministers and courtiers, and are, therefore, as a body, entitled to more respect; for habits of violence and injustice do not debase the nature of man so much, as those of deceit and falsehood.

Of the religious orders.

The religious orders in Persia are divided into several classes. The character of the few, who have attained very high rank, has been before noticed. They are usually men of learning, of mild temper and retired habits. They are very careful to preserve the respect they enjoy, by cherishing those impressions that are entertained of their piety and humility. It is rare to see them intolerant, except in cases, where they deem the interest of that religion, of which they are the head, in danger. The lower classes of the priesthood in Persia are commonly of a very opposite character to their superiors. With little knowledge and great pretensions, they demand a respect, which they seldom receive; and are, in consequence, among the most discontented of the community. The general disposition of the Persians to treat strangers of a different religion with kindness and hospitality is a subject of constant irritation to them, and causes them to rail at all communication with infidels, and to endeavour to obtain an importance with the lower orders of the people, by a display of their bigotry and intolerance. This class of men are often accused, by their countrymen, of indulging in the gratification of the worst passions of the mind. To say, a man hates like a Mullá, is to assert that he cherishes, towards another, sentiments of the most inveterate hostility.

Of the inhabitants of cities and towns.

(247)

There is a considerable difference of character among the inhabitants of the various cities and towns of Persia, which originates in the opposite feelings and habits, which they have derived from their ancestors. The natives of Kazwin, Tabriz, Hamadán, Shiráz and Yazd are as remarkable for their courage, as those of Kum, Káshán and Isfahán, are for their cowardice. The former are chiefly descended from martial tribes; while the forefathers of the latter, have, for many centuries, pursued civil occupations. But, though some of the citizens of Persia are less warlike than others, the different shades of character, which this occasions, are not of so much consequence, as to prevent their being included in a general description. The whole of that community may be deemed, as far as regards their personal appearance, a fine race of men⁷⁹³; they are not tall; but it is rare to see any of them diminutive, or deformed, and they are, in general, strong and active. Their complexions vary from a dark olive⁷⁹⁴ to a fairness which approaches that of a northern European; and if they have not all the bloom of the latter, their florid healthy look often gives them no inconsiderable share of beauty. As a people, they may be praised for their quickness of apprehension, their vivacity, and the natural politeness of their manners. They are sociable, and cheerful; and, with some remarkable exceptions, as prodigal of disbursement, as they are eager of gain.⁷⁹⁵ The higher classes of the citizens of Persia are kind and indulgent masters; and the lower ranks are, as far as respects the active performance of their duty, and the prompt execution of the orders they receive, the best of servants.⁷⁹⁶

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Chapter XXVI.

suppress their smiles at the boldness of their countryman; and the governor, who shared the general feeling, bade the complainant retire, and that he would attend to his case.⁸⁰¹

General character and condition of the military tribes.

(249)

The character of the military tribes differs essentially from that of the other inhabitants of Persia. The chiefs of these clans are often as much distinguished for their generosity as for their courage. They are, from their condition, less artful than the ministers and chief civil officers of the kingdom; but they cannot be deemed exempt from that vice, though it is corrected by their pride and violence. Arrogant from birth, and surrounded from infancy by devoted dependents, their minds are habituated to overrate their own pretensions, and depreciate those of others. When inflamed with passion, they, in an instant, give way to the most ungovernable rage. They seldom suffer from the bold imprudence of the language, which they use on these occasions, as they can always plead in excuse the habits of the rude class to which they belong; and the consideration, they demand upon this ground, is hardly ever refused by the monarch himself. I, one day, heard a nobleman of one of these tribes use the most violent and insulting language, when speaking of the prime minister. His imprudence appeared greater, as some of the minister's particular friends were present. Apprehensive of the consequence, I, next day, asked him, if anything had happened. "It is all settled," he said; "I have made an apology. I told the minister that I was an *Īliyât*, (a man of a wandering tribe), and that you know," he added laughing, "is an excuse for any thing wrong that a man can say or do." The character of these military nobles may be said to change with the state of their country; when that is settled for any very long period, they lose a great deal of their native honesty and violence. Educated at the capital, where, in youth, they are generally kept as hostages for the good conduct of their fathers, and compelled to constant attendance on the king after they have attained manhood,⁸⁰² they become in time courtiers, and are not materially different from the other nobles and principal officers of the country. We can neither praise them, nor any other of the higher ranks in the Persia, for their strictness in either moral or religious duties; to the former, they do not even pretend to give much attention; and, though they are careful as to the observance of all the forms of the latter, they often appear indifferent as to its substance, and are in the habit of discussing the tenets and dogmas of their faith with a freedom, that sometimes borders upon impiety. In Persia, religion is a favourite topic of conversation, and, particularly, when a stranger of an opposite faith to that of *Muhammad* is of the party. I heard a person of high rank one day exclaim in a mixed company, in which some priests were maintaining the sacred nature of the claims of the descendants of the prophet: "This is all very well for superstitious fools, who know no better; but I have travelled and read, and have more than once met with a dog of a *Sayyid*, and an angel of a Jew." I find, in one of my manuscripts, a very ludicrous instance of the open impiety of a nobleman of rank, now living in *Khurásán*. He heard a *Mullá* describe, in the pulpit, the manner in which the angels, *Munkir* and *Nakir*, visited the grave, the moment after the corpse is deposited in it. He went away determined to satisfy his mind of the truth of this assertion by a physical experiment; and the next time he heard the priest mention the subject, he exclaimed before the astonished congregation; "All that fellow says is a lie. My servant," he added, "died four days ago; and as I was resolved to discover the truth, I stuffed his mouth quite full with dry grain. I have since opened his grave, and the grain is exactly where it was placed; it is, therefore, quite impossible," he continued, "that he could have spoken to man or angel."

The character of the *Īliyáts*, or men who continue to dwell in tents, is very opposite to that of the inhabitants of cities. They have the virtues and vices of their condition; are sincere, hospitable, and brave; but rude, violent, and rapacious. They are not in need of falsehood and deceit, and therefore not much in the habit of practising them; but if they have fewer vices than the citizens of Persia, it is evidently the absence of temptation, and the ignorance of luxury and refinement, which give them all the superiority they boast; for it is remarked, that they never settle in towns, or enter them as victors, without exceeding the inhabitants in every species of profligacy. It would be disgusting to enter into a catalogue of the vices of a people, among whom the indulgence of unnatural vice is not considered a crime.

⁸⁰¹ Provided he would not bring a curse upon his family, by insisting that they shut him out of all hopes of justice, both in this world, and in that which is to come.—(*Malcolm*.)

⁸⁰² *Lit.* "And, when they reach years of manhood, they are always engaged in kissing the ground of the threshold, or attached to the retinue, of the king."

The females of Persia, who dwell in towns, are usually placed in the situation of slaves, and have, therefore, many of those qualities, which belong to that condition. The different shades of character of a race, who can hardly be said to have any influence in the community, is of little importance; and, if it were otherwise, we cannot have sufficient information on the subject, to form any correct judgment upon it. If common report is to be credited, or if we can grant our belief to the tales of Persian writers, the art and ingenuity of the women of that country are often successful in eluding the jealous vigilance of their domestic tyrants. Of the females of the wandering tribes, we have already spoken; they enjoy a fair portion of liberty; and if they are inferior to the natives of cities in beauty of person and softness of manner, they are superior to them in industry, in chastity and many other virtues. We meet, indeed, with frequent examples, among this class, of an elevation of sentiment and an heroic courage, which nothing but the freedom of their condition could inspire.

In speaking generally of the inhabitants of Persia, we may describe them as a handsome, active, and robust, race of men, of lively imagination, quick apprehension, and of agreeable and prepossessing manners. As a nation, they may be termed brave; though the valour they have displayed, like that of every other people in a similar condition of society, has in a great degree, depended upon the character of their leaders, and the nature of those objects, for which they have fought. Their vices are still more prominent than their virtues. Compelled, by the nature of their government, to have recourse, on every occasion, to art or violence, they are alternately submissive and tyrannical.⁸⁰³ Many of their more serious defects of character may be attributed to the same cause; and there is, perhaps, no country, in which so much of the immorality of its inhabitants can be referred to a bad system of internal administration, as Persia. This reflection, though it may mitigate the sense we entertain of the depravity of individuals, leaves but little hope of their amendment; for it is evident, that that can alone be effected by the concurrence of many radical changes, and a complete alteration in their political condition; an event, which neither their past history, nor present state, can lead us to anticipate. "But God alone is acquainted with the real state."⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰³ Lit. "Rebellious or headstrong" *Tághí*, also has the meaning of tyrant, but it is not its usual meaning. *Tághí*, in the sense of tyrant, was applied by *Muhammadians* to the Greek emperors of Constantinople.

⁸⁰⁴ The character of the Persians only describes the *Muhammadian* population of that country. That of the Armenians, who live in Persia, may be given in a few words; they are a submissive and humble race, who endeavour, by habits of industry, to obtain a livelihood among a people, by whom they are treated with harshness and contempt. The Jews are much more despised than the Armenians, and their character and condition are more degraded. The few families of *Gabrs*, or worshippers of fire, who remain in Persia, seem to be tolerated by their *Muhammadian* conquerors, that they may enjoy their triumph by protracted oppression.—(Malcolm.)

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Appendix A.

The following account of Mauláná Jallál-ud-dín Muḥammad Ar-rúmi, is extracted from the preface to the *Mathnawí*, translated by Redhouse. For a full account, I would refer the reader to that most excellent work.

Jallál's grandfather was a noble of such high standing, and of so great a reputation for learning and sanctity at Balkh, that the king gave him his only daughter in marriage, unsolicited. His mother was also a princess of the same royal house with his wife. This royal house was the only one known in history, as that of Khwárazm Sháh. They were overthrown, and Balkh (the ancient Bactra or Zariaspa), their capital, destroyed by Changíz Khán in A.D. 1211. A remnant of their kingdom was continued for twelve years longer by the last of the line, who died, at once a fugitive and an invader, in Ázarbáiján, in a battle fought against the combined forces of Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor.

Jallál's family claimed descent from Abú Bakr, father-in-law and first successor of Muḥammad, the lawgiver of Islám. One of the descendants of Abú Bakr was among the conquerors of the ancient Bactria, when it was first brought under Muslim rule, in about A.D. 650, under the Caliph 'Uthmán; and his children had maintained a prominent position in that country, possessed of great wealth until the time immediately preceding the irruption of Changíz Khán.

Jallál was the youngest of three children, two being sons, born of the princess, his mother, at Balkh. The eldest, a daughter, was already married, and remained behind with her husband, when her father and brothers left their native city, sometime between A.D. 1208 and 1211, in which latter year they were at Baghdád. There is no further mention of Jallál's elder brother. Jallál was five years old, when they left Balkh. By way of Baghdád, they went to Makka, thence to Damascus, and next to Erzinján in Armenia; thence to Larenda in Asia Minor. Jallál's mother was still with the party. He was now eighteen years old; and was married at Larenda to a lady named Gauhar (Pearl) daughter of a certain Lala Sharaf-ud-dín of Samarkand in A.D. 1226. She bore him two sons, 'Alá-ud-dín, afterwards killed in a tumult at Koniya, and Bahá-ud-dín, Sultán Walad, through whom the succession of the house was continued. She appears to have died rather young; for Jallál afterwards married another lady of Koniya who outlived him, and by whom he had two other children, a son and a daughter.

After the birth of Sultán Walad at Larenda, Jallál's father was invited to Koniya, by the Saljúkí king, 'Alá-ud-dín, Kaikubád, where he founded a college and where he died in A.D. 1231. The king built a marble mausoleum over his grave with this date inscribed on it; the king himself died five years later in A.D. 1236.

At his father's death, Jallál went to Aleppo and Damascus for several years to study, and then returned to Koniya, where he was appointed professor of four separate colleges. His reputation for learning and sanctity became very great. But before this journey to Damascus, he appears to have paid a visit to Larenda. For a former pupil of his father's at Balkh, who had become a great saint and anchorite, came to Koniya to seek Jallál, and was the cause of his returning from Larenda to the capital. This was the Shaikh Sayyid Burhán-ud-dín, who became Jallál's spiritual teacher for some time; nine years were passed in spiritual study at Koniya under Burhán.

After Burhán's instructions and departure from Koniya to Kaisariyya, where he died, and after Jallál's studies at Aleppo and Damascus, with his subsequent return to Koniya, and appointment to the four colleges, another great saint came to visit Jallál at the latter city.

This was Shams-ud-din, of Tabriz, for whom Jallâl conceived a very great friendship. He appears to have been exceedingly aggressive and domineering in his manner. This roused a fierce animosity against him, which at length broke out in a tumult. Jallâl's eldest son, 'Alâ-ud-din, was killed or mortally hurt in this disturbance. The police seized Shams-ud-din in consequence, and he was never again seen alive by his friends. Jallâl went himself to Darwâz, in hopes that he might have been sent away, or have got away, privately. But the effort was fruitless.

When Jallâl found that he required assistance in conducting all the various duties that fell on him, he selected first for that office his former fellow-student, 'Alî-shîh Sâd-ud-dîn Farâdîn, surnamed Zarkob (the gold-beater) from his business. He assisted Jallâl for about ten years, and died in about 1258 A.D.

Jallâl next took as his assistant his own favourite pupil, *Hasan Hasâm-ud-dîn*. Ten years after *Hasan* was taken as his assistant by Jallâl, the latter was called to his rest in A.D. 1273; and was buried in his father's mausoleum, leaving *Hasan* as his successor. But meanwhile, at *Hasan's* suggestion, and with him as the first amanuensis thereof, the *Mathnawî* had been composed in six volumes, by order, or partly, by Jallâl. The whole work is stated to contain three "cycles" complete. A seventh volume has been also attributed to the *Mathnawî*, to make up the number to that of the "seven planets." This seventh was composed or collected by Sultân Walad. The ancient lists of A.D. contain mention of many hundreds of odes composed also by Jallâl.

He is stated to have instituted his peculiar order of dervishes, with their special dances, the *Iskenderiâh* of mourning, in memory of his murdered friend, *Shams-ud-dîn of Herat*, and to have adopted the use of instrumental music, the flute, the reed, the drum, and the tambourine, with singing and chanting, as a necessary accompaniment to the holy dance, on account of the belief entertained as to the "Rites of the Rites." As a child is tempted to take a salutary meal only by the exaltation of a little jam or honey, so Jallâl judged that the "Romans" might be tempted to a devotional love for God through the bait of sweet music, addressed to their outward senses. Dancing or twirling by dervishes was of much older date.

Hasan died in A.D. 1284, just ten years after his teacher, Jallâl; whereupon, *Shams-ud-dîn Sultân Walad*, succeeded *Hasan* as chief of the order, and died in A.D. 1312.

The dervishes of *Iskenderiâh* appear to be a kind of Gnostics. They style themselves Poor, Inexperienced, Adept, and Perfect. In many respects their doctrines correspond with those of Buddha, Pythagoras, and Plato, making all souls that are destined to salvation to be emanations from the divine Light or Glory of God, in which they will be again congregated; and all those doomed to perdition to have been formed out of the Fire of His wrath, to which also they will eventually be consigned.

The following is the opening of the author's preface to the *Mathnawî*. "This is the book of the rhymed couplets (*Mathnawî*). It contains the roots of the roots of the (one true) religion (*Islâm*); and treats of the discovery of the mysteries of re-union and sure knowledge. It is the Grand Jurisprudence of God; the most glorious Law of the Deity, the most manifest Evidence of the Divine Being. The refulgence thereof 'is like that of a lantern in which is a lamp' that scatters beams more bright than the morn. It is the paradise of the heart, with springs and foliage. One of these springs is 'the fount named *Salsabil*' by the brethren of this religious order (of mystical devotees known as the *Maulawî* or *Dancing Dervishes*); but, by saints and the miraculously-endowed, it is called, 'The Good Station and the Best Resting place.' The just shall eat and drink therein, and the righteous shall rejoice and be glad thereof. Like the Egyptian Nile, it is a beverage for the patient, but a delusion to the people of Pharaoh and to blasphemers; even as God, Whose name he glorified, hath said: 'He misleads therewith many, and He guides therewith many; but He misleads not therewith (any) save the wicked.' It is a comfort to men's breasts, an expeller of cares. It is an exposition of the *Kurân*, an amplification of spiritual aliments, and a dulcifier of the disposition; written 'by the hands of honourable scribes' who inscribe thereon the prohibition 'Let none touch it save the purified.' It is (a revelation) sent down (from on high) by the Lord of (all) the worlds, which vanity approacheth not from before, nor from behind, which God watches over and observes, He being 'the best as a Preserver' and the 'Most Compassionate of the merciful ones' unto Whom pertain (many) titles, His utmost title being God, Whose name be exalted."

Appendix A.

The following translation of "The Reed-flute" is also taken from the same work :—

From reed-flute¹ hear what tale it tells ;
 What plaint it makes of absence' ills.
 "From jungle-bed since me they tore,
 Men's, women's, eyes have wept right-sore.
 My breast I tear and rend in twain,
 To give, through sighs, vent to my pain.
 Who's from his home snatched far away,
 Longs to return some future day.
 I sob and sigh in each retreat,
 Be't joy or grief for which men meet.
 They fancy they can read my heart ;
 Grief's secrets I to none impart.
 My throes and moans form but one chain,
 Men's eyes and ears catch not their train.
 Though soul and body be as one,
 Sight of his soul hath no man won.
 A flame's the flute's wail ; not a breath,
 That flame who feels not, doom him death.
 The flame of love, 'tis prompts the flute,
 Wine's ferment, love ; its tongue not mute.
 The absent lover's flute's no toy ;
 Its trills proclaim his grief, his joy.
 Or bane, or cure, the flute is still ;
 Content, complaining, as you will.
 It tells its tale of burning grief ;
 Recounts how love is mad, in brief.
 The lover lover's pangs best knows ;
 As ear receives tongue's plaint of woes.
 Through grief, his day is but a dawn ;
 Each day of sorrow, torment's pawn.
 My days are waste ; take thou no heed,
 Thou still are left ; my joy, indeed.
 Whole seas a fish will never drown ;
 A poor man's day seems all one frown.
 What boot from counsel to a fool ?
 Waste not thy words ; thy wrath let cool.
 Cast off lust's bonds ; stand free from all.
 Slave not for pelf ; be not greed's thrall.
 Pour rivers into one small gill,
 It can but hold its little fill.
 The eye's a vase that's ne'er content ;
 The oyster's filled ere pearl is sent.²
 The heart that's bleeding from love's dart,
 From vice of greed is kept apart.
 Then hie thee, love, a welcome guest ;
 Physician thou to soothe my breast.
 Thou cure of pride and shame in me ;
 Old Galen's skill was nought to thee !
 Through love, this earthly frame ascends
 To heaven ; a hill, to skip pretends.
 In trance of love, Mount Sinai shakes,
 At God's descent ; 'and Moses quakes.'³
 Found I the friend on whom I dote,
 I'd emulate flute's dulcet note.
 But from my love, while torn away,
 Unmeaning words alone I say.

¹ The *reed-flute* is the sacred musical instrument of the *Maulawî darweshes*, commonly known as the *Dancing Darweshes*, from their peculiar religious waltz to the sound of the reed-flute, &c., with out-stretched arms and inclined head, in their special public services of commemoration. They love the reed-flute as the symbol of a sighing absent lover.

² There is a poetical Eastern notion that pearls are formed in the oysters by dewdrops or raindrops falling into them at a certain season.

³ *Kurân* VII, 139, where the words are : "and Moses fell down swooning."

The spring is o'er ; the race is gone ;
The song of Philomel is done,
His love was all ; himself, a note,
His love, alive ; himself, dead mate.
Who feels not love's all-quick'ning flame,
Is like the bird whose wing is lame,
Can I be quiet, easy, glad,
When my delight's away ? No ! Sad,
Love bids my plaint all bonds to burst,
My heart would break, with silence curst
A mirror best portrays when bright ;
Begrimed with rust, its gleam grows dim,
Then wipe such foul alloy away ;
Bright shall it be, so, reflect each ray,"
Then 't beard what tale the fate can tell ;
Such is my case ; snug all too well.

Appendix A.

APPENDIX B.

A number of chiefs and princes were united and enjoyed a local power, till they were swept away by the hordes of Tartary under the celebrated Hulakû; but, we find, at this period of Persian history, a power existing in that country of a very different nature. At that time, a family of chiefs had, through the means of superstition, established an influence over the minds of their followers, that enabled them to strike awfully the bosoms of the most powerful sovereigns, and to fill kingdoms with horror and dismay for a period of nearly two centuries. Their ruler, who may be justly termed the chief of the assassins, resided on a lofty mountain, and fate was in his hands; for there was no escape, which his followers could not assume, no danger that they would not brave, to fulfil his mandates. A colony of the sect of Isma'il, and followers of *Husan Sabih*, appear to have settled in the mountains between Tethys and Tigris. Their chief is called by the historian of the Crusades, the Old Man of the Mountain (or the Ancient); and they made themselves formidable by the same means as the sect settled in Persia. More than fifty thousand men gloried in the name of the mysterious and the devoted. Their Persian names were Bâtinî and Fîlavî; the name of Bâtinî, which is derived from bâtin, "secret," or "mysterious," means a secret or mysterious person. It was probably given from the followers of *Husan Sabih* being considered to belong to the mystic sect of Bâinîfryn, or "the concealed." The word Fîlavî means "a devoted servant." Every one of these followers obeyed, with equal promptitude, an order to sacrifice his own life, or to take that of another. The history of such a community has peculiar interest, as it presents the human character in a new and an uncommon light.

Appendix B.

Rule of *Mason*
Sabah, and his
descendants.

The first of these chiefs was *Hasan Sabâh*; and from him they are termed *Hasanîs*, or the followers of *Hasan*. *Hasan Sabâh* was a school-fellow of Nidzâm-ul-Mulk; and they had (with another companion) made an early agreement to share fortunes, if either attained eminence. The minister appointed *Hasan* to office; but the eager mind of that chief was not to be satisfied with gradual advancement; after failing in an attempt to supplant and ruin his friend, he abandoned the court. He was first a mace-bearer to Alp Arslân, but in consequence of the above quarrel with Nidzâm-ul-Mulk, the minister of the prince, he retired to Rai; and from thence went to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the family of Isma'îl, and adopted the tenets of that sect; who maintain, that the descendants of Isma'îl, (the eldest son of Ja'far, the sixth Imâm), who died during his father's life, should have succeeded to that holy dignity; and they, in consequence, not only reject the claim of Kâdzim, the seventh Imâm, who was the younger brother of Isma'îl, but of all those who succeeded him. He was only the half-brother, and the mother of Kâdzim was a *kunz* or "slave," which is another objection with the Isma'îliyyas against admitting his right to the dignity of Imâm. *Hasan*, after becoming a zealous convert to the doctrines of this sect, returned to Persia; but was compelled to conceal himself, as he knew he was still an object of the hostility to Nidzâm-ul-Mulk. He lived, we are told at Isfahan, in the house of Ra'îs Abul Fâzuil; to whom he one day observed "that if he had two or three friends on whom he could entirely depend, he would overturn the empire." The good Ra'îs heard, with astonishment, his guest talk of destroying, by the aid of two or three men, a kingdom that stretched from Antioch to Kâshghar. He, however, made no reply at the moment;

A.D. 1071-1078.

Appendix B.

Takes the fortress of Alahnamant.

A force is detached to reduce him.

He receives a succour; and the royal army raises the siege.

Sultán Sanjar marches to reduce him.

The religious doctrines established by Hasan Sabáh.

but, on reflection, he concluded that *Hasan* was deranged in his intellect; and having consulted a physician, he obtained some medicine, which he brought; and, with all the sincerity of simplicity and good nature, prayed his friend to take it. *Hasan* smiled, but made no further communications to one who, he saw from this occurrence, was not of a character to be entrusted with the designs he had formed. Soon after this event, he departed for his native town, *Rai*, where he met with some discontented persons, who declared themselves ready to grant him their assistance. The principal of these was *Rā'is Modzallár*, who appears to have been a man of considerable influence. The first object of *Hasan* was to possess himself of a stronghold; and he succeeded in gaining, by a stratagem, the mountain fort of *Alahnamant* near *Kazvin*. *Hasan* is said, by *Muhammadan* authors, to have gained *Alahnamant*, as *Dido* did *Carthage*, by obtaining leave to take as much ground as he could cover with a bull's hide; and cutting it into thongs that surrounded the whole fort. But this appears a common fable in the East; for *Mullá Sádik*, a very respectable man, with whom I read this passage in the original Persian, smiled when we came to it and said; "The English are well acquainted with this deception." I asked what he meant; "Why" said he "is it not known to all the world, that this is the exact mode, in which you obtained the ground, on which Calcutta is built, from the poor Emperor of Delhi?" From this fortress, *Hasan* commenced depredations on the surrounding country; which led *Malik Sháh Saljū'í* to detach a force to reduce him. *Hasan* had only twenty followers with him at this period, and was on the point of being taken; when a seasonable succour of three hundred men from *Rai*, enabled him to make a successful rally, which induced the Sultán's army to raise the siege. It was at this time that the celebrated *Nidrá'm-ul-Mulk* fell into disgrace with *Malik Sháh*, and was assassinated by one of the followers of *Hasan Sabáh*, who, upon this occasion, readily united with the enemies of that great man; and we may conclude, that while he gratified personal revenge, he contemplated the death of this minister as an event, which was likely to throw the kingdom into that state of confusion, which was requisite for the accomplishment of his own plans of ambition.

Although the divisions, which distracted Persia after the death of *Nidrá'm-ul-Mulk*, and of *Malik Sháh*, were most favourable to *Hasan*, he was soon afterwards in great danger of being destroyed by the celebrated Sultán *Sanjar*; who had, we are informed, resolved to extirpate, ere they gained greater strength, a race whose murders and depredations spread terror over his kingdom. He had made some marches in the direction of *Alahnamant*, when, waking one morning, he discovered a poniard stuck up to the hilt in the ground close to his bed-side, and read, with surprise, the following label on its handle: "Sultán *Sanjar*, beware! Had not thy character been respected, the hand, that stuck this dagger into the hard ground, could, with more ease, have plunged it into thy soft bosom." The warrior, who was insensible to fear in the field of battle, is said to have trembled as he read this scroll; and it is certain that he desisted from the attack he had meditated. My authority, the *Tárikh Gazidáh*, states, that it was believed one of the *derected* (as the followers of *Hasan* were called) had made acquaintance with a lady of *Sanjar's* harem, and persuaded her to this act.

It is related, that some time before this period *Hasan Sabáh* received a visit from his old host at *Isfahán*, *Rā'is Abul Fázail*. When the latter approached, the chief took his hand, and said, with a smile: "Have you brought any physic, my good friend, to cure me of my insanity? or will you now believe, that two or three brave men, united, can do wonders?" "I always thought you an able man" replied *Abul Fázail*, "but I never expected you would have done what you have." "My task is only half accomplished" said *Hasan*; "I have hitherto trusted chiefly to my political skill, but I mean now to try what faith can effect."

The religious doctrines, which *Hasan* taught his followers, differed very materially from the established worship of Persia. He maintained the principles of the *Isma'iliyya* sect, so far as recognizing the rights of that family to the dignity of *Imám*; but he introduced many new tenets, more conformable to the opinions of the *Súfis*, or philosophical deists, than to those of orthodox *Muhammadans*. The *Kurán*, he admitted, was a holy volume; but he insisted that its spirit, and not its literal meaning, was to be observed. He rejected the usual modes of worship; as true devotion was, he said, seated in the soul; and prescribed forms might disturb, though they could never aid, that secret and fervent adoration, which it must always offer to its Creator. But the principal tenet, which *Hasan* inculcated, was a complete and absolute devotion to himself and to his descendants. His disciples were instructed to consider him more as their

spiritual, than their worldly, leader. The means he took to instil this feeling into their minds must have been powerful, from the effect, which was produced. When an envoy from Malik Sháh came to Allahamaut, Hasan commanded one of his followers to stab himself; and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both mandates were instantly obeyed! "Go," said he to the astonished envoy, "and explain to your master the character of my followers."

We are informed that among other modes, which he adopted to secure the devotion of his disciples, there was one of an extraordinary nature. He had them conveyed, when in a deep sleep produced by opium, into a splendid palace with beautiful gardens; when there, they were regaled for a few days with all that could gratify and delight the senses. In a second intoxication, the deluded disciple was carried to his home, and easily persuaded that he had been permitted, through the power of Hasan, to taste, by anticipation, the joys of paradise. But this seems an improbable tale, invented by Muhammadans, who hold this sect in great abhorrence. The power of superstition over the human mind is certainly sufficient to account for all the acts of his followers; and we have recently seen similar effects produced among a race, not unlike those, with whom his arts succeeded. A follower of the modern Wahábí, who, a few years ago, stabbed an Arabian chief near Bassara, not only refused to save his life, but anxiously courted death, grasping in his hand a paper, which he seemed to prize far beyond his existence. This, when examined, proved to be an order from the Wahábí chief for an emerald palace, and a number of beautiful female slaves, in the delightful regions of eternal bliss.

The use of wine was strictly forbidden to the sect of Hasaní; and they were enjoined the most temperate and abstemious habits. He enforced his precepts with the greatest severity; and two of his sons, we are told, perished under the blows he gave them, in consequence of their neglect of them. We may judge of the little personal state which he assumed, when informed, that, on sending his wife and two daughters to his friend, Rá'is Mudzaffar, that they might be in safety, when he was besieged, he directed that they should receive no support but what they could earn by their spinning; thus setting an example to his followers of that moderation and independence, which were necessary to the success of their community.

Hasan Sabáh added several other hill forts to the one which, he had first seized. That of Rúdbár, which is also near Kazwín, was the next to Allahamaut in consequence. He was styled Shaikh-ul-Jabál, an Arabic title, which signifies "the Chief of the Mountains." This title has been literally, but erroneously, translated "the Old man of the Mountain," the name by which this ruler and his descendants are indiscriminately known in European history.

When Hasan Sabáh died, he was succeeded by his son Kiyá Buzurg Ummaid or "Kiyá of great hope." Sultán Muhammad, Saljúkí sent an army against this chief; but his general was forced to retreat, after an unsuccessful attempt on the fortress of Rúdbár. A truce was concluded with Kiyá; and that ruler sent an envoy to Isfahán, who was received with distinction at court; but the populace of that city, less patient than their sovereign, were so irritated at seeing a representative of a chief of assassins in the capital of Persia, that they proceeded to the house of the unfortunate envoy, and tore him to pieces. One manuscript states, that the indignation of the mob was inflamed by the priests, who represented the sect of Hasan as being still more abominable from their heresies, than their murders. The Sultán immediately sent a mission to Kiyá, to disclaim any share in this murder; but that chief declared he would never be pacified unless the perpetrators of this outrage were given up to his vengeance. It was impossible that Muhammad could discover those who were most guilty from among the numerous mob, who had committed this violence; and Kiyá, impatient of delay, sent a party of his men to Kazwín, which they entered in disguise, and, making an unexpected attack, slew one of the chief magistrates and four hundred of the inhabitants of that city, the blood of his envoy brought on a contest between Kiyá and Sultán Muhammad, which did not terminate till the death of that monarch: after which, Kiyá not only defeated the royal troops, but conquered the country of Gilán; the governor of which he made prisoner and put to death; his name was Abú Hásham.

Hasan Sabáh adds Rúdbár to his possessions.

He is succeeded by his son Kiyá Buzurg Ummaid, A.D. 1124, A.H. 518.

Concludes a peace with Sultán Muhammad, Saljúkí.

The treatment of the ambassador of Kiyá.

Kiyá sends a party of his men into Kazwín. A.D. 1128, A.H. 523.

Takes Gilán.

Kiyá died at Rúdbár, and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad; who, after a rule of three years, resigned his dignity to a prince of the family

A.D. 1137, A.H. 532. Ismael.

Appendix B.

by *Muhammad*, who resigns his rule to *Hussain Bin Násir*.

Sultán Sanjar is invited to usurp the rule.

The result of a Mission to *Hussain Bin Násir*.

A.D. 1161, A.H. 557.

Who is slain, and succeeded by his son, 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad.

of *Isma'il*, called *Hussain Bin Násir*, who had fled from Syria to *Rúdbár*. But *Muhammad* probably only gave up the name of power, as he constituted himself the *Wazir* of the prince, whom religious considerations had led him to raise to the dignity of chief ruler. The murders committed by this tribe became daily more frequent; every one who was deemed their enemy fell by an assassin. One Caliph had been stabbed at *Baghdád*; another, (*Rashíd*), because he threatened this tribe with vengeance, was murdered; as he lay dangerously ill, by men who seemed to fear that death would rob them of their prey. In the history of the Arabs, the murder of the Caliph is not ascribed to the followers of *Hasan*; but the *Khulásat-ul-Akhibár* confirms the authority I have followed. The principal mullás, or chief priests of Persia, shocked at these sacrilegious acts, called upon *Sultán Sanjar* to purge his dominions from such vile heretics. But that prince had been once warned, and proceeded with caution. He sent a mission to *Rúdbár*; and *Hussain Bin Násir* assured his envoy that his followers had been calumniated, and that they were good *Muhammadans*. A pious doctor of laws was deputed by *Sanjar* to ascertain this point, and the *Sultán* either was, or pretended to be, satisfied with his report.

When *Muhammad*, the son of *Kiyá*, died, *Hussain Bin Násir* would not allow any successor to be appointed, but usurped the whole power, which he disgraced by his violence and intemperance. His conduct was deemed more scandalous, as he was descended from ancestors, who had cut down the rich vineyards of Egypt, lest their disciples should be tempted to taste of the juice of the grape. The *Isma'iliyya*, or *Fatimite*, Caliphs were descended, as has been before stated, from *Isma'il*, the eldest son of the sixth *Imám*; and upon the second son of that *Imám* being proclaimed his successor, a sect was formed which supported their title as the descendants of the elder branch. The first of this dynasty was *Abul Kásim*, who began his reign A.H. 296, A.D. 998. The last, *'Azwad*, resigned his power, A.H. 567, A.D. 1721, to the famous *Saláh-ud-dín*. It was *Al-Kásim*, the sixth of this race, that the author alludes to as the destroyer of vineyards. That rigid Caliph ordered all the vines in the vicinity of *Cairo* to be cut down; and forbade even the frequent intercourse of females of different families; but the Egyptians accused him of being indulgent of vice in his own family; and his death was caused by an intrigue of his sisters.

This debauched chief, *Hussain Bin Násir*, was slain by his own relations, who placed his son, 'Alá-ud-dín *Muhammad*, upon the throne; and the first act of the young prince was to put to death those by whom he had been elevated. An occurrence took place during 'Alá-ud-dín's rule, which illustrates the nature of that secret power, which the chief of the mountains exercised. *Fakhr Rázi*, a doctor of laws, and an eminent divine, who used to be styled "the *Imám* of *Rai*," (his native town) had been supposed to lean to the opinions of the *Isma'iliyya* sect; and to do away this impression, he thought it necessary to express his abhorrence of this race, and their tenets, in the pulpit. Sometime after he uttered this anathema, he was surprised to see a man, who had been one of his most attentive disciples for several days, enter his private chamber; and still more, when seizing him by the beard, and pointing a dagger to his breast, this person asked him if he knew who he was. "I am quite ignorant who you are," said the trembling divine, "and still less can I conjecture why you seek my life."—"You abused the sect of *Isma'il*!" said the man.—"I was wrong," replied the learned doctor. "I repent and will never do so again."—"Swear by the holy prophet to what you have now said!" cried the assailant.—"I swear!" said the *Imám*.—"Very well," said the man, quitting his hold, "I have particular orders not to slay you, or my poinard should, before this, have been crimsoned with the blood of your heart. 'Alá-ud-dín, desires me to present you his respects, and to ask you if you are well informed of the tenets of that sect, which you have dared to abuse? He advises you to be most careful of your future conduct; and, as he has a respect for your character, he sends you this bag, which contains three hundred and sixty gold mohurs; and here is an order for a similar sum to be paid you annually by one of his agents." The divine took the money, and continued for many years to receive his pension. His pupils could not but remark that, in his future lectures, he carefully abstained from any mention of the followers of *Isma'il*. He was wont to observe, in reply to such observations, with a suppressed smile, that he had been convinced, by some sharp and weighty arguments, that it was better not to enter into any discussion regarding the doctrines of that sect.

The rule of 'Alá-ud-dín was long and prosperous: he governed the *Isma'iliyyas* forty-six years, and was succeeded by his son *Jallál-ud-dín*

Mussain, who was the first of this race that cultivated, with success, the friendship of neighbouring rulers. Even the Caliph of Baghdád relaxed from his orthodoxy, and showered honours upon the envoy of this prince; it is stated that the Caliph was conciliated by his renouncing, as a heresy, the creed of his ancestors, and by burning all the books of his sect; but the *Isma'iliyyas* do not admit this fact. In reply to a reference made to him by the governor of *Gilán*, whose sister, *Jallál-ud-dín* desired to marry, the Commander of the Faithful wrote, that such an alliance would be an honour to the noblest family in his dominions. *Jallál-ud-dín* engaged in no war, except with the governor of *Irák*; and the first campaign closed, as was usual, in the death of the person, who had ventured to attack the Chief of the Mountains. The conquests of *Changíz Khán* commenced about this period; and an envoy was deputed to *Transoxania*, from the court of *Allahamaut*, to propitiate the hero. *Jallál-ud-dín* died the following year. He is celebrated in Persian history, for the kindness and generosity of his disposition; and we are informed that this prince of the assassins was the handsomest man of his age. His son, *'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad*, a boy of ten years of age, was next elevated to the rule: and this young prince, soon after his succession, put to death all his principal officers, on a pretext that they had poisoned his father. If he really acted from himself (as Persian authors state he did), the obedience, given to such orders from a child, is a proof, beyond almost any other we possess, of the blind devotion of this tribe to the family of their founder. Though he seems to have been saved, by his sacred character, from the vengeance which he had provoked, he is said to have been shunned and deserted by his followers, and to have fallen, in consequence, into a state of deep melancholy. As a means of recovering him from this condition, his ministers were desirous of obtaining for him the society of *Nasir-ud-dín*, the most celebrated philosopher of the age: but that able man, who resided at *Bukhárá*, rejected all the offers that were made to tempt him to so barbarous a court as that of *Allahamaut*. He had, however, to negotiate with a ruler, whose agents were accustomed to consider his will as a divine mandate. The officer, who governed the country of *Kuhistán* under *'Alá-ud-dín*, received an order to produce the philosopher; (*Kuhistán*, which signifies "mountainous," is the name given to the countries amid the ranges of mountains to the north-east of *Kazwín*) and, as *Nasir-ud-dín* was one day sauntering in the gardens near *Bukhárá*, he was suddenly surrounded by some men, who, pointing to a horse, desired him to mount, promising him good usage, if he made no resistance. He could only oppose this violence by arguments which were unheeded; and he was half way to *Kuhistán* (the distance from *Bukhárá* to it being upwards of six hundred miles) before his friends knew that he was gone. The governor of that province received him with great honour, and made a thousand apologies for the violence he had committed. He detained him a long period in *Kuhistán*, and it was during his captivity in that mountainous region, that *Nasir-ud-dín* wrote the most celebrated of all his philosophical treatises, which he styled *Akhlák-i-Násiri* or "The Morals of *Násir*," in compliment to the barbarian, *Násir-ud-dín 'Abd-ur-Rahím*, who had stolen him from his home; but this flattery did not produce the effect intended. The philosopher, instead of obtaining his liberty, was doomed to become the companion and tutor of a gloomy youth, who must, however, have had some good qualities, as he appears to have been fully sensible of the value of the great prize which he had obtained. *'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad* was slain by one of his own servants, in his hall of audience, and was succeeded by his son, *Rukan-ud-dín*, better known under the name of *Khurá Sháh*; who, after a weak and ineffectual struggle, fell before *Halákú Khán*. The conqueror not only made him prisoner, but took and dismantled all his strongholds, which according to some authors, amounted to one hundred. Upwards of 12,000 of the *Isma'iliyyas* were put to death by *Halákú*. The extinction of this family may be fixed at this date; though a small branch, with very limited power, remained till the reign of *Sháh Rukh Mirzá*, when they were finally destroyed by the governor of *Gilán*.

Though none of the sect of *Isma'il* have ever since enjoyed power, they still exist in a scattered state. The *Buhras*, an industrious race of men, whose pursuits are commercial, and who are well known in the British settlements of India, belong to this sect; and they still maintain that part of the creed of *Hasan Sabáh*, which enjoins a complete devotion to the mandate of their high priest: but this principle, so dreadful in its operation in a large body of assassins, can be attended with no evil in a small class of men, who have neither the disposition nor the power to disturb the peace of that community in which they live.

Appendix B.

Jallál-ud-dín
Mussain succeeds
to the throne.

A.H. 610.

Rule of his son
'Alá-ud-dín *Mu-*
hammad.

A.D. 1255, A.H.
653, *'Alá-ud-dín* is
succeeded by
Rukan-ud-dín.

Who is taken
prisoner.

The *Buhras*
belong to the sect
of *Isma'il*.

APPENDIX C.

Appendix C.

Farrásh.

Literally "carpet spreader." The duties performed by the English "house-maid" fall to the farráshes in a Persian household. But besides keeping the house clean, they are, in a nobleman's establishment, the constables and executioners of his court. At his command, they administer the noose or the stick, make arrests and take steps for the recovery of fines, &c.; in short, they carry out the pains and penalties of the law. A farrásh is always sent to carry out the sentence of justice; and that functionary, in a case of this kind, will take something as a present from both plaintiff and defendant; a fact well known to his master, who does not feel obliged to pay him any further wages. What the man gets by this means, is amply sufficient. (The Wazír of Lankarán).

APPENDIX D.

Appendix D.

Mirzá.

Khán.

Áká.

In Persia, every man, who can read and write, prefixes the title *Mirzá* to his name. But *Mirzá* after the name is prince, thus Farhad *Mirzá*, Prince Farhad. In the provinces especially, "*Khán*" meant originally what "chief" did in Scotland amongst the clans. Now-a-days, *Kháns* are as common in *Tihrán*, as esquires are in London; and this title or *Áká* or *Ághá*, is in courtesy applied to all men above the position of a servant. Servants are generally called *Beg*. All ladies are *Khánams*, which is the feminine form of *Khán*. *Khán*, *Khánam*, *Áká* and *Beg* are all put after the name. *Áká* or *Ághá* is sometimes prefixed, as in servants' names, and so placed would seem to be less honourable than *Áká* affixed. Thus *Áká Bashír* is *Bashír* the steward, but *Taimúr Áká* is *Taimúr* the gentleman, but this is no invariable rule. (Wazír of Lankarán).

APPENDIX E.

Appendix E.

Bastinado.

The bastinado on the feet is the ordinary form of punishment in Persia. The instruments for the castigation are the pole, (*falak*) against which the feet are held, and the willow wands, nicely peeled and made very flexible by being kept in a tank till required. The pole, about four yards long, and of the thickness of a man's leg, has at the middle two nooses of rope, by which the culprit's feet are firmly held against the wood. The man to be bastinadoed is thrown on his back, while his ankles are held by the nooses, in such a way that the soles lie uppermost, the instep resting on the pole, which latter is held by two farráshes about a yard from the ground. When the order is given, other farráshes strike the soles of the culprit's feet, continuing to use the rods till they get broken off quite short. To eat a hundred sticks (as the Persian idiom has it) means to have that number splintered upon one's feet. These willow wands are originally about four or five feet long, and of the thickness of a finger. A severe bastinadoing will often lame a man for months.—(Wazír of Lankarán.)

APPENDIX F.

Appendix F.

Strangling.

In Persia the ordinary method of execution is by strangling. The process is simple. The rope, or long shawl, (such as is worn round the waist) is hitched round the culprit's neck, the farráshes seize the rope by either end, and pull against each other till the wretched man is throttled.—(Wazír of Lankarán).

APPENDIX G.

Appendix G.

Palaces.

No buildings can be more striking than some of these palaces. The front room, or hall, is in general, very open, and supported by pillars that are carved and gilded in the most exquisite manner; while the large glass windows, through which it receives a mellow light, are curiously stained with a variety of colours. Before each of these palaces is an open space, with a fountain, near which the domestics stand to watch the looks and words of the lord of the dwelling, who is generally seated at one of the windows. The style of the architecture is light and pleasing, though neither regular nor magnificent; and they have, at a distance, a very picturesque effect, from being surrounded with gardens and fine avenues.—(Malcolm).

The chamber, or sort of alcove, open to the courtyard, in which the chief sits to give audience to the people, is called the *Tálár*. This presence chamber is built on a higher level, and is more lofty than the rest of the palace. His personal suite, the nobles and officials, stand round him; there seated on a throne, he listens to the litigants, who crowd in the court some few feet below him. Any one who pleases can come and stand in his sight, and hear him dispense justice. There is an illustration depicting a *Tálár* at *Tihván* in Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, page 130.—(Wazír of *Lankarán*).

Appendix G.

APPENDIX H.

The *Isfahánís* are noted for stinginess, and their method of giving a cheap relish to their bread without unnecessary waste of cheese has passed into a proverb, as in the Wazír of *Lankarán*. "So, would you tell me this about your sister! about your sister! who in miserliness is the equal of the *Isfahání* merchants—putting her cheese into a bottle, and rubbing her bread against the outside of the glass only!"—(Wazír of *Lankarán*)

Appendix H.

Miserly character of *Isfahání* merchants.

APPENDIX I.

To give some idea of the style of *Firdausí*, I cannot, I think, do better than give two extracts from the translation of the *Sháhnáma* by Doctor Atkinson. I. The Invocation at the commencement, II. The Death of *Minúchihir*.

Appendix I.

Extracts from *Firdausí*.

THE INVOCATION.

Thee I invoke, the Lord of Life and Light!
Beyond imagination pure and bright!
To Thee, sufficing praise no tongue can give,
We are Thy creatures, and in Thee we live!
Thou art the summit, depth, the all in all,
Creator, Guardian of this earthly ball;
Whatever is, Thou art—Protector, King,
From Thee all goodness, truth, and mercy spring.
O pardon the misdeeds of him who now
Bends in Thy presence with a suppliant brow.
Teach him to tread the path Thy prophet trod;
To wash his heart from sin, to know his God;
And gently lead him to that home of rest,
Where filled with holiest rapture dwell the blest.
Saith not that book divine, from heaven supplied,
"Mustafa is the true, the unerring guide,
The purest, greatest prophet!" Next him came
Wise Abú Buker, of unblemished name;
Then Omer taught the faith, unknown to guile,
And made the world with vernal freshness smile;
Then Othmán brave th' imperial priesthood graced;
All, led by him, the prophet's faith embraced.
The fourth was Ali; he, the spouse adored
Of Fatima, then spread the saving word.
Ali, of whom Mahomed spoke elate,
"I am the city of knowledge—he my gate."
Ali the blest. Whoever shall recline
A suppliant at his all-powerful shrine,
Enjoys both this life and the next; in this,
All earthly good, in that, eternal bliss!
From records true my legends I rehearse,
And string the pearls of wisdom in my verse,
That in the glimmering days of life's decline,
Its fruit, in wealth and honour, may be mine.
My verse, a structure pointing to the skies;
Whose solid strength destroying time defies.
All praise the noble work, save only those
Of impious life, or base malignant foes;
All blest with learning read, and read again,
The sovereign smiles, and thus approves my strain;
"Richer by far, Firdausí, than a mine
Of precious gems, is this bright lay of thine."
Centuries may pass away, but still my page
Will be the boast of each succeeding age.

Appendix I.

Praise, praise to Máhmúd, who of like renown,
 In battle or the banquet, fills the throne ;
 Lord of the realms of Chín and Hindústán,
 Sovereign and Lord of Persia and Túrán ;
 With his loud voice he rends the flintiest ear ;
 On land a tyger fierce, untouched by fear,
 And on the wave, he seems the crocodile
 That prowls amidst the waters of the Nile.
 Generous and brave, his equal is unknown ;
 In deeds of princely worth he stands alone.
 The infant in the cradle lisps his name ;
 The world exults in Máhmúd's spotless fame.
 In festive hours Heaven smiles upon his truth ;
 In combat deadly as the dragon's tooth ;
 Bounteous in all things, his exhaustless hand
 Diffuses blessings through the grateful land ;
 And, of the noblest thoughts and actions, lord ;
 The soul of Gabriel breaths in every word.
 May Heaven with added glory crown his days ;
 Praise, praise to mighty Máhmúd—everlasting praise !

DEATH OF MINÚCHIHHR.

To Minúchihhr we now must turn again
 And mark the close of his illustrious reign.

The king had flourished one hundred and twenty years, when now the astrologers ascertained that the period of his departure from this life was at hand.

They told him of that day of bitterness,
 Which would obscure the splendour of his throne ;
 And said—"The time approaches, thou must go,
 Doubtless to Heaven. Think what thou hast to do ;
 And be it done before the damp cold earth
 Inshrine thy body. Let not sudden death
 O'ertake thee, ere thou art prepared to die !"
 Warned by the wise, he called his courtiers round him,
 And thus he counselled Nauder ;—"O, my son !
 Fix not thy heart upon a regal crown,
 For this vain world is fleeting as the wind ;
 The pain and sorrows of twice sixty years
 Have I endured, though happiness and joy
 Have also been my portion ; I have fought
 In many a battle, vanquished many a foe ;
 By Feridún's commands I girt my loins,
 And his advice has ever been my guide.
 I hurled just vengeance on the tyrant-brothers,
 Selim and Túr, who slew the gentle Irij ;
 And cities have I built, and made the tree
 Which yielded poison, teem with wholesome fruit.
 And now to thee the kingdom I resign,
 That kingdom which belonged to Feridún,
 And thou wilt be the sovereign of the world !
 But turn not from the worship of thy God,
 That sacred worship Moses taught, the best
 Of all the prophets ; turn not from the path
 Of purest holiness, thy father's choice.
 My son, events of peril are before thee ;
 The enemy will come in fierce array,
 From the wild mountains of Túrán, the son
 Of Poshung, the invader. In that hour
 Of danger, seek the aid of Sám and Zál,
 And that young branch just blossoming ; Túrán
 Will then have no safe buckler of defence,
 None to protect it from their conquering arms."
 Thus spoke the sire prophetic to his son,
 And both were moved to tears. Again the king
 Resumed his warning voice ; "Nauder, I charge thee,
 Place not thy trust upon a world like this,
 Where nothing fixed remains. The caravan
 Goes to another city, one to-day,
 The next, to-morrow, each observes its turn
 And time appointed—mine has come at last,
 And I must travel on the destined road."

At the period Minúchihir uttered this exhortation, he was entirely free from indisposition, but he shortly afterwards closed his eyes in death.

Appendix I.

The short account I have given of Firdausi in note 655, page 201, is taken from a native work; I would refer the reader to the fuller account of him given by Atkinson in his translation.

APPENDIX K.

Appendix K.

Nidzámi.

Nidzámi is said to be a native of Ganja, and flourished in the twelfth century, or sixth of the Muhammadan era. He died about 597 A.H.; but no mention is made where he was buried. He wrote the story of Khusrú and Shirin, Laila and Majnún, the Treasury of Secrets, and some other works. His last and most celebrated poem was the Sikandar Náma, an epic, celebrating the career of Alexander the Great. At the period it was finished, he is reported to have been more than sixty years of age. The story of the loves of Laila and Majnún (extracts from which will be found below) is one of the most popular in the East. There are several poems on the same subject by different authors; but that by Nidzámi is considered the best. The reader will be pleased with the manner in which the Persian poet has depicted the character of a frantic lover, and also the tender affections of his Laila. The sentiments will be found to differ very little from those of the Western world. Human nature is everywhere the same.

Nidzámi was eminently distinguished through life for his rigid sanctity, which formed indeed the peculiarity of his character, cherishing, as he did at the same time, the amatory or metaphysical sentiments, which pervade his romantic poem of Laila and Majnún. But he may have been a Sáfí, and aimed at describing the passions of the soul in its progress to eternity.

In honour of Nidzámi, it is related that Atá Beg was desirous of forming and cultivating an acquaintance with him, and with that view ordered one of his courtiers to request his attendance. But it was replied, that Nidzámi, being an austere recluse, studiously avoided all intercourse with princes. Atá Beg, on hearing this, and suspecting that the extreme piety and abstinence of Nidzámi were affected, waited upon him in great pomp for the purpose of tempting and seducing him from his obscure retreat; but the result was highly favourable to the poet; and the prince ever afterwards looked upon him as a truly holy man, frequently visiting him, and treating him with the most profound respect and veneration. Nidzámi also received many substantial proofs of the admiration in which his genius and learning were held. On one occasion, five thousand dinárs were sent to him, and on another he was presented with an estate consisting of fourteen villages. The brief notice in Daulat Sháh's account of the poets of Persia represents him as the finest writer of the age in which he lived. Háfidz thus speaks of him—

"Not all the treasured store of ancient days
Can boast the sweetness of Nidzámi's lays."

The following are extracts from the Laila and Majnún:—

Saki, thou know'st I worship wine;¹
Let that delicious cup be mine.
Wine! pure and limpid as my tears,
Dispeller of a lover's fears;
With thee inspired, with thee made bold,
'Midst combat fierce my post I hold;
With thee inspired, I touch the string
And, rapt, of love and pleasure sing.

* * * *

Then, Saki, linger not, but give
The blissful balm on which I live.
Come, bring the juice of the purple vine,
Bring, bring, the musky-scented wine;
A draught of wine the memory clears,
And wakens thoughts of other years.
When blushing dawn illumines the sky,
Fill up a bumper, fill it high!

¹ Sáfí—cup-bearer. The cup-bearer and his ruby wine stand in about the same relation in Persia's poetry, as thymus and "Castalia's stream" in the Greek. The cup-bearer is the great inspirer. Indeed the Muses were the titular goddesses of festivals and banquets.

Appendix K.

That wine, which to the fever'd lip,
 With anguish parch'd, when given to sip,
 Imparts a rapturous smile, and throws
 A veil o'er all distracting woes ;²
 That wine, the lamp which, night and day,
 Lights us along our weary way ;
 Which strews the path with fruits and flowers,
 And gilds with joy our fleeting hours ;
 And lifts the mind now grown elate
 To Jamshîd's glory, Jamshîd's state !³

* * * *

Bring, bring the musky-scented wine !
 'Tis the key of mirth, and must be mine ;
 The key which opens wide the door
 Of rapture's rich and varied store ;
 Which makes the mounting spirits glad,
 And feel the pomp of Kai Kobâd.
 Wine o'er the temper casts a spell
 Of kindness indescribable ;
 Then, since I'm in the drinking vein,
 Bring, bring the luscious wine again !
 From the vintner another fresh supply,
 And let not the reveller's lip be dry.
 Come Saki, thou'rt not old nor lame ;
 Thou 'dst not incur from a minstrel blame ;
 Let him wash from his heart the dust of sorrow ;
 Let him rest in social bliss till the morrow ;
 Let the sound of the goblet delight his ear,
 Like the music that breathes from Heaven's own sphere.

* * * *

Yes, love triumphant came, engrossing all
 The fond luxuriant thoughts of youth and maid ;
 And, whilst subdued in that delicious thrall,
 Smiles and bright tears upon their features play'd.
 Then in soft converse did they pass the hours,—
 Their passion like the season, fresh and fair ;
 Their opening path seem'd deck'd with balmiest flowers,
 Their melting words as soft as summer air.

Immersed in love so deep,
 They hoped suspicion would be lull'd asleep.
 And none be conscious of their amorous state ;
 They hoped that none with prying eye,
 And gossip tongue invidiously,
 Might to the busy world its truth relate ;
 And, thus possess'd, they anxious thought
 Their passion would be kept unknown ;
 Wishing to seem what they were not,
 Though all observed their hearts were one.

* * * *

He wander'd wild through lane and street,
 With frantic step, as if to meet
 Something which still his search defied,
 Reckless of all that might betide.
 His bosom heaved with groans and sighs,
 Tears ever gushing from his eyes ;
 And still he struggled to conceal
 The anguish he was doom'd to feel ;
 And, madden'd with excessive grief,
 In the lone desert sought relief.
 Thither, as morning dawn'd, he flew ;
 His head and feet no covering knew ;
 And every night, with growing pain ;
 The woes of absence mark'd his strain.
 The secret path he eager chose
 Where Laili's distant mansion rose ;
 And kiss'd the door, and in that kiss
 Fancied he quaff'd the cup of bliss.

² The Nephenthe of Homer.

³ The story of Jamshîd is finely told in the Shâhnâmâ. He was one of the early rulers of Persia, a prince surrounded with peculiar splendour and magnificence ; he was, however, suddenly precipitated from his throne, and put to a terrible death ; his body being fastened between two planks, and divided with a saw.

How fleet his steps to that sweet place !
 A thousand wings increased his pace ;
 But thence, his fond devotions paid,
 A thousand thorns his course delay'd.

* * * *

Breeze of the morn ! so fresh and sweet
 Wilt thou my blooming mistress greet ;
 And, nestling in her glossy hair,
 My tenderest thoughts, my love, declare ?
 Wilt thou, while 'mid her tresses sporting,
 Their odorous balm, their perfume courting,
 Say to that soul-seducing maid,
 In grief how prostrate I am laid !
 And gently whisper in her ear
 This message, with an accent clear ; --
 ' Thy form is ever in my sight,
 In thought by day, in dreams by night ;
 For one, in spirits sad and broken,
 That mole⁴ would be the happiest token ;
 That mole which adds to every look
 A magic spell I cannot brook :
 For he who sees thy melting charms,
 And does not feel his soul in arms,
 Bursting with passion, rapture, all
 That speak love's deepest, wildest thrall,
 Must be as Kaf's⁵ ice-summit, cold,
 And, haply, scarce of human mould.
 Let him, unmoved by charms like thine,
 His worthless life at once resign.
 Those lips are sugar, heavenly sweet ;
 O let but mine their pouting meet !
 The balsam of delight they shed ;
 Their radiant colour ruby-red.
 The Evil eye has struck my heart,
 But thine in beauty sped the dart ;
 Thus many a flower, of richest hue,
 Hath fall'n and perish'd where it grew ;
 Thy beauty is the sun in brightness,
 Thy form a Peri's self in lightness ;
 A treasure thou, which, poets say,
 The heavens would gladly steal away—
 Too good, too pure, on earth to stay !'

* * * *

Wandering he reach'd a spot of ground ;
 With palmy groves and poplars crown'd ;
 A lively scene it was to view,
 Where flowers too bloom'd, of every hue ;
 Starting, he saw the axe applied
 To a cypress-tree, and thus he cried :—
 " Gardener ! did ever love thy heart control ?
 Was ever woman mistress of thy soul ?
 When joy has thrill'd through every glowing nerve,
 Hadst thou no wish that feeling to preserve ?
 Does not a woman's love delight, entrance,
 And every blessing fortune yields enhance ?
 Then stop that lifted hand, the stroke suspend,
 Spare, spare the cypress-tree, and be my friend !
 And why ? Look there and be forewarn'd by me,
 'Tis Laili's form, all grace and majesty ;
 Wouldst thou root up resemblance so complete,
 And lay its branches withering at thy feet ?
 What ! Laili's form ? no ; spare the cypress-tree ;
 Let it remain, still beautiful and free ;
 Yes, let my prayers thy kindest feelings move,
 And save the graceful shape of her I love !"
 The gardener dropp'd his axe, o'ercome with shame,
 And left the tree to bloom, and speak of Laili's fame.

* * * *

O ye, who thoughtlessly repose.

⁴ The mole is a prodigious beauty among Oriental writers.
⁵ Caucasus.

Appendix K.

On what this flattering world bestows,
 Reflect how transient is your stay!
 How soon e'en sorrow fades away!
 The pangs of grief the heart may wring
 In life, but Heaven removes the sting;
 The world to come makes bliss secure—
 The world to come, eternal, pure.
 What other solace for the human soul,
 But everlasting rest—virtue's unvarying goal!
 Saki! Nazámi's strain is sung;
 The Persian poet's pearls are strung;
 Then fill again the goblet high!
 Thou wouldst not ask the reveller why?
 Fill to the love that changes never!
 Fill to the love that lives for ever!
 That, purified by earthly woes,
 At last with bliss seraphic glows.

(ATKINSON'S LAHÍ AND MAJNÚN.)

APPENDIX L.

Appendix L.

Háfídz.

At an early period of his career, *Háfídz* devoted himself to literary and theological pursuits, and acquired a knowledge of music and poetry; these studies rendered him indisposed to perform long journeys, or to remain at courts. In his researches after the mystical and transcendental, his guide was the Shaikh Mahmúd 'Attár, the chief of an order of darweshes. *Háfídz* afterwards became a member of their community. His unedifying conduct and wine drinking soon exposed him to censure from the ministers of religion and the ascetics of his age. The latter, like Christian monks, wore a robe of wool, in Arabic "*Súf*," and on this account were often called *Súfis*. Of these men, *Háfídz* seldom says a good word; in almost every page of his writings, he alludes to their deceit or false miracles, although there is no doubt that he agreed with them in many of their speculative views, their advocacy of penance and austerity excepted. Rather an Epicurean than a Stoic, he would have said, as Sa'di in the *Gulistán*:—

"Of what avail is frock, or rosary,
 "Or clouted garment? Keep thyself but free
 "From evil deeds, it will not need for thee
 "To wear the cap of felt; a darwesh be
 "In heart, and wear the cap of Tartary."

The celebrity of *Háfídz* as a poet caused him to receive many invitations from men of rank, most of whom are alluded to in his Odes or Fragments. Sultán Ahmad, Ílkhání, an accomplished but tyrannical monarch, the metropolis of whose empire was Baghdád, was unable to prevail on *Háfídz* to visit his court, the poet preferring to send him a letter of thanks for his invitation, and, at the same time, some verses expressive of his gratitude. Concerning the domestic events of the life of *Háfídz* little is known. One of the odes has been supposed to record the death of his wife, and another that of a young unmarried son. His poetical compositions are remarkable, not only for their melody, and beauty of style, but for the depth and subtlety of the ideas, which often underlie the primary or material sense; the repetitions and extravagancies, which are sometimes found in them, being merely blemishes characteristic of Oriental writers.

There is a tradition that the "Green Old Man," the prophet Khizwar, or Elijah, appeared to *Háfídz*, and presented him with a goblet, the contents of which conferred on him the genius of poetry. From Jámí, himself a distinguished poet, *Háfídz* received the title of "*Lisán-ul-Ghaib*," the Tongue of the Unseen, on account of the spiritual knowledge displayed in his writings.

The admiration for the Odes had increased to such an extent before the death of *Háfídz* in A.H. 791, A.D. 1388, that it became customary to consult them to discover future events; and this practice is still continued in the East in various ways. One method, after breathing over the volumes, is to utter an invocation, such as the following:—

O *Háfídz* of Shíráz, impart
 Foreknowledge to my anxious heart!

The book is then opened at hazard, and the first couplet, which meets the eye, is taken as an answer to the question of him who consults the oracle.

When Nádír Sháh was engaged in hostile operations against the Afgháns, it is related that he performed a ziyárat or pious visit to the tomb of the poet, and had recourse to the Díván to know whether it would be expedient to continue the war. The couplet alighted on was the following:—

O Háfídz, by thy dulcet song 'Irák and Fárs are raptured :
Now haste that Baghdád and Tabriz may in their turn be captured !

Such an omen was of course hailed as auspicious. Baghdád and Tabriz were accordingly attacked and rescued from the Turks. On account of the supposed heterodoxy of certain passages in the Díván, difficulties were raised as to the interment of Háfídz with the rites of religion. The poetic oracle, however, being consulted, all doubts were set at rest by the following couplet:—

Wish not to turn thy foot away from Háfídz on his bier ;
He shall ascend to paradise, though steeped in sin while here.

He was buried at Shíráz in the centre of a small cemetery forming a portion of the enclosure now named the Háfídziyya, the other part being a flower garden, containing an avenue of cypress trees, and divided from the cemetery by an ornamental wall and central portico. On the oblong alabaster slab of his tomb, two of his odes, given below, are embossed as the fittest record of his genius.

ODE CXXVII.

Obey the Sháh of the whole world, and thus, O heart ! a
Sháh Be thou :
For ever more, by acting thus, in favour with Alláh Be thou :
A myriad of these reprobates I'd buy not at a single
grain ;
Say to the host of hypocrites : " From hill to hill a chain Be thou."
To-day am I of life possessed, 'tis wholly 'Alí for thy
love :
At morn by the Imáms' pure souls my witness there Be thou.
above
O man ! who art not 'Alí's friend, thou hast religion's
truth denied ;
Whether the zealot of the age, or on the Path the guide Be thou.
The sepulchre where Razwá rests, the eighth Imám, faith's
Sultán great,
Profoundly with thy soul salute ; and gladly at its Be thou.
gate
O Háfídz, let thy practice be
Devotion to the Sháh to pay :
Hereafter join the pilgrim band,
And one who treads the way Be thou.

ODE CLXIII.

Where doth Thy love's glad message echo for my rapt
soul To rise ?
This sacred bird from the world's meshes yearns to
its goal To rise.
I swear, wilt Thou Thy servant name me, by all my
love sublime,
Higher than my desire of lordship o'er space and time To rise.
Vouchsafe, Lord, from Thy cloud of guidance to pour
on me Thy rain,
Ere thou command me as an atom from man's domain To rise.
Bring minstrels and the wine-cup with thee, or at my
tomb ne'er sit ;
Permit me in Thy perfume dancing from the grave's To rise.
pit
Though I am old, embrace me closely, be it a single night ;
May I, made young by Thy caresses, at morn have To rise !
might
Arouse thee ! show thy lofty stature,
Idol of winning mien ;
Enable me, as soul-reft Háfídz
From nature's scene To rise :

Many differences of opinion exist as to the nature and general spirit of his Odes, the majority of Oriental commentators interpreting them more or less allegorically, and others, as Sa'dí, nearly always literally. The more mystical odes, which contain many words borrowed from the technical

Appendix I.

vocabulary of the Sûfis, may have been composed in old age, or when the poet was in a serious frame of mind; yet when we reflect on the gaiety of his life, his love adventures, his intimacy with the girl, Shâkhi Nabât (Branch of Candy), his undoubted fondness for wine, the objections made to his interment with religious ceremonial, and finally that, for a long time, the reading of his work was prohibited, it can hardly be doubted that at least some of his odes treat of material, not celestial wine and beauty.

The following three odes are given as samples:—

ODE I.

"Alâ yâ ayyuha's Sâki!"—pass round and offer thou the bowl,
For love, which seemed at first so easy, has now brought trouble
to my soul.
With yearning for the pod's aroma, which by the East that lock
shall spread,—
From that crisp curl of musky odour, how plenteously our hearts
have bled!
Stain with the tinge of wine thy prayer-mat, if thus the aged
Magian bid,
For from the traveller of the Pathway no stage nor usage can
be hid.
Shall any Beloved one's house delight me, when issues ever and
anon
From the relentless bell the mandate; "'Tis time to bind thy
litters on" ?
The waves are wild, the whirlpool dreadful, the shadow of the
night steals o'er;
How can my fate excite compassion in the light-burdened of the
shore?
Each action of my forward spirit has won me an opprobrious
name;
Can any one conceal the secret which the assembled crowds
proclaim?
If joy be thy desire, O Hâfidz,
From Him far distant never dwell;
As soon as thou hast found thy Loved one,
Bid to the world a last farewell.

"Alâ yâ ayyuha-'s-Sâki! Ho there, O cup-bearer! The first line of the ode is a quotation from the poems of the Khalif Yazid, abhorred by Persians for having caused the death of Hussain, son of 'Ali, the fourth successor of the prophet. A heap of stones, still shown at Damascus, marks the dishonoured burying place of Yazid, and his name is used as a synonym of "execrable." Sâki signifies in Sûfi, or mystical, language, the spiritual instructor, the giver of the goblet of celestial inspiration and love, typified by wine. The locks, which shade the face of the Beloved, are said to denote impenetrable attributes, or the difficulties on the path of the way-farer, such as scruples, avilities, or attachments, which veil or intercept the Object sought. Hence the lock's intricacies, curls, waves, &c., Musky perfumes denote grace: the Sajjâdah, or prayer-mat, the heart; the wine-house, a place in which a person mortifies sensuality, and relinquishes his "name and fame;" the traveller, one who seeks to tread the "path" of perfection, and finally to be united with the Supreme Being. The east wind, or breeze of morning, is the poetic messenger of lovers: in mystic theology, the angel Gabriel, or other bearer of gifts and grace. Musk is not obtained from the "pod" or navel of the muck doer of Eastern Tartary without the infliction of pain, nor can musk be wafted from the locks of the "Beloved One" until the hearts have bled with the anguish of expectation.

"The traveller of the Pathway"—the Magi, or Shâkhi. In former times wine was sold chiefly by Magians, and, as the keepers of taverns and *café-vansarâs* grew popular, the term "Magian" was used to designate, not only "wine-bots" but also a free old man or spiritual teacher.

(Couplet IV.)—How can I bid on my life to the joys of love, for the knell of death is ringing in my ears; the bell which, suspended from the neck of the muck-doer, warns the traveller that the hour of departure is at hand.

"Light-burdened" means free from care.

ODE VIII.

Appendix L.

If that Shírázian Turk would deign to take my heart within his hand,

To make his Indian mole my own, I'd give Bukhárá and Samarkand.
Sáki, present the wine unspont : in Jannah thou shalt never gaze
On Kukuñábúdab's water marge, or on Musallá's bloomy ways.

Alas ! that these bold Lúlián, whose blandishments the town embroil,
Should have borne off my heart's content, as do the Turks their
trays of spoil.

My Loved one's beauty has no need of an imperfect love like mine ;
By paint or powder, mole or streak, can a fair face more brightly
shine ?

Of minstrels and of wine discourse; care little how the skies
revolve :

By wisdom no one has solved yet—and shall not this enigma solve.
I, from those daily growing charms which Joseph once possessed,
foresaw,

That, from the screen of chastity, Love would Zulaikha's footsteps draw.

Thou mockest me, yet pleased am I ! God pardon thee, thy words
were meet :

A bitter answer well becomes those rubies which are sugar-sweet.
O soul ! give ear to my advice ! for one who is in youth time sage,
Deems his own soul of lighter worth than the monition of old age.

Thy lay is versed, thy pearls are pierc'd,

Come, Háfidz, sing it us and please ;

That heaven upon thy poetry

May fling her clustered Pleiades.

The brown-moled Turk of Turkistán, or as some say, India, here mentioned, was not improbably one of the tribe, named Lúlí, nomads, renowned in the time of Háfídz for their dancing and singing talents, which they strolled about to exhibit. It is alleged also that the word "Lúlí" was the refrain of their songs. The designation "Turk" is further used in the Persian language in the sense of tyrant or cruel charmer. At the present day, a considerable number of the subjects of the Sháh still live in tents, especially in the tract of country between Shiráz and Isfahán. They are termed collectively 'Iliyát or tribes. Among them are the *Kishkái*, the *Inálú*, the *Bahárlú*, and the *Básirí*. They are often seen in the bazaar of Shiráz. Some of them quit their wandering life, to seek domestic occupation in the city, or in the ranks of the army. The following anecdote is from Ouseley's "Biographical Notices on Persian Poets."—"When the great Taimúr conquered Fárs, and put Sháh Mansúr to death, Háfídz was in Shiráz. On being ordered into the presence of the conqueror, the latter, alluding to a line in one of his odes 'For the black mole on thy cheek, I would give the cities of Samarkand and Bukhárá,' sternly said to the poet: 'I have taken and destroyed, with the keen edge of my sword, the greatest kingdoms of the earth, to add splendour and population to the royal cities, of my native land, Samarkand and Bukhárá; yet you dispose of them both at once for the black mole on the cheek of your Beloved?' Háfídz, nothing daunted, replied, 'Yes, Sire, and it is by such acts of generosity that I am reduced as you see to my present state of poverty.' Taimúr smiled and ordered him some splendid marks of his favour."

Jannah is the garden of paradise. The ruined mosque of Musallà, and the brooklet of Ruknábád about four feet wide, are a mile to the north of Shíráz. The water of this streamlet, derived from a spring in the pass of Allahu Akbar, has been made to branch into two principal channels, one south-eastward, the other, south-westward, to irrigate various sown fields and gardens, among the latter, the *Háfídziyya*, part of which is a cemetery, and contains the poet's tomb. By the "bloomy ways of Musallà," *Háfídz* means the paths through the corn-fields, bright in spring with corn-flowers, poppies and the grape-hyacinth ; perhaps also the alleys in the neighbouring gardens.

(Stanza III)—In Turkistán, if we may believe tradition, there was formerly a military institution called the "Feast of Plunder," at which the soldiers, when their pay-day came, violently carried off dishes of rice, and other dishes placed upon the ground. They were thus reminded that rapine and plunder were their lawful pursuits.

(Stanza IV)—Literally “of powder and paint, and moles and streaks, what need has a lovely face?” Translators of this line seem generally to have ignored that the word “áb,” besides signifying “water,” is applied

Appendix L.

to powder for the complexion. Of this powder two sorts are sold at Shíráz, one our pearl powder, the other rouge. They are respectively named "sufaid áb" and "súrkh áb." The women of Persia make artificial moles, or beauty spots of permanent character, by tattooing the face with a mixture of chelidonium (*zard chob*) and charcoal. Temporary moles are made by the wooden pin called *Khatt-i-Khattát*, with pitch, or oxide of antimony. Powdered antimony is also used to form streaks on the eyelids, a paste of indigo being employed to pencil the eyebrows. Beauty can well dispense with such meretricious ornament. Mystical interpreters have understood by powder, paint, moles and streaks, the ink, colour, dots, and lines of the *Kurán*.

Zulaikhá was the wife of Potiphar.

Stanza IX—Last line may fling as largess to express her delight.

The following translation of the well-known song "Táza ba Táza" is the best I have come across.

ODE 'CLXXII.

Sing me a lay, sweet bard, I sue ; once and again, anew !
 Seek for me wine's heart-opening dew ; once and again, anew,
 anew !
 Close to some sweet and doll-like fair, sit thou apart with cheerful
 air ;
 Steal from that cheek, the kiss that's due ; once and again, anew
 anew.
 Sáki, who steps with silvery limb, now has crossed my threshold's
 rim :
 He shall my cup with wine imbrue ; once and again, anew, anew.
 How shall life's fruit by thee be won, if thou the wine-filled goblet
 shun ?
 Quaff ; and in thought thy Loved one view ; once and again, anew,
 anew.
 Ravishing hearts, the friend I choose, eager to please me, well
 doth use
 Gauds and adornment, scent and hue ; once and again, anew,
 anew.
 Breeze of the morn that soon shall fleet
 Hence to that peri's blissful street,
 Tell thou the tale of Háfidz true ;
 Once and again, anew, anew.

The following is one of Háfidz's Fragments :—

Learn good and evil from thyself alone :
 A watchman wherefore in some other own ?
 "God helps the creature that Him glorifies,
 And, whence he hopes not, all his wants supplies."

(Herman Bicknell's Háfidz.)

APPENDIX M.

Appendix M.

Firdausi's Satire
 on Mahmúd.

The following translation of Firdausi's satire on Mahmúd, is from
 Atkinson's *Sháhnáma* :—

Know, tyrant as thou art, this earthly state
 Is not eternal, but of transient date ;
 Fear God, then, and afflict not human-kind,
 To merit Heaven, be thou to Heaven resigned.
 Afflict not even the ant ; though weak and small,
 It breathes and lives, and life is sweet to all.
 Knowing my temper, firm and stern, and bold,
 Did'st thou not, tyrant, tremble to behold
 My sword blood-dropping ? Had'st thou not the sense
 To shrink from giving man like me offence ?
 What could impel thee to an act so base ?
 What, but to earn and prove thy own disgrace ?
 Why was I sentenced to be trod upon,
 And crushed to death by elephants ? By one
 Whose power I scorn ! Could'st thou presume that I
 Would be appalled by thee, whom I defy ?
 I am the lion, I, inured to blood,
 And make the imperious and the base my food ;
 And I could grind thy limbs, and spread them far

As Nile's dark waters their rich treasures bear.
 Fear thee ! I fear not man, but God alone.
 I only bow to His Almighty Throne.
 Inspired by Him, my ready numbers flow :
 Guarded by Him, I dread no earthly foe.
 Thus in the pride of song I pass my days ;
 Offering to Heaven my gratitude and praise.

From every trace of sense and feeling free,
 When thou art dead, what will become of thee ?
 If thou shouldst tear me limb from limb, and cast
 My dust and ashes to the angry blast,
 Firdausi still would live, since on thy name,
 Mahmúd, I did not rest my hopes of fame
 In the bright page of my heroic song,
 But on the God of Heaven, to whom belong
 Roundless thanksgivings, and on him whose love
 Supports the faithful in the realms above,
 The mighty prophet ! none who e'er reposed
 On him, existence without hope has closed.

And thou would'st hurl me underneath the tread
 Of the wild elephant, till I were dead !
 Dead ! by that insult roused, I should become
 An elephant in power, and seal thy doom—
 Mahmúd ! if fear of man hath never awed
 Thy heart, at least fear thy Creator, God.
 Full many a warrior of illustrious worth,
 Full many of humble, of imperial birth :
 Tár, Selim, Jamshíd, Minúchíhr the brave,
 Have died ; for nothing had the power to save
 These mighty monarchs from the common doom ;
 They died, but blest in memory still they bloom.
 Thus kings too perish—none on earth remain,
 Since all things human seek the dust again.

O, had thy father graced a kingly throne,
 Thy mother been for royal virtues known,
 A different fate the poet then had shared,
 Honours and wealth had been his just reward ;
 But how remote from thee a glorious line !
 No high, ennobling ancestry is thine ;
 From a vile stock thy bold career began,
 A blacksmith was thy sire of Isfahán.
 Alas ! from vice can goodness ever spring ?
 Is mercy hoped for in a tyrant king ?
 Can water wash the Ethiopian white ?
 Can we remove the darkness from the night ?
 The tree, to which a bitter fruit is given,
 Would still be bitter in the bowers of Heaven ;
 And a bad heart keeps on its vicious course ;
 Or if it changes, changes for the worse ;
 Whilst streams of milk, where Eden's flowrets blow,
 Acquire more honied sweetness as they flow.
 The reckless king, who grinds the poor like thee,
 Must ever be consigned to infamy !

Now mark Firdausi's strain, his Book of Kings
 Will ever soar upon triumphant wings.
 All, who have listened to its various lore,
 Rejoice, the wise grow wiser than before ;
 Heroes of other times, of ancient days,
 For ever flourish in my sounding lays ;
 Have I not sung of Káu's, Tús, and Gíw ;
 Of matchless Rustam, faithful, still, and true.
 Of the great demon-binder, who could throw
 His kamand to the heavens, and seize his foe !
 Of Húshang, Farídán and Sám Sawár,
 Loharás, Kai Khusrú, and Isfandíyár ;
 Gashtásp, Arjásp, and him of mighty name,
 Gúdarz, with eighty sons of martial fame !

The toil of thirty years is now complete,
 Record sublime of many a warlike feat,
 Written midst toil and trouble, but the strain

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Awakens every heart, and will remain
 A lasting stimulus to glorious deeds;
 For even the bashful maid, who kindling reads,
 Becomes a warrior. Thirty years of care,
 Urged on by royal promise, did I bear,
 And now, deceived and scorned, the aged bard
 Is basely cheated of his pledged reward!

It is related that Mahmūd, when Firdausī was first introduced to him, requested the poet to compose some verses in his presence; upon which Firdausī instantly pronounced the following:—

The cradled infant, whose sweet lips are yet
 Balmy with milk from its own mother's breast,
 Lisps first the name of Mahmūd.

This rare compliment delighted the king, and confirmed his high opinion of the extraordinary merits of the poet.

When Firdausī arrived at Ghaznī, the success of 'Ansari, in giving a poetical dress to the romance of Rustam and Suhrāb, was the subject of general observation and praise. Animated by this proof of literary taste at court, Firdausī commenced upon the story of the battles of Isfandiyār and Rustam; and having completed it, he embraced the earliest opportunity of getting that poem presented to the Sultān, who had already seen abundant evidence of the transcendent talents of the author. Mahmūd regarded the production with admiration and delight. He, without hesitating a moment, appointed him to complete the Shāhnāma, and ordered his chief minister to pay him a thousand miskals for every thousand distiches, and, at the same time, honoured him with the name of Firdausi, because that he had diffused over his court the delights of paradise, Firdaus signifying paradise. 'Ansari himself acknowledged the superiority of Firdausi's genius, and relinquished the undertaking without apparent regret.

The minister, in compliance with the injunctions of Mahmūd, offered to pay the sums as the work went on; but Firdausī unfortunately preferred waiting till he had completed his engagement, and receiving the whole at once, as he had long indulged the hope of being able to do something of importance for the benefit of his native city.

It appears that Firdausī, in his new situation, did not act with becoming discretion. He had composed verses in honour of the minister, whose office it was to supply him with whatever he might require, but did nothing to conciliate 'Aiyār, one of the principal favourites of Mahmūd. In consequence of this omission, 'Aiyār sought every opportunity to injure Firdausī, and ruin his interests with the king. Several passages in his poems were extracted, and invidiously commented upon, as containing sentiments contrary to the principles of the true faith. It was alleged that they proved him to be a hypocritical philosopher, and a schismatic. The king was highly indignant on hearing that the poet was guilty of cherishing impious doctrines; upon which occasion Firdausī solicited an audience, and, throwing himself at the feet of Mahmūd, protested against the malignant calumny which had been brought against him; but Mahmūd replied that all the people of Tāús were of the same character, all heretics alike! The situation of the poet under royal displeasure had thus become critical, and he remained at Ghaznī, though still prosecuting his labours, in a state of great anxiety and alarm. But, in spite of all that artifice and malignity could frame, the poet rose in the esteem of the public. Admiration followed him in the progress of his work, and presents were showered upon him from every quarter. The poems were at length completed. The composition of 60,000 complets appears to have cost him the labour of thirty years. The Sultān was fully sensible of the value and excellence of that splendid monument of genius and talents, and, proud of being the patronizer of a work which promised to perpetuate his name, he ordered an elephant-load of gold to be given to the author. But the malignity of the favourite was unappeased, and he was still bent upon the degradation and ruin of the poet. Contriving to establish his own success with the king, instead of the elephant load of gold, he managed to get sent to him 60,000 silver dirhams! Firdausī was in the public bath at the time; and when he found that the bags contained only silver, he was so enraged at the insult offered to him, that, on the spot, he gave 20,000 to the keeper of the bath, 20,000 to the seller of refreshments, and 20,000 to the slave who brought them. "The Sultān shall know," said he "that I did not bestow the labour of thirty years on a work, to be rewarded with dirhams." When this circumstance came to the knowledge of the king, he was exceedingly exasperated at the conduct of his favourite, who had, however, artifice and ingenuity enough to exculpate himself, and to cast

all the blame upon the poet. Firdausí was charged with disrespectful and insulting behaviour to his sovereign; and Mahmúd, thus stimulated to resentment, and no longer questioning the veracity of the favourite, passed an order that next morning he should be trampled to death under the feet of an elephant! The unfortunate poet was thrown into the greatest consternation, when he heard of the will of the Sultán. He immediately hurried to the presence, and again falling at the feet of the king, begged for mercy, pronouncing at the same time an elegant eulogium on the glories of his reign, and the innate generosity of his heart. The king, touched by his agitation, and still respecting the brilliancy of his talents, at length condescended to revoke the order.

But the wound was deep, and not to be endured without a murmur. He immediately obtained from the librarian of Mahmúd the copy of the *Sháhnáma* which he had presented to the king, and wrote in it his satire on the Sultán with all the bitterness of reproach, which insulted merit could devise, and instantly fled from the court. He passed some time at Mázin-darán (Hyrcania), and afterwards took refuge at Baghdád, where he was in high favour with the Caliph, in whose praise he added a thousand complets to the *Sháhnáma*, and for which he received a robe of honour and 60,000 *dinárs*. He also wrote a poem called *Joseph* during his stay in that city.

Another account says, that after abandoning his own country, Firdausí remained for some time in the house of a dealer in books at Hirát. Mahmúd had, after his escape, sent persons in search of him in every direction; and having made known the purpose of their mission in every town they came to, our poet, in great sorrow, returned to Taús; but afraid of not being safe there, he took leave of his relations and friends, and obtained a place of refuge in Rustandár. The governor received him with kindness, and offered him 160 *miskals* of gold if he would cancel, from the *Sháhnáma*, the satire composed by him against Mahmúd. Firdausí, adds this account, agreed to the proposal, cancelled the verses, and then returned to Taús, where he lived obscurely to an old age.

It is further said that Mahmúd at length became acquainted with the falsehood and treachery of the wazír, whose cruel persecution of the unoffending poet had involved the character and reputation of his court in disgrace. His indignation appeared to be extreme, and the favourite was banished for ever from his presence. Anxious to make all the reparation in his power for the injustice he had been guilty of, whether purposely or otherwise, he immediately despatched a present of 60,000 *dinárs*, and a robe of state with many apologies for what had happened. But Firdausí did not live to be gratified by this consoling acknowledgment. He had returned to his friends at Taús where he died before the present from the king arrived. His family, however, scrupulously devoted it to the benevolent purposes which the poet had originally intended, viz, the erection of public buildings, and the general improvement of his native city.

This latter circumstance is somewhat differently related in Daulat Sháh's biography. Mahmúd, it is said, in one of his twelve expeditions to India, hearing his minister repeat a passage from the *Sháhnáma* happily descriptive of his situation at the time, was strongly reminded of Firdausí; and recollecting with regret the injustice he had done the poet, inquired what had become of him. The minister replied that he was now very old and infirm, and lived obscurely at Taús. The Sultán instantly ordered a present, worthy of the poet and of himself, to be forwarded to him; but at the moment the persons in charge of this present entered the gate of Taús, the body of Firdausí was being conveyed through the same gate to be buried. When the funeral ceremony was over, however, the amount was carried to his surviving sister: but she refused to receive it saying, "What I have to do now with the wealth of kings?"

The poet seems to have lived to a considerable age. When he wrote the satire against Mahmúd, he was, according to his own account, more than seventy.

When charity demands a bounteous dole,
Close is thy hand, contracted as thy soul;
Now seventy years have marked my long career,
Nay more, but age has no protection here!

Probably about ten years elapsed during his sojourn at Mázin-darán and Baghdád, after he quitted the Court of Ghazní, so that he must have been at least eighty when he died. It appears from several parts of the satire that a period of thirty years was employed in the composition of the *Sháhnáma*, from which it must be inferred that he had been engaged

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upon that work long before the accession of Mahmūd to the throne, for that monarch survived Firdausī ten years, and the period of his reign was only thirty-one.

Notwithstanding the turn which is given, by the above account, to the cause of Firdausī's disappointment, in referring it solely to the rancour of the minister, the conduct of Mahmūd appears to have been, in the highest degree, inconsiderate and cruel. He must have well known that dirhams had been sent instead of the elephant-load of gold, and it was unworthy of the conqueror of the world to suffer himself to be flattered and cajoled into petty resentment against the man who had immortalized the exploits of so many ancient heroes, and who, in the opening verses of the poem, had done such honour to his name. The present of 60,000 dīnārs, which he afterwards sent to him, seems at any rate to slew (upon the presumption of his having been purposely unjust) that he felt some stings of conscience, and that he wished to recover from the disgrace, which attached to him, as a patron of literature, from so dishonourable a transaction.—(Atkinson's *Shāhnāma*).

APPENDIX N.

Appendix N.

The drama of Persia.

The drama of Persia is at present no further advanced than it was in the days of Sir John Malcolm, although a play or two have been translated from Turkish into Persian, but these have not been put on the stage. One of the best of these is the "*Wazīr of Lankarān*," which has been translated by Messrs. Haggard and LeStrange into English. I cannot, I think, do better than give an extract from their preface.

The play of the "*Wazīr of Lankarān*" is taken from a little book lithographed in Tihhrān. It is the first of the seven plays that the work contains, and in many ways perhaps is the most interesting of the collection. The author, Mīrzā Ja'far, is only in reality a translator from the works of a certain Faḥl 'Alī, who composed his work in Āzarbāijān-Turkish. But though translated from the Turkish, an examination of the plays will show that the phraseology of the dialogue is very idiomatic Persian. The translator, in fact, must have rendered his Turkish text somewhat freely, for his proverbs and allusions are all pure Irānī.

The Persian preface, which is placed at the head of the Tihhrān edition, is too verbose to give *in extenso* but an abstract may not prove uninteresting to the European reader. Its style is so thoroughly Oriental, and we see how small is still their knowledge in the technical part of the drama, in spite of the Passion Plays, commemorating the tragical fate of *Hasan* and *Hussain*, that have been common all over Persia for some centuries. The title page states the contents of the book to be "*Plays translated by Mīrzā Ja'far, a native of Karājahdāgh, printed in Tihhrān during the month Rabi' I of A.H. 1291, (A.D. 1874).*"

After the customary adulation of the reigning Shāh, Nāsir-ud-dīn, the translator proceeds to point out, by means of an Apologue, that, in order that the reader may derive a benefit from its perusal, the book should not be read in a perfunctory manner.

Then comes the preface proper. The translator, Mīrzā Ja'far, adverts to the fact that up to the present time no Comedies have appeared in Persia. But since it is well known that such compositions not only instruct and cause diversion to the general public, but, also greatly aid foreigners (whether Āzarbāijānī Turks or others) in mastering the language, and gaining an insight into the manners of the people; therefore he, Mīrzā Ja'far, had often regretted the lack of any such Plays and was now endeavouring to supply this deficiency, trusting in doing so the more surely to hand down his name to posterity, than by occupying himself in any other species of literary composition.

He then proceeds to state that he has met with an excellent collection of such pieces in Turkish, conspicuous in the simplicity of its language, and the absence of all rhetorical, bombastic or obsolete words (whereby it differed advantageously from all previous works) and that from this book he has translated the following plays.

His labours are especially dedicated to the use of children in the schools, who up to the present time have been forced to learn dry, antiquated books, unsuited to their mental capacities, and discouraging from the fact that the works are lacking in general interest. And he also would recommend his book to foreigners, in the place of those translations from the *Evangelists*,

which have, hitherto served them as text books. To these latter, will not his plays be even doubly useful? In reading his Comedies, the translator begs that especial attention may be paid to enunciation and emphasis, so important to a just understanding of the 'parts.' In representing the speech of the lower classes, he has admitted into his text many words incorrectly or rather phonetically spelt (of which he gives some examples) they being characteristic of the popular pronunciation; and the various interjections have been added where necessary, such as *vah! bah! ay! ukh!* and the like, although hitherto it has not been customary to insert these in written compositions. He points out that the names of the interlocutors, stage and other directions, have been given to prevent any mistakes; but, at the same time, he cautions the reader that such names and phrases form no part of the dialogue. It is particularly to be insisted on that the speeches be uttered in a lively, brisk way, not according to the usual sing-song of the schools or the intoned drawl of poetical recitations, but even as in the living speech of the people, where astonishment, wonder, queries, fear, silence, laughter, weeping, anger, affection, terror, joking, exclamations, passion, and serenity are all indicated by the inflections of the voice; and also let the utterances of old men, Armenians and Firingis, be rendered after the hesitating manner characteristic of such folk. And for the rest, writes Mirzā Jā'far, each one must follow his own taste.

Then comes a disquisition translated from the original Turkish author of the Plays; he sets forth his general observations on the Dramatic Art. The rules of intonation, gesture, &c., as cultivated by the Europeans in their theatres, are given; for the author very justly observes, that among the people of Islām, (who have no school of this art) these laws are mostly neglected in the only species of dramatic representation which they possess—namely, in the Tragedies on the death of the Imāms. The author, too, assures his co-religionists that there is nothing in the theatres of Firingistān repugnant to either good manners or public morals.

Following all of which, seeing that His Excellency Waransoff, governor of the Caucasus Province, had, in A.H. 1266, A.D. 1850, built a theatre in Tiflis, he, the author, Mirzā Fāth 'Alī, has felt himself incited to compose these plays, six in number, followed by a Tale. And he concludes his remarks by averring that unlike other authors, he courts the criticism of his public, wishing them, by no means, to be silent on his faults; but, on the contrary, let every body, according to his ability, point these out, that Dramas may become known and be acted among Muslims; and in this he feels proud of having set the first example. To all of which, the translator, Mirzā Jā'far, adds that for the present he has only translated two Plays; in the following year, however, he hopes, by the aid of Allah, to print the remainder, that all, both great and small, may learn thereby.

We have not been able to discover that the Persian translation of these Plays has ever been actually performed on a stage, either in Tihrán or elsewhere. For it would require the use of far more scenery and drilling for stage effect than is customary in the Muharram Passion Plays, and their ignorance in such matters was deplored by Mirzā Fāth 'Alī in his original preface. In these latter there is not a stage on the one side, as in Europe, with the audience facing in one direction towards the actors and the back ground. For the performance takes place in a huge sort of circus, with boxes raised, tier above tier, all round, looking on to a circular platform, on which the actors strut and declaim, with neither side wings nor back ground. When they have said their parts, they simply stand aside in full view of the audience, awaiting their turn to speak again. This manner of doing things would, of course, be out of the question in a Comedy, such as the Wazīr of Lankarān, where sudden exits and entrances, cupboards to hide in and a certain amount of stage effect, are all indispensable for the action of the Play. Among the dramatis personæ in the Wazīr Lankarān, we have Mirzā 'Abīb, the Wazīr's farrāsh, groom, steward or head servant, and the general servants. All these are of the outer, or men's apartments. Belonging to the haram are Zibā, the old wife (the companion of the Wazīr's youth), and Shu'la, the young wife (a late addition), who, being the reigning favourite, is on the worst of terms with old Zibā. As guests of Shu'la, the favourite, are her mother and sister, Parī and Nisā Khānam. The guardian of these ladies is black *Ākh Mas'ūd*, the chamberlain, a most consequential personage, who closes the list of the Wazīr's establishment. We then pass on to the Khān, governor of Lankarān by virtue of his birth and possessions. His power is unlimited, and his decisions—for he is judge as well as autocrat—are final. The territorial Khāns of fifty years ago were much more powerful than are the provincial governors of the present day, whose position is en-

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 tirely dependent on the will of the Sháh. Of old, they were local chiefs, powerful from the number of their tribesmen, their slaves, and their wealth. Little they cared for the ministers of the Sháh, who let them alone, so long as they paid in the revenue, allowing them to govern their provinces much as they pleased. But, to return: of the Khán's household, we have his chief body servant, who stands at his elbow and possesses his ear; the master of the ceremonies, (who regulates the court of justice,) and his deputy, who is also the lieutenant of the gate-house. The gate-house is the spot at which all descend who enter the palace: before it the petitioners assemble, and the servants lounge about, awaiting their lord's pleasure. The lieutenant of the gate-house has therefore no unimportant post in the Khán's establishment, for all who enter must propitiate his favour. His co-adjutor is the chief of the farráshes—in a house of this kind the head executioner, who directs his underlings in the carrying out of the Khán's decrees. The court is filled by the nobles and officials of the province of Lankarán. Taimúr Áká is the Khán's nephew, the accepted lover of Nisá, whom her host, the Wazír, wishes to marry to the Khán, Taimúr's uncle. Razwá is Taimúr's confidant. Lastly come Háji Sálíh, a merchant; and a doctor, a man of long words and deadly practice. The scene is laid at the town of Lankarán, on the shores of the Caspian, and at Risht, the chief Persian port on that sea. It is on the southern shore, and is the chief town of the province of Gílán, and the emporium of the silk trade.



The letters in brackets after names of places refer to the divisions in the map ; the capitals to the vertical, and the small letters to the horizontal, *e.g.*, the province of Kirmán marked F. K. *j.l.* will be found in the map in the divisions, F. G. H. I. K. vertically and *j.k.l.* horizontally.

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